

Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 18

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Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century

The Collected Works of Paul Valkema Blouw

Edited by

Ton Croiset van Uchelen
Paul Dijstelberge



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*Photo of Paul Valkema Blouw on verso by
Henk Visscher (c) Reformatorisch Dagblad*



PREFACE



Paul Valkema Blouw (1916-2000) was one of the great bibliographers of the twentieth century. Working alone and in the pre-digital age, he combined a meticulous analytical mind with a rare sensibility to the subtleties of sixteenth-century type design. This was in many ways the Golden Age of Low Countries typography: the age of Plantin and Antwerp, when Low Countries printers turned out spectacular books of rare beauty. Paul Valkema Blouw devoted himself to the forgotten books of this important but turbulent time: small books, published in small regional printing houses, often anonymously. This was the dissident Protestant literature of the wars against Spain: to have been identified as the publisher of such works might have spelt the printer's death, and they were careful to remove all trace of their handiwork. Valkema Blouw devised ways to recover the identities of these shadowy figures, by recreating small families of books, usually through identification of damaged types or intricacies of workshop style. A careful search of contemporary manuscripts revealed other precious fragments of information, sometimes providing the crucial clue enabling the location of a particular printing house. The result has been a transformation of our understanding of publishing in the northern Netherlands during the Dutch Revolt.

During his years working on this subject Paul Valkema Blouw succeeded in making attributions for 80% of the anonymously published books printed in the northern Netherlands between 1540 and 1600. Such is the authority of the research and writing that very few of these attributions have ever been challenged. This work underpins his towering achievement, *Typographia Batava*, the bibliography of northern Netherlandish printing between the years 1540 and 1600. The essays presented in this collection re-assemble the building blocks of this bibliographical monument. They benefit greatly from the exquisite translations of Professor Alastair Hamilton, a long-time admirer and collaborator of Valkema Blouw, and himself one of the leading scholars of the Dutch religious culture of the age.

Paul Valkema Blouw deserves to be better known. His work is an example of the painstaking craftsmanship essential to the recovery of the past. If real discoveries are to be made, it will only be from the sort of forensic investigation presented here with such elegance and authority. In the investigation of the underground print culture of the Dutch Revolt, it is unlikely this work will ever be equalled or superseded.

It is a real pleasure that the Library of the Written Word can present this work for the first time as a coherent whole. The original essays are scattered through a number of different periodicals and essay collections, and span the whole period of his activity in the field of bibliography. The study of pamphlet literature and ephemeral print has in recent years become a major preoccupation of book historians, and the new sensibilities engaged by this work are gradually transforming our understanding of the functioning of the book trade in the first age of print. But when Valkema Blouw began his work, the forgotten and often forbidden books that he recovered and rediscovered had attracted little interest. Valkema Blouw was a true pioneer: it is right that his extraordinary learning and influential insights should be honoured by this fine collection of his work.

Andrew Pettegree

Editor-in-chief, Library of the Written Word

INTRODUCTION



Paul Valkema Blouw, the bibliographer, antiquarian book dealer and book historian whose collected papers are here published in an English translation, was born in the Dutch city of Dordrecht on 7 January 1916. Living with his parents and a younger brother and sister, he spent his early years in Apeldoorn, one of the larger towns in the province of Gelderland.¹ His father, Jan Paul Valkema Blouw, a graduate of Delft Technical University, had been employed there since 1921 as teacher of physics and mathematics both at the Gymnasium and the High School. A gifted amateur painter and graphic artist, he wrote some well-received novels, popular scientific books, stage adaptations and school books. His series of adventure stories for boys, published between 1925 and 1943, was particularly successful. Occasionally in the early 1930s, and permanently after 1933, a serious disorder made it necessary for Paul's mother to enter a nursing home. This meant that from then on the household was in the hands of a series of 'aunts'. The surviving correspondence shows that the children grew up with close mutual ties, with no connection with any church, but with a considerable interest in culture and sport.

Paul was a good-looking, athletic boy who made friends easily and took an active part in school life. That he was also an enthusiastic and successful tennis player will come as a surprise to those who remember him from his later years at the Amsterdam University Library – an elderly, reserved, grey-haired gentleman, walking with a slight limp which gradually became more pronounced. A student of average ability, he easily obtained his final Gymnasium beta diploma in 1934. It would have been obvious for him to have proceeded to one of the Dutch universities. But it was the time of the Great Depression and, what with the massive drop in teachers' salaries, the costs involved in the nursing of his wife, and the future education of the younger

¹ For more information concerning the Valkema Blouw family and Paul's career, see Ton Croiset van Uchelen, 'In memoriam Paul Valkema Blouw (1916-2000)', *Quaerendo*, 31 (2001), pp. 87-96, and N. Maas & F.W. Kuyper, 'Paul Valkema Blouw', *Offeren aan Mercurius en Minerva* [...] (Amsterdam 1995), pp. 62-70.

children, his father preferred another solution. As Paul put it himself some sixty years later in an interview: ‘It was at the heart of the slump. My father was not averse to the idea of finding me an alternative to an academic study. Nor were my ambitions to go to university particularly great. I rather liked being able to leave home and lead a life of my own.’²

The alternative solution was found in Utrecht, where Paul went to work as a volunteer for the firm of J.L. Beijers, auctioneers and antiquarian booksellers. He was recommended for the job by A.H. Zahn, an uncle on his mother’s side and the son of the firm’s former director. Thanks to school companions studying in Utrecht and to his own membership of one of the local tennis clubs, Paul soon formed new friendships, some of which lasted all his life. Later on, in the war years, he became a member of the Utrecht club ‘De Vereeniging’, and, after the liberation, he joined the Dutch Round Table and the venerable Utrecht book trade club ‘Boekverkooperscollegie *Eendracht*’ (founded in 1853). When Paul started out with Beijers, the firm had become a small business with a staff of no more than five members including the managing director G.W. Schultz, and it was the latter who gradually showed him the ropes of the trade. Collating all works printed before 1800, describing material to be sold at auction, bidding for the firm at sales – these were the activities in which Paul progressively acquired experience and satisfaction. The atmosphere at Beijers appealed to him.

On 1 February 1939 Paul was nominated a member of the Netherlands Association of Antiquarian Booksellers (Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Antiquaren, ‘NVvA’), and in April of the same year he obtained his final diploma at the professional training course of the Netherlands Book Trade Association. Together with Dr Abraham Horodish, the well-known Amsterdam dealer in antiquarian and new books and the owner of the ‘Erasmus’ bookshop, he edited the NVvA’s journal *Biblion*, which started to appear shortly before the German army invaded the Netherlands in 1940. On 19 November 1942 he was appointed managing clerk of Beijers and from 1943 until January 1946 he served as the NVvA’s Hon. Treasurer.

Paul spent the last years of the Second World War hiding in one of the attics of the firm’s premises in Utrecht. After the death of the managing director, Schultz, in the spring of 1945, he was appointed his successor on 20 October of that year. He was chosen for the job by his father’s younger brother Dr H.C. Valkema Blouw, a psychiatrist and print-collector of note, who had become principal shareholder and delegate supervisory director of Beijers. The appointment proved to be an unfortunate one, for managing

² Maas & Kuyper, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 63.

a business – however small – was not Paul's forte. The two men, uncle and nephew, disagreed increasingly about the way the firm should be run and before long, on 1 January 1947, Dr Valkema Blouw appointed a second director in the person of Hans L. Gumbert, a learned and experienced antiquarian bookseller who, from 1935, had managed an antiquarian book business of his own in Nijmegen. Paul did not get along with Gumbert, however, and a growing dissatisfaction with the new situation induced him to leave the firm in October 1947.³

During the thirteen years he had spent working for Beijers Paul had been involved in the production of 31 sale catalogues in which some 66,000 books, atlases, pamphlets, maps, prints and drawings were described. Keeping in mind that nearly all the lots sold at auction in this period passed through his hands and that he appeared to be blessed with an exceptionally well-developed bibliographical memory, it is hardly surprising that he left Utrecht with a broad knowledge of books and prints.

Paul moved to Amsterdam with a view to attending the lectures in art history by the renowned professor J.Q. van Regteren Altena. He had found a comfortable apartment in a fashionable street overlooking the entrance of the Vondel Park, and to earn his living he had secured for himself a part-time job as bibliographer at Menno Hertzberger's 'Internationaal Antiquariaat', antiquarian and modern booksellers, auctioneers and publishers. He enjoyed the work he was entrusted with – mainly the description of early printed and rare material for the auction and price catalogues – and, as he put it himself nearly fifty years later, 'it was at Herzberger's that I could set my eyes on truly rare sixteenth and seventeenth-century printed works, [...]. Moreover, Hertzberger never treated me as an employee, but rather as a respected colleague'.⁴ Besides his work for Herzberger Paul embarked on a (modest) career as a gentleman dealer in old books, prints and drawings, selling preferably to public institutions and a few great collectors. The surviving invoices show that, from the beginning of his Amsterdam period, he had judiciously bought books on his own account and built up a respectable stock.

In the early fifties Paul met an Amsterdam divorcee, Elly de Vries, a hat designer by profession whom he married in 1954. He now abandoned his art-historical studies, gave notice to Hertzberger, and followed his wife to

³ On Dr Hendrik Catharinus Valkema Blouw (1883-1953), see Croiset van Uchelen, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 90. On Paul's relationship with H.L. Gumbert, see P.J. Buijnsters, 'In memoriam dr. Hans Ludwig Gumbert (1903-1994)', *De Boekenwereld*, II (1994-5), p. 52, and 'Ingezonden brief', *ibid.*, pp. 254-6.

⁴ Maas & Kuyper, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 68.

Arnhem. There she set up an exclusive fashion business under the name of Elly Valkema Blouw, and Paul himself, who had retained his apartment in Amsterdam, continued to act as a gentleman dealer. Before the fifties were over the childless couple decided to go their separate ways. Elly proceeded with her successful career in Arnhem while Paul returned to Amsterdam, once more as a part-time bibliographer for Hertzberger, and subsequently, after the Amsterdam business had been sold to his colleague Dolf van Gendt, for the latter. Paul and Elly remained friends, however, and it was only in 1969 that their marriage was formally dissolved.

In the meantime some important bibliographical developments had taken place in the Low Countries. For quite some time scholars, whether engaged in church history, national history, book history or other fields of research, had expressed their need for a continuation of 'Nijhoff-Kronenberg', the bibliography of works printed in the Low Countries from 1500 to 1540.⁵

The first step towards such a continuation was taken in Belgium in 1958 with the establishment of a government-sponsored 'Centre national de l'archéologie et de l'histoire du livre' – 'archéologie' to be understood as *codicology* and 'histoire du livre' as *the history of the printed book*. One of the Centre's early projects, devised and supervised by Professor Hendrik Vervliet,⁶ at the time deputy-director of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, was the compilation of a short-title catalogue of works printed within the borders of the present kingdom of Belgium between 1541 and 1600 and present in Belgian libraries. The Belgians envisaged working through each library, examining all items of relevant material as they proceeded. Before long work on the new Belgian STC was begun in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels by Mrs Elly Cockx-Indestege, senior curator of the Rare Book Department.⁷

⁵ W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71).

⁶ Cf. H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Een short-title catalogus van Belgische drukken van 1514 tot 1600', *Bulletin de la Commission belge de bibliographie*, 2 (1958), pp. B91-B95. Hendrik Vervliet later became Antwerp University's chief librarian and Professor of Bibliography at the University of Amsterdam (1975-88). He held many positions in the world of books, was, *inter alia*, editor of the *Annual Bibliography of the History of Printed Books and Libraries* (ABHB) from 1972 to 1988, and, apart from his standard work, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), published numerous books and articles on matters of typographical or bibliographical interest. He is now generally recognized as *the* authority on the sixteenth-century typefaces of western Europe.

⁷ The Belgian project resulted in *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum*

A little later plans for a similar enterprise in the Netherlands were launched at the instigation of Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, professor of Bibliography at the University of Amsterdam and director of the University Library. They formed the basis of a project that was assigned to the Commission for the Frederik Muller Fund⁸ – the present Frederik Muller Fund Foundation – whose principal objective was the furthering of a general Dutch bibliography or parts thereof. Financial backing of the project would be provided by the Netherlands Organization for Pure Scientific Research (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Zuiver-Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, ‘ZWO’).⁹

Since more preparatory work in the form of bibliographies and the like had been done in Holland than in Belgium the Dutch project differed from the Belgian one in that it intended first to collect the relevant material from the existing literature, and subsequently to explore the libraries, while works printed outside the borders of the present Netherlands, but clearly intended for the Dutch market, would also be included. For the Dutch project the antiquarian booksellers Bob de Graaf and his wife, Emmy de Graaf-Luiks, were engaged as staff. Both had learned the ins and outs of the trade during a period of over ten years at Menno Hertzberger’s ‘Internationaal Antiquariaat’ before setting up a business of their own in 1959, and their published bibliographical studies showed them to have the required scholarly approach. They started their work on the Dutch STC in 1961 and made rapid progress¹⁰. After the mid-sixties, however, their expanding business, both the antiquarian bookshop and, since 1960, their publishing house, compelled the De Graafs to hand in their resignation to the Commission for the Muller Fund.

In a relatively short time Professor de la Fontaine Verwey, himself a member of the Commission and thoroughly familiar with the world of Dutch librarians and antiquarian booksellers, found a successor in the person of Paul

ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Publications du Centre national de l’archéologie et de l’histoire du livre, 2; Nieuwkoop, De Graaf Publishers BV, 1968-94). 4to., xxvi, 612 pp., xx, 495 pp., xvi, 236 pp., xiv, 634 pp.

⁸ Established in 1881 under the terms of the will of Frederik Muller (1817-81), the Amsterdam dealer in antiquarian and new books, auctioneer, collector, bibliographer and publisher.

⁹ Cf. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘De Nederlandse bibliografie 1541-1600’, *Bibliotheekleven*, 49 (1964), pp. 1-9.

¹⁰ Cf. B. & M.E. de Graaf, ‘De Noord-Nederlandse bibliografie 1541-1600’, *Het Boek*, 35 (1962), pp. 174-96.

INTRODUCTION

Valkema Blouw. It was agreed that Paul should devote himself exclusively to the completion of the project and would be given a place to work in the Amsterdam University Library where he could avail himself of all the facilities offered. ZWO had consented to finance the project for another three years, a period which all parties considered would be sufficient.

Paul began his task in the course of 1968. He completed the preparatory work of his predecessors, visited a great many libraries and archives in western Europe and the United States, and built up an extensive collection of actual-size photographs and photocopies of pages from those sixteenth-century publications from the Low Countries that contained particular types, initials, ornaments, vignettes and the like. Before long his expertise in the field of sixteenth-century printing became more widely known and more and more scholars sought, and found, his help in solving bibliographical problems.

How was it that the project – in the Low Countries generally referred to as ‘Valkema Blouw’s project’ – was only completed after thirty years instead of the three originally planned? The answer is to be found, together with a description of Paul’s part in it, in the preface to volume I of his *Typographia Batava 1541-1600*, published in 1998.¹¹ One reason for the delay of twenty-seven years was a gradual shift in Paul’s own interests. The more data he assembled, the more fascinated he became with ‘problem cases’, like undated and/or anonymous editions, fictitious printers and false imprints. Endowed with an uncommonly sharp eye for typographic peculiarities, he managed to solve a great many enigmas by means of a minute analysis of the typefaces, initials, vignettes and other ornaments used. It was not a new method, of course, since it had already been applied by incunabulists, but only few people had the necessary precision, or indeed were prepared to undertake the time-consuming labour. Paul’s capacity to combine the results thus obtained with archival information, his great knowledge of secondary literature, and his unrivalled typographical memory were particularly effective.

In 1978 Paul was awarded the prestigious triennial Menno Hertzberger Prize for ‘the work performed over the years on the bibliography of Dutch printed works published between 1541 and 1600’. He published his first article, based on the data he had collected, a year later. Thirty-five more articles would follow in the next twenty years. Some appeared in festschrifts, regional publications and in the Mennonite annual review *Doopsgezinde*

¹¹ Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541-1600*. In ordinem digessit A.C. Schuytvlot. *Repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600. A repertorium of books printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers BV, 1998), 4to, xxxii, 662 pp., 636 pp. English preface on pp. xiii-xvii.

Bijdragen, but the majority came out in periodicals such as *De Gulden Passer* and, above all, *Quaerendo*, the English-language quarterly from the Low Countries devoted to manuscripts, printed works and other matters of bibliographical interest. It was in fact Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, himself particularly interested in matters concerning the history, bibliography and typography of the sixteenth century, who had induced Paul to start publishing the fruits of his research. After 1971 the two men shared the same room in the library and, with mutual esteem, became friends in the years that followed. Paul managed to present his often complicated subject matter in a thoroughly readable style, and to his own surprise his articles met with a stimulating response.

Nearly all of what Paul offered for publication was read and commented on beforehand by Professors De la Fontaine Verwey and Vervliet, and, occasionally, by Professor Johan Gerritsen of the University of Groningen. All three of them were on the editorial board of *Quaerendo* and all Paul's articles accepted for publication were translated into English by Professor Alastair Hamilton, at the time teaching the History of the Radical Reformation at the University of Amsterdam and History of Ideas at the University of Leiden. With these elaborate studies Paul established his reputation at home and abroad as a leading authority on Dutch printed works published between 1541 and 1600.

In the late 1980s Paul was asked by the staff of the book historical department of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Amsterdam whether he would select a number of his articles and adapt them for use by the department's undergraduates. The idea appealed to him and he set to work, but in the end nothing came of it. For various reasons the department did not insist, and Paul always had some new articles in mind on which he preferred to spend his time. Nevertheless, the idea of having his articles published in a single volume remained an attractive proposition and he tentatively started preparing his earlier pieces for a new edition. In his own off-prints he corrected misprints and inaccuracies overlooked in the past, inserted elucidations and those comments received which he judged of value, and added information in order to make specific matters, whether concerning persons, place names or historical events, comprehensible to a younger generation of Dutch undergraduates.

All the while Paul continued his work on his *STC* project. Although the preparation of the assembled data for publication had been entrusted, on his personal recommendation, to Bram Schuytvlot, a senior staff member of Amsterdam University Library's Rare Book Department in the early nineties, it still remained his chief concern. The first copy of the final result, *Typographia Batava 1541-1600*, published in two glorious quarto volumes, comprising no

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fewer than 7,438 descriptions and containing all the indices, registers and the like one might expect in a work of this scope, was finally presented in the Amsterdam University Library on 4 September 1998 in the presence of a large audience of old friends, admirers and acquaintances from the world of books. On this occasion Paul was also presented with Amsterdam University's coveted bronze medallion in recognition of the many donations of rare early-printed material he had made to the library over the years.

Early in 1999, liberated from what must have become a veritable millstone round his neck, Paul formally transferred all the material that had served as a basis for his *Typographia Batava* to the Frederik Muller Fund Foundation to be deposited in the Amsterdam University Library for digitization. Having submitted another two articles to the editors of *De Gulden Passer* and a forthcoming Festschrift respectively, he now wished to elaborate his plans for the publication of a selection, or collected edition, of his papers.

In discussions on the subject with friends in the University Library and the editors of *Quaerendo*, as well as with the board of the Herman de la Fontaine Verwey Foundation, it became evident that Paul preferred bringing out a collected edition of his articles, arranged according to their date of publication, with more and better illustrations and adapted in the way he had already adapted his earlier pieces. He had received the encouraging news that a Dutch publisher was prepared to produce a Dutch-language edition of his collected papers, with the proviso that sufficient sponsoring be obtained and copy be delivered digitally in its final form. Paul foresaw the difficulties that this in itself not unreasonable proposition entailed, but, aware of his declining health, he felt unable to cope with them himself. Instead he deposited with the De la Fontaine Verwey Foundation a considerable part of the legacy his uncle Dr H.C. Valkema Blouw had bequeathed him and subsequently made it clear that this donation should ideally be used for publication of his own papers, or, at any rate, similar studies.

After a bad fall in the University Library on a cold spring evening in 1997 Paul had had to leave his apartment on the Vossiusstraat and had taken rooms in a hotel. His once daily visits to the library had become sporadic and, after another fall in the autumn of 1999, came to an end. After several months of rehabilitation in hospital he moved to a comfortable nursing home in an Amsterdam suburb, but now started to lose energy with astonishing rapidity. It was obvious that his end was near; He died in his sleep on 25 November 2000, six weeks before his eighty-fifth birthday.

Before a year had elapsed plans were made for the publication of a Dutch-language edition of Paul's articles. The first step, however, digitizing the

published papers, proved to be more time-consuming than expected. The few collaborators of the University Library's Rare Book Department who had volunteered to undertake the actual scanning had to do the job in their spare time, after their regular duties. When the work was finally completed about two years later the results were disappointing, mainly because of an often malfunctioning optical character recognition. Another setback was the quality of the typewritten Dutch texts which had been used for translation into English. Not only did they contain a great many corrections in manuscript, additions inserted between the lines and passages pasted in, either handwritten or typed, but worse still, they appeared to differ considerably from the printed English texts. It made scanning virtually useless. Obviously the author and the translator, and, until the late 1980s, an *éminence grise* in the person of Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, had greatly influenced the transmission process from manuscript to translation. Paul, moreover, had already adapted a number of the printed English texts as well. The only possible solution seemed to be to translate these texts, including later insertions, again into Dutch. After a considerable period of valiant attempts to do so, the task proved too laborious and time-consuming for the collaborators involved. Besides, so many years after Paul Valkema Blouw's death, the Dutch texts thus newly created could hardly be considered his.

In the end Dr Paul Dijstelberge and the present writer – the only collaborators now left – saw no other option than to try and find a publisher willing to bring out an English-language edition. When the Leiden firm of Brill declared themselves ready to do so, the first concern was to have the Dutch-language articles translated. Fortunately Alastair Hamilton, Paul's old friend and the translator of his *Quaerendo* articles, was prepared not only to translate all the Dutch articles, but also to read through the papers that had been published in English. Before he could start, however, all the scanned texts had to be carefully prepared, and this involved, *inter alia*, correcting all OCR errors, completing the changes and elucidations on which the author had already started, and presenting all footnotes in a uniform format. When all the texts thus prepared had been translated and the translations had been discussed and approved, a final reading of the 36 articles still revealed many inaccuracies and inconsistencies. The editors were only too happy to find Ms Kate Eaton, an experienced editor and translator, schooled in book historical matters, ready once more to read all the translations with a fresh, critical mind and a scrutinizing eye. It gave rise to a considerable number of corrections and additional emendations in line with the author's intentions.

The present edition, then, includes all Paul Valkema Blouw's articles in English, in their order of publication, and containing more and better

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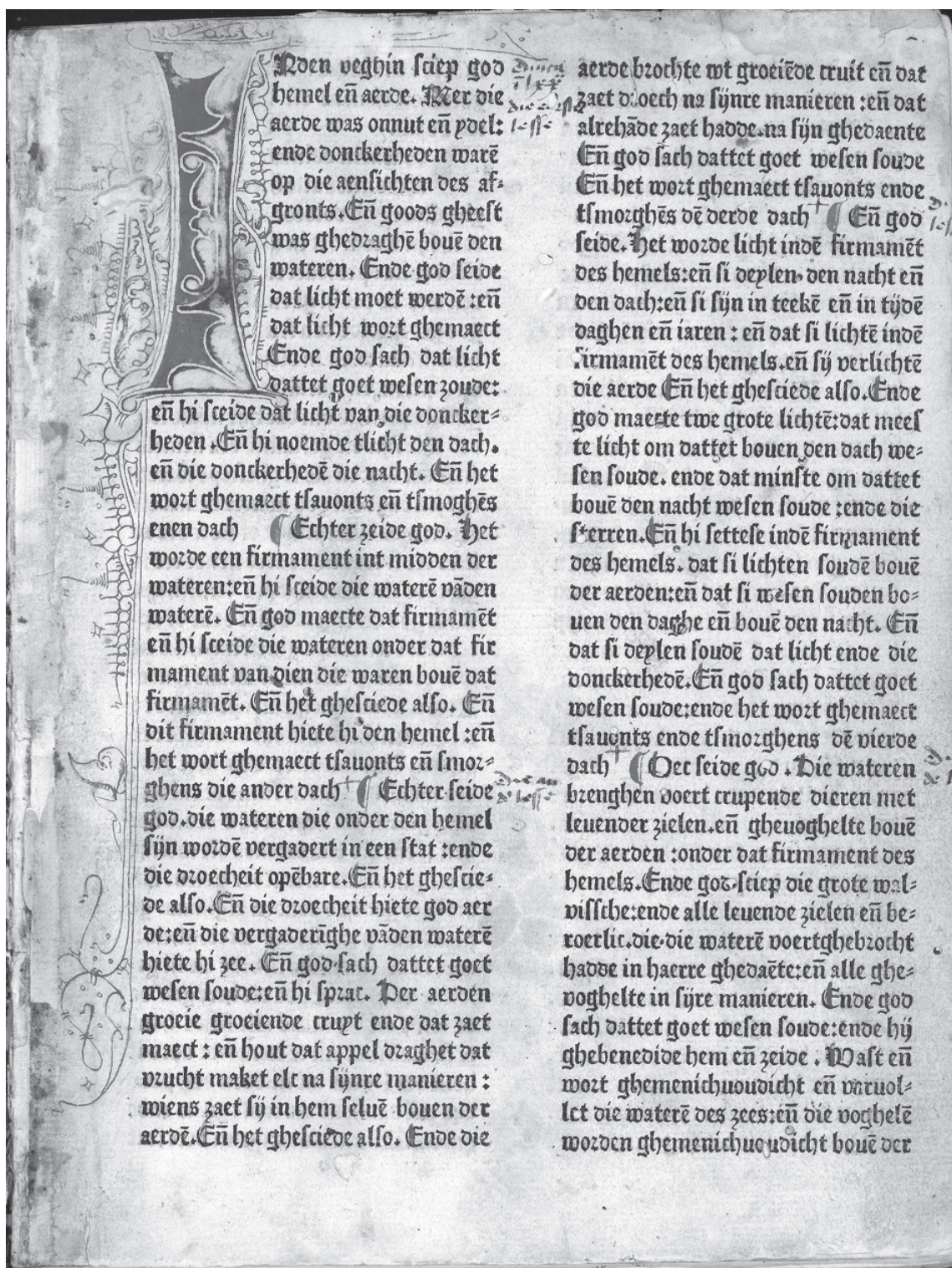
illustrations than the original versions. Thirty-three papers were translated by Alastair Hamilton; 'Propaganda for the Indulgence of Saintes' (1980) was translated by Harry Lake, 'The Leiden 'Afdrucksel' (1983) by John Lane, and 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, *in duplo*' by Anna Harvey-Simoni.

Additional information from the editors in the footnotes is printed between square brackets and signed 'Eds.'. Nearly all adaptations, corrections and other emendations in the texts themselves are by the author or, in the few articles he had not been able to deal with, by the editors. Financial support to facilitate the publication was provided by the Professor Dr Herman de la Fontaine Verwey Foundation in Amsterdam. Besides his editorial tasks, Dr Paul Dijstelberge was responsible for all matters concerning typography and illustration.

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Ton Croiset van Uchelen

Dutch Typography in the Sixteenth Century



I

Vetus Testamentum (Delft, Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer and Mauricius Yemantsz van Mid-
delborch, 10 January 1477)

IDL 867

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 21)

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS IN DELFT: THE FIRST CENTURY



Delft was an early participant in the history of the printed book. Three years after the first printing-press had started in the Netherlands, a firm was established there whose initial publication, on 10 January 1477, was a particularly important text: the first Dutch Bible.

If we ask why that happened in Delft, no clear answer can be given. There is no historical reason why, in that year, successful presses should have been set up in Delft, Gouda and Deventer, while towns of no less calibre, such as Leiden, Haarlem and Dordrecht, only had a regular typographical production many years later. It would appear that in the first phase of the 'black art' the personal element was of greater importance than specifically local circumstances of an economic or cultural nature. A spirit of enterprise and the availability of sufficient capital were essential prerequisites; a sound knowledge of the printing trade, a business sense and a certain standard of education were necessary to make a success of the undertaking. For printers who did not work exclusively, or mainly, on commission for third parties but built up a list as printer-publishers on their own account, financing was certainly of primary importance. Not only did the technical equipment – printing-press, typographical material etc. – have to be paid for, but money also had to be at hand for the purchase of the necessary paper. At the time that was an expensive commodity, the price of which only dropped very gradually in the course of years. The paper mills had difficulty in meeting the ever growing demand of the book printers, partly because of the problem of transporting large quantities of rags, which served as the basic material. In those days a printer spent more on paper than on salaries. Besides, the turnover in the book trade has always been slow and the terms of payment long – and this also required extra means from the publisher.

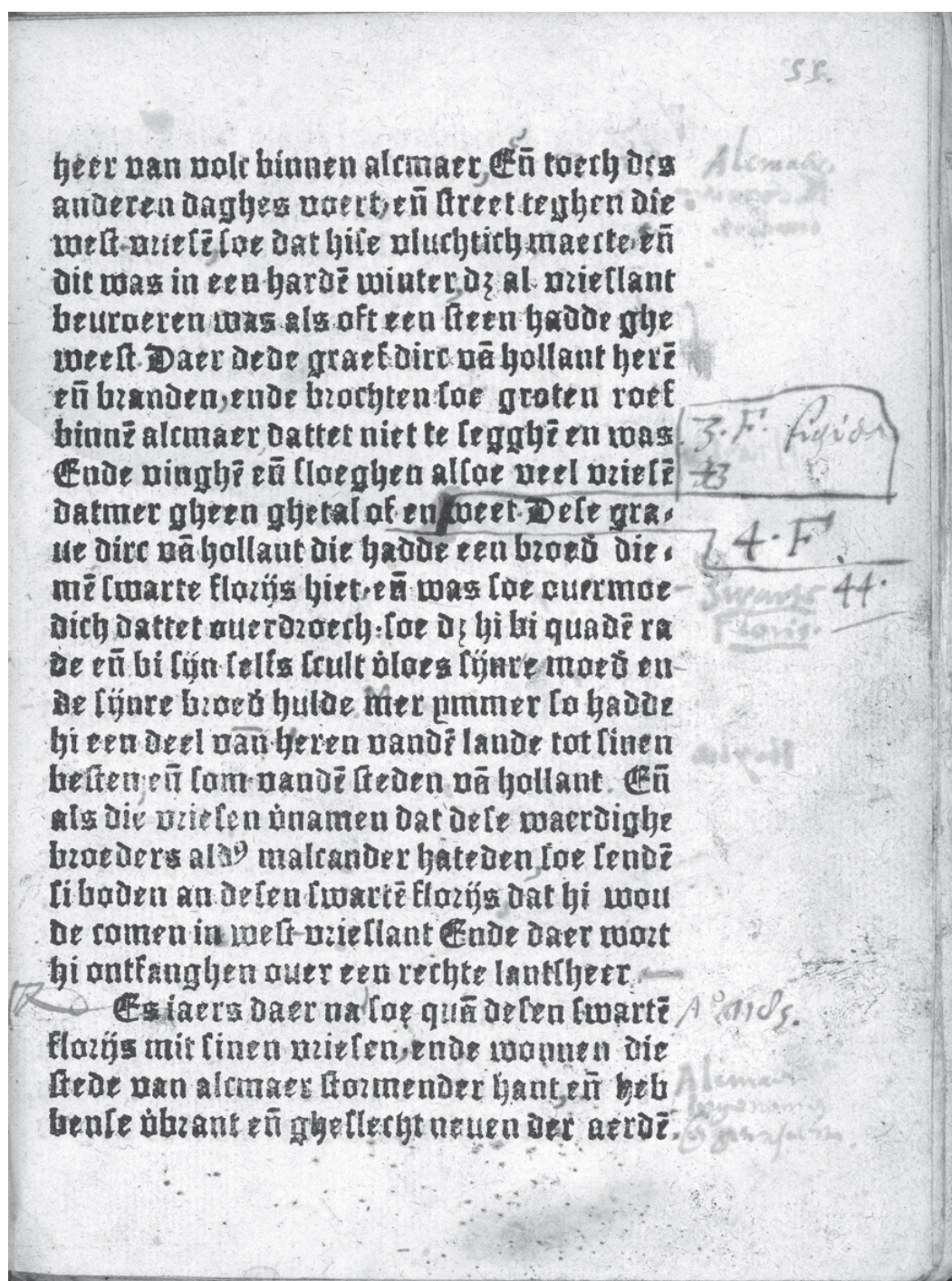
It is clear that a simple craftsman could not raise such large sums, and so we see that printing-presses were set up by businessmen who had at their disposal sufficient capital of their own or of others. Moreover, for good returns to be derived from such investments, a regular marketing of the products was required. For that reason a printer-publisher was for many centuries almost always also a book dealer, with a shop in which he sold his own publications besides those which he acquired from colleagues by means of exchange or purchase. This particular form of sale made demands upon his place of residence: it had to be a town whose inhabitants

were sufficient in quantity, wealth and education to guarantee the firm an adequate turnover. If these demands were satisfied – and that was certainly the case in Delft – the qualities of the entrepreneur were also decisive for his success or his failure. The profession was free; it was not yet hampered by the regulations of guilds, but no protection was provided by them either. It was possible to grow rich, but also to lose all one's money in a short time. In that early period it must have been a more adventurous profession than it later became, with new, unknown possibilities and an uncertain but fascinating future.

The Delft press was set up by Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer, from a local family of town magistrates, and Mauricius Yemantsz van Middelborch, who came from Zeeland. Their partnership only lasted for a few years, in which time three books appeared with a printer's device displaying the family arms of the two associates. In addition to these we can attribute five other books to them owing to the fact that they are printed with the same typefaces as the first three. Their most important publication is the Bible, the first to appear in Dutch and brought out in two volumes. The text only includes the Old Testament without the Psalms, which were published some years later as the first publication of Van der Meer when he carried on the business on his own. For those who wanted to read the New Testament he also produced more than one edition of the Epistles and Gospels, an adaptation arranged according to the ecclesiastical year. In 1977 the five hundredth anniversary of the Delft Bible was celebrated, and its importance was emphasized by events such as the publication of a facsimile edition.

After his collaboration with Mauricius Yemantsz came to an end in 1479, Van der Meer proceeded on his own. He printed, mainly in his own language, books of hours and other religious texts, such as the popular *Passionael* of Jacobus de Voragine, a collection of legends of the lives of the saints consisting of almost a thousand pages, of which he published no less than three editions in six years. He also produced a chronicle of Holland, a legal manual in a large format, a textbook for surgeons, literary texts such as *Die historie van Reynaert die Vos*, and even a book on chess, *Scaecspul*. He printed some fifty publications in all, some of which appeared without his printer's device and imprint and can only be ascribed to him on typographical grounds. These publications include indulgences on parchment and propaganda material for the great indulgence sermons of 1484 which he undoubtedly printed on commission for the papal legate who organized the campaign.

Between March 1487 and June of the following year, Van der Meer disposed of his press. Whether he died or whether his departure was caused by other reasons is something we do not know. We have no information about his personal circumstances. We only know him from the nature and the variety of his list and the external appearance of his production. That proves him to be one of the three most important publishers in Holland at the time – an able businessman with



dan selte nicholaus ghedenckē dat hi ghelijc is in miraculen te doe als sinte elizabeth En hi seide hē noch dat si ontwijc warē die te hāt wech ginge als si hoer offerhande geghe uē hadde om dat hē dē heiligen ghe noechlic waer datmē bi hē duerde allimen hulpe aen hē begeerde Ende te hant so ontuoer hem die oude man ende si en sagghen niet meer: Ende si hadden des groot wonder en ghinge derwert: o dat si gewa rige hope hadde dat hi genese sou de En die man stac sijn hant onder den steen soe hem die oude mā ghe leit hadde: en hi toechle weder out al ghenesen.

Exempel

Het was een man die human hiet: int vildom van colē die gheuangen lach in een kerker En hi gaf hem al te gode wert en hi aē riep in zijner hulpen sinte elizabeth en meester coer aet en op tē nacht daer na so opēbaerde si hem beyde met groten lichte Ten laetsten gaf men op hem sentencie ende mē hinc ken ende men lieten eē mijle wechs verre hanghen an die galghe En de die rechter gaf sinen vader ende moeder orlof dat si hē of beden en de groenen Ende doe sijn graf ghe maect was: en doe hem sijn vad en de sijn oem af gedaē hadden soe te goncken si sinte elizabeth te bidden en liet daer sijt alle sagghen en ver wonderdē: soe verrees dese die daer doot was.

2 i

Exempel

Het was eē scoller die onscæere hiet ende doe hi alte naertrich was o te visschen so viel hi in een riuere: en doe hi daer lāge in gele gē hadde en sijn lichaē wt ghetogē was soe nānnen hem also cout en sonder lijf datmen gheen tey hē nā liue in hem en want Doe aēriepmē daer sinte elizabeth en die dode stoc op ghesont.

Exempel

En kint dat drie saer out was en een half dat gehietē was huge Doe dese doot was ende sijne lichaē cout ende stijf hadde gewerck vier milen wegē lanc soe aēriep sijn moeder mit alre innicheit sinte elizabeth ende dat kint wort weder leuende.

Exempel.

Het was een kint nā vier sārē gheuallen in eenen put ende daer quā een o water te sceppē ende want daer thint vdricken: en hi roocht doot wt mit pijnē en aē dac kint warē alle die teykenen die die doden pleggē te heblē En mē telooft de sinte elizabeth belofte op dat sijn vzwrecken soude en te hant wer tter weder leuēde

Exempel

Het was een man die frederijc hiet die zwem mē conste Doe hi int water bade ende hi eenen ar mē man telpottede dien sinte Eli zabeth sijn licht weder gegeuē hadde ende hi hem onwaerdelike wa

good judgement in the choice of his publications, never afraid of competing with the greatest man in the trade, his rival Gheraert Leeu in Gouda, and a man of taste, who managed to produce books in a most accomplished form with no more than the three typefaces at his disposal.

Van der Meer was succeeded by Christiaen Snellaert, whom we also only know from his work. The business maintained the same character under his management, but the list became even more varied – a feature which suggests that other people were also involved in the choice of texts, as advisers or possibly as financial backers. From a technical point of view he modernized the printing-office by acquiring the latest typographical material which had appeared on the market. The number of his publications grew steadily, and, judging from what has survived, he reached a total of between sixty and seventy books in ten years. For we must keep in mind – and this applies to all of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century – that we only know a part of the true production. Unfortunately many of the publications in the vernacular, intended for the literate citizens, have disappeared without a trace. Only the smallest proportion of such publications as popular romances, news reports, songs, almanacs, school books and so on, has survived. Scholarly works, nearly always printed in Latin as the universal language, stood a far better chance.

In 1497 the business once more fell into other hands, again in circumstances about which we have no information. The new owner was Hendrick Eckert van Homberch, of whom we know that as a citizen of Delft he had had a missal printed a year earlier in Germany, his country of origin. He started off by continuing the business on more or less the same footing, but as early as 1500 left for Antwerp, where his wife had been born, taking with him the inventory of the printing-office. That meant a loss for Delft, for he was an able printer-publisher who would work successfully as such for a good twenty years in the city on the Schelde. The lacuna entailed by his departure was only very partially filled by the arrival of Cornelis Cornelissen, who also remained briefly. He printed a number of religious booklets, without a date, and an edition of Horace's *De arte poetica* which is indeed dated and which proves that he was working in Delft in 1503.

There is one important aspect of the Delft incunables which has not yet been discussed, namely book illustration. In this respect, too, the town occupied a place of pre-eminence, even if it hardly got off to a spectacular start. The three woodcuts which Van der Meer printed in a book dating from 1482 are still fairly clumsy. A little later, however, he managed to engage a gifted woodcutter who worked for him and his successors for fifteen years. The first order this man received was to copy the illustrations of a book published by Gheraert Leeu, the *Hystorie van die seven wise mannen van Romen*. The Delft edition of this work came out in 1483, and in the same year there also appeared the *Scaecspul* mentioned above, with a full series of illustrations of the chessmen. These thirteen woodcuts were not copied from other

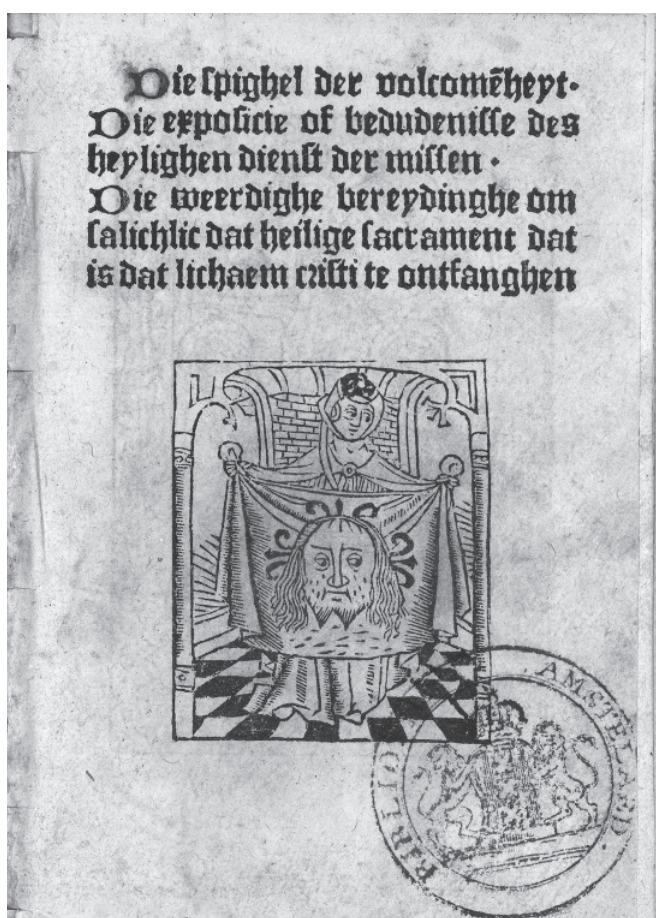


models but are original work. It was long believed that the woodcutter himself had designed them until the pioneer of research into early Dutch painting, M.J. Friedländer, recognized the style of the still anonymous Master of the Virgo inter Virgines, who has been dealt with separately as a painter by G.T.M. Lemmens.

So this artist, the most important in the Netherlands in this period after Hieronymus Bosch and Geertgen tot Sint Jans, produced the drawings for these illustrations, probably on the blocks to be cut. He did the same thing for a series which represented the life of Christ and which, within a few years, grew into a series of almost sixty woodcuts. Both Van der Meer and Snellaert used them in various quantities and combinations in countless publications. Most of them are to be found in the *Epistelen ende Evangelien* of 1487 and in the *Passionael* of the same year, and in the later reprints of these books. The second work also includes woodcuts of a larger format, probably inspired by models from Antwerp. All these woodcuts, and a number of other ones which were again copies of illustrations in books which had appeared elsewhere, were still in use years later, even in Antwerp after Eckert had moved there.

We can also attribute to the Master of the Virgo inter Virgines the large woodcut which appears in the Utrecht Missal of 1495, but which was perhaps also used in an earlier edition that has since been lost. The effectiveness with which this representation of Calvary conveys posture and facial expression gives his work a character of its own when compared with that of his contemporaries – a quality which emerges clearly despite the somewhat stiff and angular technique of the woodcutter. The graphic work of the Master of the Virgo is amongst the finest to have been produced in Holland in the fifteenth century. That it should only be found in books from Delft makes it likely that he lived in the town.

Eckert's departure from Delft took place in 1500, the very year in which the first period of printing, the time of the incunabula, comes to an end. In this initial phase of the printed book we can still see clearly that it is the successor of its handwritten predecessor, the manuscript, even if this aspect becomes less striking as, over the years, the book increasingly acquired a form of its own. In general the formats are large, folio or quarto, and a Gothic typeface is used which is suited to them. This typeface, the Textura, is derived from the forms of script customary in manuscripts. Under the influence of the widespread activities of the Brethren of the Common Life as copyists the script had already assumed a particular character in the Netherlands which differs from forms used elsewhere: the sober, somewhat heavy and broad letter makes a peculiarly square impression. The first Dutch punchcutters took this script, current in their surroundings, as a model, and tried to retain its general image. Judging from the success of his types, the man who did this best was Henrick Pietersz Lettersnyder. It was his designs which largely determined the shape of the Textura as it was used in the sixteenth century and long afterwards.



5

Spiegel der volcomenheit (Delft, [Christiaen Snellaert] 29 May 1490)

IDL 4174

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 23)

Henrick Lettersnyder was born in Rotterdam. He was probably the same man as Henric van Symmen, the punchcutter of the afore-mentioned Gheraert Leeu who had moved his press from Gouda to Antwerp in the meantime. In 1493 Henrick wanted to set up for himself. We know this from the report of a quarrel with his master which unfortunately turned out to be fatal for the latter. In 1496 a booklet appeared in Antwerp 'printed by me Henrick the punchcutter' ('gheprent bi mi Henrick die lettersnyder'). Otherwise we only know six or seven editions and a few fragments of his printed work. In 1504 he turned up in Rotterdam, where he printed a little school book, and a few years later, in 1508, he seems to have settled in Delft. There, too, he worked as a printer, as we see from some seven surviving publications, the last of which came out in 1511. This is a somewhat low number, and he was never primarily of importance as a printer. His main activity, and probably his principal source of income, was the sale of typographical material. For he was the greatest producer in that domain in the Netherlands, and the first to have established himself as a specialist in the craft. Before that a printer would either make his own types, or order a silversmith to do so, or work with material taken over from someone else. Lettersnyder turned his into an independent profession, and probably provided third parties with both cast type and the matrices which would enable the purchaser to cast himself and thus to replace worn letters.

Already in his Antwerp days Henrick Lettersnyder designed three typefaces, for books in folio, quarto and octavo format respectively. Despite the differences in size they are closely related, and actually an elaboration of the same design for letters of different height. It was above all the medium-sized and small types which had a rapid success, partly because of changes that occurred in the book trade in the 1490s as the result of a steadily increasing competition. The publishers tried to hold their own and to increase their production by making their publications cheaper. In order to do so they chose the only means which could really lower the prices and started to economise on paper by switching to smaller formats. That was when the octavo book came into being, and the printers had to obtain a suitable typeface for it at short notice. The choice was limited since the cutting of such a small type made high technical demands. In the Netherlands Lettersnyder was virtually the only man who could meet them, and his types consequently found many purchasers. In the first half of the sixteenth century about half the printers in the northern and southern Low Countries used the medium-sized type, and the spread of the small one was greater still. Lettersnyder determined the character of the Gothic typeface once and for all in the Netherlands.

We no longer encounter Henrick's name after 1511 and a few years elapsed before his son, Cornelis Henricksz Lettersnyder, appears to have taken over his business in 1516. At a new address, on the Vismarkt in Delft, he followed in his father's footsteps by practising both branches of the trade. In order to increase the choice

hōe si hē hebben sullē dō gode te be-
hagen en tot volmaetheit te comē
Oec so bid ic allē dē ghenen die bet
weten dat si in mijnre simpelheyt
niet oſticht en werdē maer dat sij
verleterē en corrigierē daer ic qua-
lic leuē en gescreuē heb En wāt
alle mī raet is dat spiegel alre vol-
maetheit ihū xpū alijt in dē herte
te dragē en hē als een bōdekij van
mijnre alijt tusschē olen borsten te
legghen So mach hē een yegelijc
goet mēsche tē seue tidē vanden da-
ge aldus in dē leuen dō liefs heeren
oefenen en spieghelen als hier na
ghescreuen staet.

Dit sijn sommighe puntē vā dō
heren leuē die ghij ouerdenckē sult
inden seuen ghetijden vandē dage

Eerst van ons heerē leuē Daer na
van sijn bitter liden En ten laetstē
vā sijnre verrisnissen en glē: fice-
ringhe nader doot:

Te mettentijt suldi den-
ken dat dō lieue here ge-
borē wort in groter ar-
moede en ellenden. Te
mettentijt wort hij geuangen en
voor annas en na tot cayphas ge-
slagen iāmerlic bespottet Te met-
tentijt verrees hi oec vander doot
ende openbaerde hem met grooter
moechden sijnre lieuer moeder
Te priemtijt wort ihesus aen ghe-
ledet vanden herderen in dē criblen
Te priem tijt wort hi gheleyt voor
pilat⁹ en vā daer tot herodes daer
hi in een wit cleet bespot wort als

of available typefaces he designed some new ones. These included an interesting attempt to follow a more contemporary form of script but it never caught on. As a printer he restricted himself to a few publications a year, reaching a total of about thirty by 1534, several of which were commissioned by others. Besides a number of current devotional books, his own publications consisted of two editions of the New Testament and some three translations of works by Erasmus. Yet he was more than a mediocre printer. His large Psalter for the bishopric of Utrecht is a particularly felicitous example of his capacities, partly because of the types and the many initials he had designed for it. He seems to have died in 1541 and was succeeded a year later by Simon Jansz. The latter only carried on the business and, working at the same address until 1570, produced all sorts of minor works, such as devotional literature, school books, almanacs and a number of official publications.

During a short stay in 1517, Hugo Jansz van Woerden also worked in Delft. This restless man – he had resided previously in Leiden and Amsterdam – then lived on the Langedijk, but in the following year he left for good and went to The Hague. Another man who came from Leiden in about 1543 was Frans Eversz Sonderdanck. He set himself up near the Oude Kerk and there printed two popular booklets before disappearing from view.

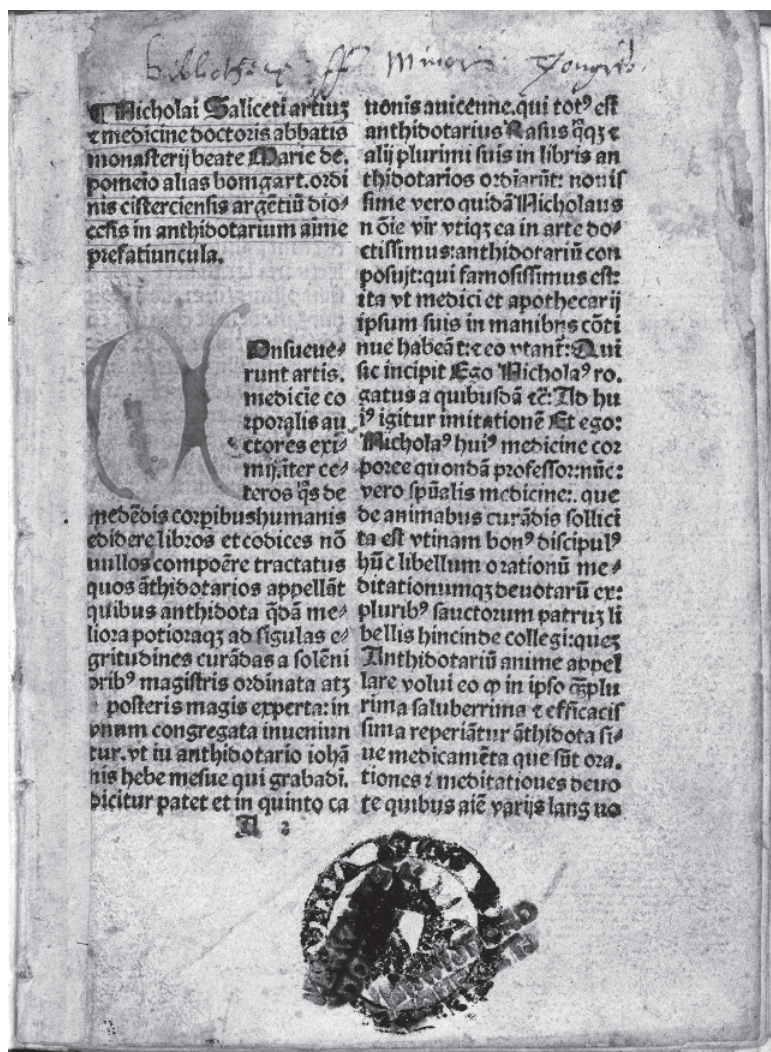
The career of the last printer who fits into our period, Harman Schinckel, is gripping enough to deserve a more extensive description. He came from Montfoort, received an academic education (probably in Louvain), and obtained the master's degree. In 1559 he is mentioned in municipal documents as 'submonitor' – undermaster – at the Latin school in Delft, also entrusted with the task of teaching singing. As occurred elsewhere, the boys' choir which sang at mass consisted of pupils from the Latin school conducted by a singing master. That Schinckel was a musical man emerges from the order he received from the town magistrates to compile a church songbook for special use in Delft. For the publication of that work he got in touch with a printer in Louvain, the centre of musical printing in the Netherlands, but never reached an agreement there. Instead, he borrowed, or hired, a printing-press from the man, acquired typographical material, obtained a printer's permit in September, and set to work on his own. Shortly afterwards, the central government in Brussels ordered several edicts from him, including one 'for the extirpation of the sects and the conservation of our old true faith and Catholic religion' ('tot extirpatie der secten, ende conservatie van onsen ouden oprechten ghelove ende catholijxsche religie'), intended to combat the advancing Reformation. He refers to himself there as the 'sworn printer to His Royal Majesty' ('gesworen drucker der Conincklijker Majesteyt'), the usual title of a printer of official documents. He also published two treatises by friends of his who were medical men, including a study entitled *Phalli* on a special sort of mushroom by the well-known humanist Hadrianus

Junius. This is the first scholarly work in the field of biology to have appeared in the Netherlands. It contains woodcuts, and on the title-page we encounter for the first time Schinckel's printer's device which shows a crawling snail with the motto *Paulatim*, best translated as 'little by little', since 'step by step' would seem slightly odd in view of the image. In 1566, finally, his songbook appeared, the *Cantuale novum atque insigne* as the alluring title runs. It is a lavishly produced book, but it has a peculiarity: only the bars of the music are printed. The notes themselves had to be filled in by hand. An even more serious factor was that it appeared at a time when the demand for church music of this sort had decreased radically. It had had its day.

So far Schinckel's career had perhaps not been humdrum, but it had not been unusual either. Various teachers before him, besides their function as such, had practised printing, either because no printers were to be found in the area in which they lived, or because those present could not cope with Latin – and perhaps because some supplementary earnings were not unwelcome. In May of that year, however, Schinckel took the unusual step of giving notice and apparently devoting himself entirely to printing, although not a single book was ever again to appear with his name on it. This is striking and demands an explanation.

The 'Wonderjaar' – *annus mirabilis* – of 1566 holds a special place in Dutch history. It was a year in which prevailing tensions burst out with an almost revolutionary force. On a political level the League of Noblemen, the presentation of the petition for religious freedom to the Governess of the Netherlands for King Philip II of Spain, Margaret of Parma, and the events that followed, formed a direct prelude to the war against Spain. Where religion was concerned we see outbursts such as the iconoclasm which swept through the country. The hope that the oppressive burden of the hated regime would diminish grew stronger, as did the desire for greater religious freedom. The uncertainty and fear of future developments among the population went hand in hand with a growing awareness on a religious level. In this climate there emerged, quite suddenly, an explosive demand for books 'van de leer', i.e. on the doctrine of the new faith. The three or four publishers who worked in this domain, securely housed beyond the reach of the Inquisition, could hardly meet this demand at such short notice. A market consequently also opened for others which held out the hope of an unprecedented turnover and corresponding profits.

Various printers were involved in this production but, living within the national borders, they risked their lives in the event of discovery. They knew that the Spanish authorities were watching them keenly and that they could expect the severest punishment if they fell into their hands. Undaunted though they were by this prospect, they tried to diminish the risks by removing any recognizable element from their printed work. They limited their typographical material to typefaces which were in such general use that they could never provide any evidence against

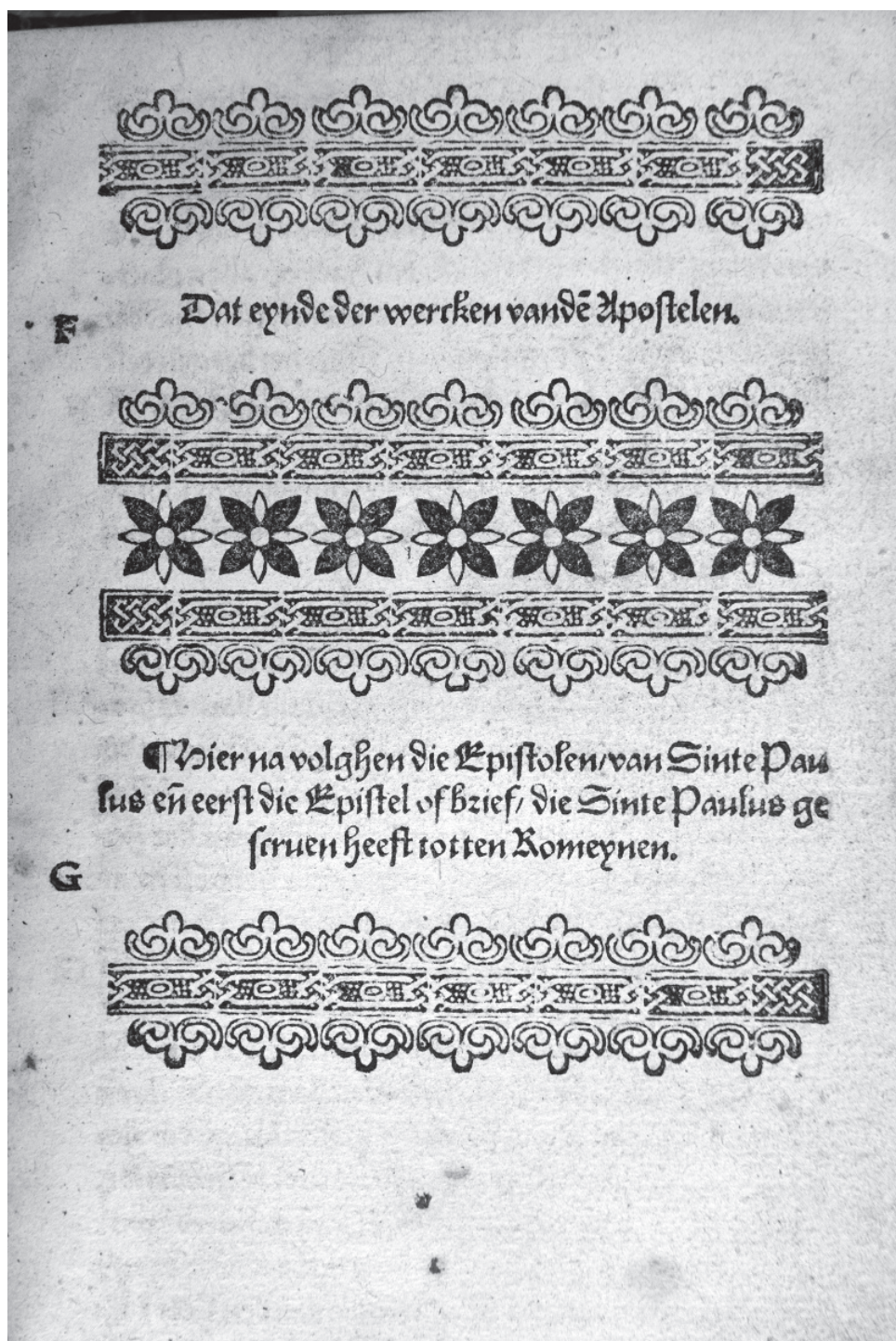


7

Nicolaus Salicetus, *Antidotarius animae* (Delft, Christiaen Snellaert, 14 April 1495)

IDL 3990

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 213)



8

Dat nieuwe Testament. welc is dat leuende woert Goods ([Delft, Cornelis Hendricksz Lettersnijder]
colophon: 9 November 1524)

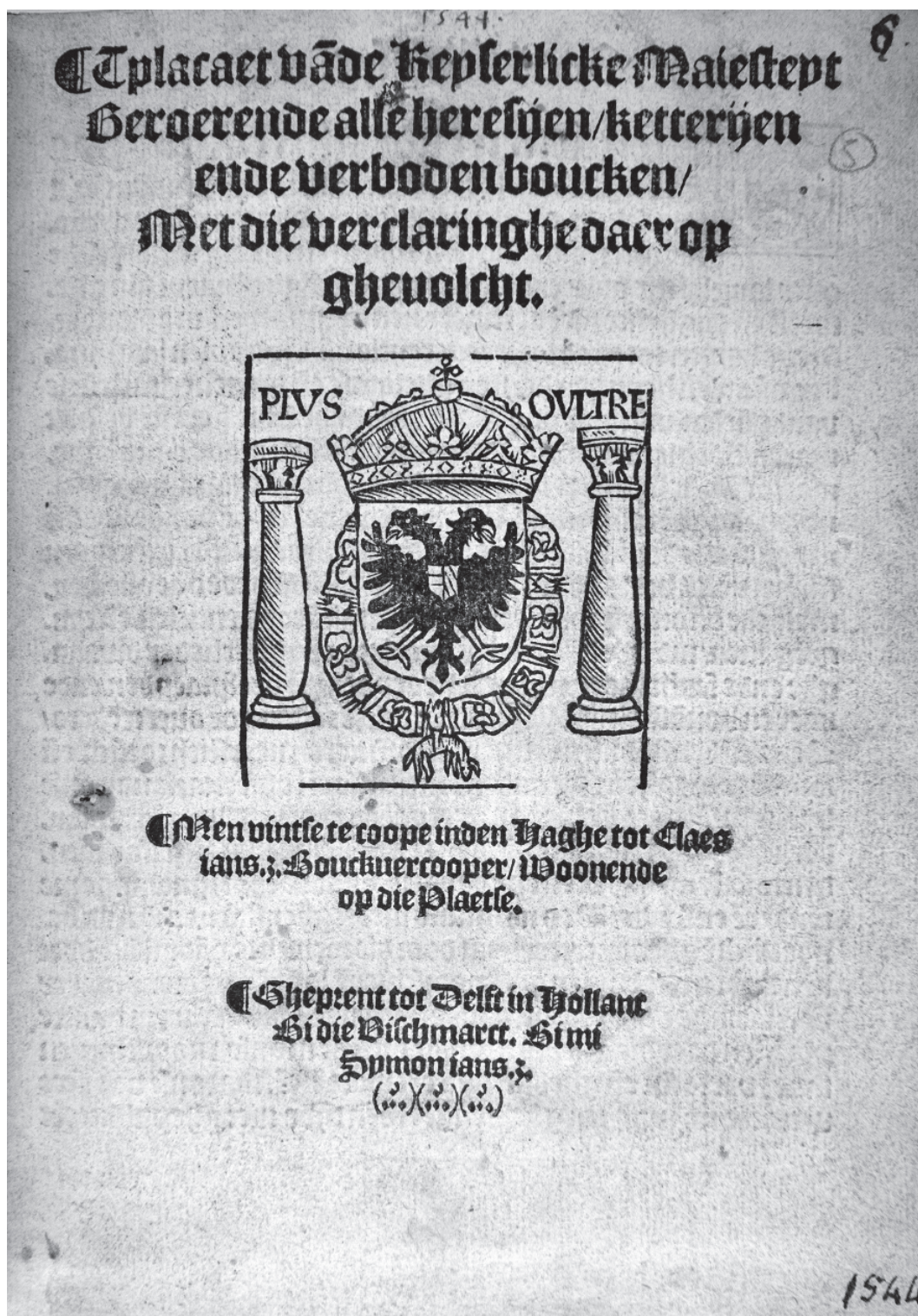
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(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-678)

them. They avoided any kind of decoration with vignettes or initials which could lead to their printing-press. And they also made sure that sales ran through the hands of loyal intermediaries who, in their turn, had their regional or local agents who sold to the public.

Schinckel, too, was one of the men who dared to print these prohibited books, but he did not take the same precautions as the others. He continued to use his decorated initials, woodcuts which were all too easily recognizable, and he also acted too carelessly and openly with respect to sales. He ran into trouble. In April 1568 his inventory was confiscated and he himself was arrested and put in prison. In a letter to his wife, the content of which has survived, he described his interrogation. The statements he made explain his nonchalant behaviour. He was convinced that he had not broken the law. He appealed to an agreement according to which Margaret of Parma, the governess, had revoked the edicts against the Protestants – a concession which had in fact long been surpassed by later developments – and to an ordinance by William of Orange, promulgated by the magistrates in Delft, which forbade the printing and sale of ‘scandalous books, songs, refrains or anything similar’ (‘schandaleuse boucken, liedekens, refereynen ofte dier gelycke’). He had observed this prohibition to the letter and his press had not produced any of the many widely distributed and often intemperate writings and satirical songs attacking the hated Spaniards and the Catholic faith. So what had he printed? He gave a list: ‘the Psalter, the Catechism, the confession of Faith, the short confession of Faith, and a book on the Holy Eucharist’ (‘het Psalmboek, den Catechismus, de bekentnisse des Geloofs, de corte belijdinge des Geloofs, en een Boecje van het Heylich Nacht-mael’). The first four of these were the religious works most in demand at the time and were already in circulation well before he printed them. The last book, on the other hand, was new, an originally German work of which a minister had given him the translation. As a reason for having chosen these particular publications he advanced his financial difficulties after the blow caused him by the failing sales of the *Cantuale*, and the possibility of making up for his losses. He said nothing about his own religious convictions but we can assume that he, like so many of his colleagues, had gone over to the new faith. Although Schinckel believed he was in a strong legal position, he was found guilty. A contemporary reported that six of the seven judges wanted to spare him, but that they yielded to the insistence of the seventh for fear of intervention by the higher authorities. Nor did they dare give Schinckel the chance of escaping from prison – a means that saved the lives of various printers elsewhere. After hearing his death sentence the condemned man displayed great fortitude. He wrote letters to his wife and his three young children, the last of which is particularly moving, and composed two Latin poems for his friends. He mounted the scaffold on the same day, at the age of thirty-two.

Of the five prohibited books which Schinckel admitted printing it was until



9

Tplacaet vande keyserlicke maiesteyt beroerende alle heresijen, ketterijen ende verboden boucken (Delft, Simon Jansz, [1544])

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 84-5:5)

recently only possible to identify two. Thanks to recent research, however, the others have also come to light. As far as we know only a single copy has survived of each one – and in the case of the Psalter only the part containing the catechism. As we might expect, neither his name nor any place of publication is mentioned in any of them, and it is only by comparing the typefaces that they can definitely be identified as works of his press.

Schinckel's career marks the turning of the tide. In those few years a development occurred in both the political and the religious domain which would also entail great changes for Dutch printers and publishers in the decades to come. Ever more people would discover the book, the tract, the news report, as something which also concerned them personally, as an essential means of taking a conscious part in the cultural and social life of the time. Together with this phenomenon the output of the printing-press increased, the print runs grew larger, the prices dropped in proportion, and new markets opened. But who could predict that within a century Holland would become the greatest exporter of books in the world?

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For further information, see the literature listed in the works above.

PROPAGANDA FOR THE INDULGENCE OF SAINTES



In the archive of the chapter of the Cathedral of Utrecht a fifteenth-century publication has survived which has so far escaped the attention of both incunabulists and historians.¹ It is a folio of six unnumbered leaves, of which the first and the last, the second and the fifth, and the innermost ones, are attached to each other so that the item consists of three sheets folded together. The text is printed in Type 2: 104 G of Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer in Delft, in the variant C observed by W. and L. Hellings in printed work from the beginning of 1483 until the spring of 1486. Three lines, on various pages, are set in his Type 3: 145 G, which means that the number of lines varies from 36 to 38 per page.² There are no signatures or catchwords. The content is in three parts, as announced in the first five lines which serve as a heading. According to them the piece consists of two mandates from the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy, followed by a list of modalities and tariffs connected with the indulgence of Saintes, a town north of Bordeaux. This situates the work in a group of publications produced by the same press which appeared on the occasion of the campaign for this indulgence in the northern part of the Low Countries.

The indulgence of Saintes dates from as early as 1451, when the bishop of the French town received a plenary indulgence from Pope Nicholas V in order to rebuild his crumbling cathedral.³ Twenty-five years later Pope Sixtus IV, like his predecessors, confirmed the indulgence again for a period of ten years. In his bull *Salvator noster*⁴ of 3 August 1476 the conditions are given by which the faithful could

¹ K. Heeringa, *Inventaris van het archief van het Kapittel ten Dom* (1929), p. 65, no. 484.

² Wytze & Lotte Hellings, *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1965), hereafter cited as HPT, vol. 1, p. 35, Type 2 and p. 36, fig. 15; vol. 2, p. 399, and see Pl. 113. Type 3: vol. 1, p. 35; vol. 2, p. 399 and Pl. 133.

³ Unless otherwise indicated the information about Peraudi is taken from Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, vol. 3 (1923) and from *id.*, 'Raimund Peraudi als Ablasskommissar', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 21 (1900), pp. 645-82. Earlier literature is also listed there.

⁴ Paul Fredericq, *Codex documentorum sacratissimarum indulgentiarum neerlandicarum* (1922), no. 188, pp. 261-7. Also printed in the *Summaria declaration*, discussed below; cf. M.F.A.G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle* (La Haye 1874; Suppléments 1-4, 1878-90), hereafter cited as CA, no. 1565.

acquire it. We see that it was then accorded exclusively to visitors of the church in question during Whitsun week. The bull contains two new elements, however, which are both of the utmost interest for the later history of indulgences. The first is the declaration that its effect extended to the souls of the deceased ‘per modum suffragii’, by means of intercession. The other was the appointment as indulgence commissioner of Peraudi. As a result the indulgence of Saintes grew from a local matter into a wide-ranging international operation.

Peraudi was born in the bishopric of Saintes. He was about forty at the time of his appointment and had been deacon of the Cathedral chapter for some months. In the following years he would attract the attention of Louis XI. He was appointed court almoner by the king and, in that capacity, took part in a diplomatic mission to Rome, where he was nominated apostolic protonotary in April 1482. It appears from his later activities that this appointment entailed the duty to expand the radius of the indulgence preaching. The profits gained were no longer intended solely for the church in Saintes, but a half was also intended for the fight against the Turks. In practice this meant that it was placed at the disposal of the pope. Such an expansion made it possible to extend the campaign abroad, where the exclusive objective of rebuilding a French church would have aroused less interest than the defence against a generally feared enemy.⁵ In this same connection Sixtus IV issued the bull *Non sine gravi* on 4 August 1483 in which he again recommended the indulgence of Saintes and emphatically confirmed its propagation outside France.⁶ The decision to start in the Netherlands had probably already been made, and Peraudi could begin to organize the preaching, a task which would have entailed several months’ work for the commissioner and his assistants. Part of the preparation involved approaching a large number of ecclesiastical authorities and municipal governments in order to gain their essential collaboration.

To begin with, an agreement had to be reached with the princes of the areas in question. It was customary for the ruler to receive part of the profits after deducting the costs and payments to the many people who had collaborated in one quality or another. As a rule this amounted to a quarter or a third of the net profits, and in

⁵ Paulus, op. cit. (n. 3: *Geschichte*), p. 212, and *id.*, art. cit. (n. 3: Peraudi), p. 648, assumes that this extension already occurred in 1476. Yet this is most unlikely. He bases himself on a bull of Sixtus IV, the text of which is undated and appears in a work printed by Ulrich Zell, cf. E. Voulliéme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn 1903; repr. Düsseldorf 1978), hereafter cited as VK, no. 1091). The work in question, however, also contains the *Confirmatio* of the indulgence by Innocent VIII and must thus be dated after 23 July 1485. See also W.A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium bibliographicum*, Part II, 2 vols. (London 1898-1902), hereafter cited as C, no. 5519, and *Einblattdrucke des xv. Jahrhunderts. Ein bibliographisches Verzeichnis ...* (Halle a/S. 1940), hereafter cited as Einbl., no. 1366.

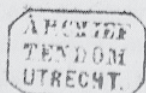
⁶ Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 223, pp. 296-8.

Ille tractatus continet tria. Primū est duplū mandati domini traiectionis et dñorū ecclesie traiectionis. Scdm est duplū mandati pñati dñi traiectionis cū oib? clausulū indulgētiarū p reedificacōe eccie xanctōū et tuitiōē fidei cōcessarū. Terciuū ē taratio oīm & siglāz facultatū & grāz pñate eccie xanctōū & p tuitiōe fidei concessarum

Ad est duplū mandati reuerendissimi in xpo patris et dñi metuendissī dñi traiectionis appbatūq; & ratificatū p reuerēdos prēs & dños dños eccie traiectionis quib? ex indulto aplico hacten? obseruato est cōcessū appbare ut repbare bullas indulgētiarū i illoz dioc publicandaz nteq; p pñatū dominū traiectionis admitti habeant p publicatione sacratissimarū indulgētiarū pro tuitiōe fidei et reedificatione ecclesie cathedralis xanctōū secunde in toto orbe terrarū ad honorē bti petri aploz principis fundatā cōcessarum

David de burgundia dei et apostolice sedis grātia

Epūs traiectionis Vniuersis et singul ecclesiarū collegiatarū monasteriorū priuatiuū et domorū ac etiā religiosorum locorū ordinū quorūcūq; pñatis prepositis decanis caplis cōuentib? abbatib? abbatissis priorib? priorissis prouisoribus & decanis xpianitatis. Recnō prochialiū ecclesiarū curatis et eorū locuteneū Ceterisq; psonis tam ecclesiasticis q; secularib? nē iurisdictioni subiectis et eorū cullib? ilolidi ad quos pñtes nē lē puenierit Salutē i dño sempiternā Cū scissim? in xpo pater et dñs noster dñs ihsus diuina prouidencia papa quartus et moderu? proprio & pio affectu ad ecclesiā xanctōū cathedralē in honorē bti petri aploz principis in toto orbe terrarū fundatā & p bone memorie Carolū magnū almanorū impatorē et regem francorū dotatam que lūptuoso pñmū opere edificari cepta erat ad cui? operis glūmarō; necnō chori nauis et alioz edificiorū eiusdē ecclesie repatioz; q; etiā deformitati subiacere uidebantur et irreparabilē minabantur ruinā pprie nō suppetunt facultates. et nisi elemosinis xpifidelīū eidez succurrat operis cepti finē debitu cōsequi non possit vniuersis xpifidelibus plenissimas indulgēcias adiunktar iubilei et spū tubileū cū ceteris alijs gratijs et facultatib? put ex tenore bullarū quas nos sub plūbo nōdim? plen? cōstat oib? dictā eccia; certis modis uisitantibus: aut per nuncios eccie de bonis suis mittentib? misericorditer et etiā pro tuitiōe fidei concessit & elargitus est. Nos igit cupientes lris et mandatis aplicis obedire ut tenemur et dñas lras aplicas scdm eoz tenorem et continentiā ad honorē dei btiq; petri aploz principis cōtemplationē ac reuerentiā sedis aplicie et aiarū salutem p ciuitatem et dioc nrās publicari uolēū affectuū & desideriu nobis oib? et singul suprad; in uirtute scē obediencie & sub penis suspēū a dñis excōisq; et emende arbitrarie ac singulis censuris et penis in suprad; lris apostolicis cōtentis pcepimus et mandam?



I

First page of the *Indulgence*.

(Scan from the original publication)

later years sometimes even more: it was thus a considerable sum. Since the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 the Netherlands were almost entirely under the rule of Maximilian of Austria; the exception was the bishopric of Utrecht,⁷ where the bishop David of Burgundy exercised not only spiritual but also secular authority. David had just survived a period of great difficulties in the areas of his jurisdiction, and his position had come under serious threat both at home and abroad. He owed his survival as bishop to Maximilian, but thus became so dependent on him that Utrecht was regarded as virtually part of the Austrian Empire. It is therefore unlikely that David could obtain his own share, however urgently he might have required it in view of his painful financial situation.⁸ Nevertheless, together with the Cathedral chapter he managed to acquire a quarter of the profits for the Cathedral fabric.⁹ The conclusion of such agreements was part of the task of the indulgence commissioner, and that the talks were led by Peraudi in this case, too, appears from a letter of a later date in which he recalls his stay in Utrecht on the occasion.¹⁰ The result of the discussions was a measure according to which, besides the financial and other business agreements, a striking amount of attention was paid to propaganda. Owing to the special nature of the indulgence and the experiences with it in France, the decision was taken to accompany the preaching campaign with an extensive use of the printing-press.

An indulgence in the hitherto usual form meant that someone about to die after

⁷ The secular authority of the bishop once extended not only to the present province of Utrecht, but also to Overijssel and Drenthe (the 'Oversticht') and, in those years, to the town of Groningen.

⁸ For these troubles, see S.B.J. Zilverberg, *David van Bourgondië, bisschop van Terwaan en van Utrecht* (1951), pp. 81-8. The States of the 'Nedersticht' even had to borrow money from the Florentine merchant Tomasso Portinari, the agent of the Medici in Bruges.

⁹ This appears from the state of the receipts and expenses concerning the trade of the indulgences of Saintes in 1488, printed in Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 245, pp. 333-41. At the end of this piece the fourth part is calculated on a sum of 1,162 golden Rhine guilders of which, surprisingly enough, nothing has come to light in the accounts of the Cathedral fabric. Not even the share of the previous years, starting in 1484, is mentioned, although one entry of money received has been crossed out. In the accounts of 1483/4 and 1484/5, however, we do indeed encounter two entries of round sums 'de indulgenciis concessis ecclesie Xanctonensi', but these are relatively small and can have nothing to do with the proceeds of the indulgence preaching. The fabric only received a part of the profits of the Cathedral itself. See *Bronnen tot de bouwgeschiedenis van den Dom te Utrecht*, ed. W.J. Alberts, vol. 2, pt. 2 (1969); pp. 98, 115, 116, 179, 213 n. a; these and other expenses are listed in the index under *Xanten* instead of *Saintes*. My thanks are due to Mr W.H. Vroom, who pointed this out to me. – So here too we must ask the old question: what happened to the money?

¹⁰ '... amor non vulgaris, quem jam dudum ad vos gessimus a tempore fe. re. d. Sicti.' So wrote Peraudi in a letter to the Utrecht Cathedral chapter dated 16 August 1502. See: *Archief voor kerkelijke en wereldlijke geschiedenis van Nederland, meer bepaaldelijk van Utrecht*, ed. A.M.C. van Asch van Wijck, vol. 1 (1850), p. 124. There is also an entry in the account book of the Cathedral fabric which indicates that he stayed there. See *Bronnen*, op. cit. (n. 9), vol. 2, pt. 2 (1969), p. 132.

a full confession and complete repentance could obtain a total remission of guilt from a confessor of his own choosing, even if this confessor was not entitled to grant it by virtue of his own office. The power to do so was contained in a letter of indulgence, written out in the name of the purchaser(s), on the payment of a fixed sum.¹¹ Owing to the new measures, however, the effect was now extended to the category of the already deceased, and with money their souls could be rescued from the remaining torments of purgatory. Some indulgence preachers went so far as to regard prayers for the salvation of the souls of the dead as superfluous.¹² This aroused misgivings not only amongst the faithful, but also amongst the clergy. In 1482 the Sorbonne even issued a judgement which clearly contradicted this practice. As early as 1476 such reactions had prompted Peraudi to ask two theologians in Poitiers, Joannes de Fabrica and Nicolaus Richardi, to draw up a defence. Their declarations probably appeared in print in the same year, while a reprint was supplemented with the bull *Romani Pontificis* of Sixtus IV of 27 November 1477.¹³ This contained a further exposition of the dogmatic points on which the indulgence rested and was also issued with the object of abating the opposition.

There now appeared a new edition of this publication, with the same content as the French reprint.¹⁴ It was accompanied by some additional texts which, as far as we know, had not been published previously and which must therefore have been compiled for the occasion. One of them is entitled *Summaria declaratio bullae indulgentiarum ecclesiae*

¹¹ According to the *Summaria declaratio* (CA 1565) the price of an indulgence in its most extensive form amounted to about 3 guilders. See H.C. Lea, *A history of auricular confession and indulgences*, vol. 3 (London 1896), p. 595. – Besides this fixed price the purchaser had to make a contribution to one of the so-called indulgence boxes. The amount was established by the confessor and usually consisted of one or two weeks' salary or earnings.

¹² This form of indulgence and its implications are discussed extensively Paulus, op. cit. (n. 3: Geschichte), pp. 374-406.

¹³ According to A. Claudin the earliest edition is probably the one by an unknown printer working in Poitiers. The copy, in Avignon, is described in Polain (F), vol. 8, no. 6596. [Polain (F) = M. Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, vols. 1-3 (Paris 1897-1909). Reprint of L. Polain's working copy ... , 26 vols. (Nendeln 1970).] A reprint with supplementary material was published in the same town by Jean Bouyer, and also undated; see BMC, vol. 8, p. 378 (IA 42809), and Polain (F), vol. 8, 6594. [BMC = *Catalogue of books printed in the xvth century now in the British Museum*, 11 vols. (London 1963-7; anastatic repr. with addenda & corrigenda)] This enlarged edition was the model for later reprints in the Netherlands and Germany.

¹⁴ CA 727. H 688I. Polain (B) 227I. BMC, vol. 9, p. 19 (IB 47154). Goff F 27. [H = L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* ... (Stuttgart/Lyon 1826-38), Polain (B) = M.L. Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, 4 vols. (Bruxelles 1932), Goff = *Incunables in American libraries. A third census of fifteenth-century books recorded in North American Collections*, comp. & ed. F.R. Goff (New York 1964).] – Paulus, art. cit. (n. 3: Peraudi), p. 650, n. 3.

Xanctonensis.¹⁵ This anonymous work is generally ascribed to Peraudi himself and played an important part as the basis for later instructions concerning indulgences.¹⁶ Another piece is the *Collectio quedam* ..., in which a number of declarations by various authorities are collected on the controversial point of intercession. It is not by Peraudi but, judging from the dedicatory epistle, it was compiled at his request.¹⁷

And what, finally, of the *Tractatus* which has now come to light? The mandates of David of Burgundy both date from 12 December 1483. The first, addressed to the clergy and inhabitants of the bishopric under his secular jurisdiction, contains a recommendation of indulgence preaching, issued with the approval of the Cathedral chapter. The other one, addressed to the clergy of Holland, Zeeland, Gelderland and (Zeeland) Flanders, which were all under the bishop's ecclesiastical jurisdiction,¹⁸ is an exposition of the contents and effects of the indulgence, particularly on the basis of quotations from the papal bulls of 3 August 1476 and 26 April 1482. The *Taxatio* at the end contains a summary of the various modalities of absolution and the ensuing costs. This list, drawn up by Peraudi, is dated 2 April 1479.

The publicity accompanying it, on an unprecedented scale, seems to have been confined to the northern Netherlands. In the south, as far as we know, it was limited to a republication of the tracts by Joannes de Fabrica and Nicolaus Richardi.¹⁹ In

¹⁵ CA 1565. C 5530 Polain (B) 3554 Goff S 583. – Paulus, art. cit. (n. 3: Peraudi), p. 648, n. 2, p. 652, nn. 1 and 2, and p. 657, n. 2.

¹⁶ For this work and its influence, see Paulus, op. cit. (n. 3: Geschichte), p. 212 and pp. 384–6, and F. Remy, *Les grandes indulgences pontificales aux Pays-Bas à la fin du moyen âge, 1300-1531* (Louvain 1928), pp. 136–40. A partial translation is contained in H.C. Lea, op. cit. (n. 11), pp. 588 ff.

¹⁷ CA 461 (and see KC, vol. 2, p. 74). C 1682. VB 4824. Roos 71. Morgan Cat. 662. Goff F 28 (wrongly listed under the name of the author Joannes de Fabrica). [KC = M.E. Kronenberg, *Campbell's Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle: contributions to a new edition* (The Hague 1956), VB = E.H. Voulliéme, *Die Inkunabeln der Königlichen Bibliothek und der anderen Berliner Sammlungen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1914–22), Roos = A.G. Roos, *Catalogus der incunabelen van de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen 1912), Morgan Cat = A.W. Pollard, *Catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books from the libraries of William Morris, [...], and other sources now forming portion of the library of J. Pierpont Morgan. Early Printed Books*, 3 vols. (London 1907)] – Paulus, art. cit. (n. 3: Peraudi), p. 650, n. 2. The full title runs: *Collectio quedam pro declaratione cuiusdam dubitationis nuper mote circa id quod a doctoribus dicitur, indulgenciam domini pape animalibus in purgatorio prodesse posse per modum suffragii*. B. Kruitwagen (*Het Boek*, 11 (1922), p. 293) believed that it was compiled by some theologians, probably Friars Minor from Delft.

¹⁸ The ecclesiastical authority of the bishop extended beyond his own areas to the counties of Holland and Zeeland, the duchy of Gelderland, and Zeeland-Flanders, which were under the rule of Maximilian.

¹⁹ CA 1029. Polain (F) 6628. – J. Machiels, *Meester Arend de Keysere 1480-1490* (Gent 1973), no. 19: p. 47 and illus. 45. Both the Ghent and the Delft edition must have appeared before 30 August 1484, the date on which Innocent VIII temporarily revoked the indulgence, for they lack the text of his *Confirmatio* (see n. 25), which is included in editions printed later in Germany. For the campaign there, see Severin Corsten, 'Der Ablass zugunsten der Kathedrale von Saintes', *Annalen des historischen*

Utrecht, on the other hand, further theological support was considered necessary. Why?

The answer must probably be sought in the prevailing religious sentiments in those areas where the movement of the *Devotio Moderna* had cast deep roots in fertile soil. The religious and ethical values of the Brethren of the Common Life were widely shared. In this world of devotion with a tendency to an ascetic lifestyle, a direct connection between worldly means and spiritual salvation was inevitably resented. David of Burgundy, moreover, a natural son of Philip the Good who had been placed on the episcopal throne to serve the political interests of the Burgundian prince, was a learned man, but no theologian.²⁰ In matters of faith he must have been advised by his circle, and his councillors included the humanist Wessel Gansfort, who had already moved so far away from the Church as no longer to accept her role as an institution of salvation and thus to reject all indulgences.²¹ Not only was Wessel Gansfort the bishop's physician but he was also one of his closest friends. It is characteristic of the spiritual climate at the bishop's court that views such as his, which could only be called heretical, were tolerated – but this same climate also implies that David was perfectly aware of the potential complications where the preaching of indulgences was concerned. He and Peraudi, both cautious men, must have decided to take precautions in view of the great interests which depended upon a smooth course of events. In this light it is comprehensible that arrangements should have been made for an extensive instruction of the clergy and, via the clergy, of the faithful.

The printing of the four publications was entrusted to Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer in Delft, whose press also produced the requisite large number of letters of

Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere Köln, 177 (1975), pp. 62-75 – What is striking is that there is not a single document which proves, either directly or indirectly, that the preaching ever took place in Flanders. In contrast to the various items from the northern Netherlands there are only two copies of the letter of indulgence of 1483 printed by Arend de Keysere. Both, however, were only distributed a few years later and outside the southern Netherlands. Both the copy in Dresden (Machiels, op. cit., p. 41, no. 15 and illus. 30) and the one of the Carmelites in Düren (S. Corsten, art. cit., pp. 63, 64, 69) were filled in at the time of the campaign in the archbishopric of Cologne in or about 1486. So besides newly printed forms (Corsten, art. cit., pp. 70, 75), the remaining copies of previous campaigns were also being used there. The remnants of Van der Meer's edition, too, were used: the copy of the Kestner-Museum in Hanover (Ernst 40) was issued in Lippstadt on 9 April 1486.

²⁰ See A.J. van de Ven, 'David van Bourgondië, bisschop van Utrecht, en de priesterwijding van Erasmus', *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* (1970), pp. 198-201.

²¹ Wessel Gansfort expressed his views on the matter in two extensive letters. They are included in his *Opera omnia* (pp. 865-71 and 876-912 respectively) and reprinted in Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 251 (pp. 351-5) and 253 (pp. 360-86). Both are undated but were written between 1479 and 20 Sept. 1489. For a full discussion, see M. van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort* (1917), pp. 222-8.

indulgence, all printed on parchment with the same type matter.²² After various acts had been drawn up confirming the legality of the indulgence,²³ the enterprise could get underway. It appears from the date of issue²⁴ of the surviving copies of the briefs that this occurred in the summer of 1484 and had probably been completed by the time Pope Innocent VIII, as the successor of the deceased Sixtus IV, revoked all plenary indulgences issued by his predecessor on 30 August of that year.²⁵

We might wonder why the commission did not apply to the Gouda printer Gheraert Leeu. He had great experience in printing work of this description and was on good terms with the episcopal court. In 1479 he had already printed a breviary for the bishopric of Utrecht (GW 5482) and in 1480 indulgences. Later too, until his departure for Antwerp, he would receive further commissions from the bishopric.²⁶ There are reasons to believe that Leeu embarked on a journey in the autumn of 1482 and stayed away for about a year.²⁷ From the lack of dated printed work from this period we could conclude that his press was inactive. But was his absence the reason why the commission applied to someone else? This is unlikely since on 13 December 1483, only one day after the issue of David's mandates, Leeu produced a new edition of the Utrecht breviary (GW 5483). On that date the press

²² CA 1560, C 5519, Einbl. 1093. Besides the locations given there, copies are held in the Gelderland State Archives (Rijksarchief in Gelderland) in Arnhem (given to the Bethlehem convent on 6 July 1484) and in the Municipal Archives (Gemeentearchief) of Zutphen (filled in on 25 June 1484). This last copy was already mentioned by K.O. Meinsma in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 31 (1906), p. 431. This new discovery must be set against the fact that the copy in the so-called Tresoor of the Leeuwarden Provincial Library, mentioned by M.E. Kronenberg, in her supplement to Campbell ('s-Gravenhage 1956) no longer appears to be there. The text of the piece is only partially reproduced in Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 226, pp. 300-1, on the basis of the copy in The Hague, with an erroneous reference to CA 1561.

²³ On 21 April the official of the bishopric authenticated a copy of the aforesaid bull *Salvator noster* of 3 Aug. 1476. On 6 May he provided a vidimus of the bull *Non sine gravi* of 4 Aug. 1483. Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), nos. 224 and 225, pp. 298-300. The documents had to be shown to the secular and ecclesiastical authorities who had been asked to collaborate as a proof of the legality of the preaching.

²⁴ As far as the copies distributed in the Netherlands are concerned they run from 31 May to 30 July 1484. This last date is in a letter of indulgence reproduced in Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 228, pp. 304-5. For its later use in Germany, see n. 19.

²⁵ The interruption in this domain lasted almost a year. Only on 23 July 1485 did he confirm the dispositions of his predecessor. This *Confirmatio* was printed, together with a bull of Sixtus IV, by Ulrich Zell in Cologne (VK 1091). See n. 5.

²⁶ For the *Horarium Trajectense* (CA 993) of 1483 and the *Statuta provincialia et synodalia Trajectensia* (CA 1599), a work which came off the press on 11 June 1484 and which is, as far as we know, the last work to be printed in Leeu's Gouda period.

²⁷ After 5 September, the date of publication of CA 1593.

had thus been active for some time. A better explanation seems to be that Peraudi also saw to this part of the preparations himself or by way of a representative in Holland. So in this case it was the indulgence commissioner who had the mandates printed and not, as was usually the case, the bishop.

We should not be surprised by the choice of Van der Meer. Together with Gheraert Leeu and Richard Paffraet in Deventer, he was amongst the most prominent and best equipped printers in the northern Netherlands at the time. His list consisted mainly of publications in the vernacular, often of considerable length, such as the *Passionael* of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Epistelen ende Evangelien*, Boutillier's *Somme rural*, and others. He also printed Latin works, moreover, and had at his disposal a complete set of the many abbreviations necessary for ecclesiastical texts.²⁸

After 1484 Van der Meer no longer worked for the organization of the indulgence of Saintes, the daily management of which Peraudi had soon entrusted to an undercommissioner.²⁹ After Innocent VIII had again confirmed the indulgence on 23 July 1485, the briefs were printed in Gouda from 1486 to 1488³⁰ by the printer of the *Historie Godevaerts van Boloen*, possibly the press of the Collacie brothers, which was in the town throughout the early years of its activity.³¹ In 1487, apparently for a campaign in Brabant, a letter of indulgence³² was printed in 's-Hertogenbosch by Gerardus de Leempt, who also issued a reprint of Peraudi's *Summaria declaratio*.³³ In 1487, too, a letter of indulgence³⁴ was produced in Zwolle by Peter van Os van Breda, who seems temporarily to have succeeded Gheraert Leeu as printer to the bishopric after his departure for Antwerp.³⁵

²⁸ See HPT, vol. I, table 47.

²⁹ Already on 24 July of the same year 1484. For the text of the act, see Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 227, pp. 301-4.

³⁰ Indulgence 1486: CA 1561, C 5520, Einbl. 1096. – J.W. Holtrop, *Monuments typographiques des Pays-Bas au quinzième siècle* ('s-Gravenhage 1868), Pl. 78 [96]. HPT, vol. 2, Pl. 168. Indulgence 1487: MKC I 1378^{ec}. MKC = M.E. Kronenberg, 'More contributions and notes to a new Campbell edition', *Het Boek*, 36 (1964), pp. 129-39. – See D. E. Rhodes, 'An unrecorded Dutch indulgence of 1487', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 34 (1959), pp. 61-2, with reproduction. Indulgence 1488: CA, 3rd suppl., 1562^a, Polain (B) 2083 with reproduction on Pl. LXXXII.

³¹ For this question, see HPT, vol. I, pp. 80-1, 85-6, and *id.* *De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden. Catalogus* (Brussel 1973), p. 442.

³² CA 1562, C 5522, Einbl. 1101. R. Pennink, *Catalogus der niet-Nederlandse drukken, 1500-1540, aanwezig in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek 's-Gravenhage* ('s-Gravenhage 1955), hereafter cited as Pennink, no. 154.

³³ CA 1566, C, vol. 3, 5531. Pennink 155. – Probably printed at the same time as the indulgence, thus also in 1487.

³⁴ CA 1378^h, see W. Hellings, 'Additions and notes to Campbell's *Annales* and GW. Supplement x to Campbell', *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, 3. Folge, 1 (1965), p. 81. R 600.

³⁵ In the same year, 1487, Peter van Os van Breda printed a *Breviarium Trajectense*, GW 5485. [GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2nd rev. edn., 11 vols. (Stuttgart / New York 1968).]

As we see from the dates of the indulgences the preaching continued in the Netherlands in this period. We are particularly well informed about the campaign of 1488, and even a part of the financial administration of that year has survived. The accounts of the proceeds are specified per town, and these provide us with a detailed survey of the sums received and the expenses paid.³⁶ The preparation of this campaign was similar to that of 1484, as a few surviving documents show.³⁷ One of them is a mandate of David of Burgundy dated 17 March 1488, in which he recommends the indulgence to the clergy and inhabitants of his bishopric just as he had done four years earlier.³⁸ The text, which survives in manuscript, is largely the same, but was adapted where necessary. A comparison shows that the changes nearly all correspond to a number of corrections added by pen in the copy of the *Tractatus* of 1484. They are to be found exclusively in the first of the two mandates printed in Gouda. Supplements and improvements are added between the lines and in the margins, and deletions are indicated by underlining. There are no format signatures or other indications which suggest its use as printer's copy. The presence of the document in the Cathedral archive implies, rather, that it did indeed serve as a draft for the new text.

In later years Peraudi rose to high ecclesiastical posts and was even created cardinal. In that capacity he organized the great jubilee indulgence which was preached in the Netherlands under his commissionership in 1501 and 1502. The material printed on this occasion is also of bibliographical interest. But by then we have left the period with which Wytze Hellinga is associated and which he has studied with such magnificent results. I hope it will please him to see that, even in his own country, an unknown item can still sometimes be discovered.

³⁶ Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 4), nos. 243-9, pp. 331-50. Already reproduced by him previously, with an introduction, in his *Les comptes des indulgences en 1488 et en 1517-1519 dans le diocèse d'Utrecht* (1899), pp. 1-46.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 235-8, pp. 314-25. Remy, op. cit. (n. 16), pp. 141-4.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 236, pp. 321-4.

DAVID de Burgundia, *bishop of Utrecht*, Mandata duo pro indulgentiis ecclesiae Xanctonensis. [Delft, Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer, 1483/4.] CA 553^a

– Folio. [A⁶], 6 leaves, 36-8 lines. 198 (a' 202): 148 mm. Types: 2: 104 G(c); 3: 145 G, one line of text on 1^a, 2^a and 5^a. First and last leaf, conjugate, printed on thick paper. 1^a: Iste tractatus continet tria Primum est duplum mandati domini traiectensis et | dominorum ecclesie traiectensis Secundum est duplum mandati prefati domini ttraiectensis cum omnibus | clausulis indulgenciarum pro reedificatione ecclesie xanctonensis et tuitione fidei concessarum Ter | cium est taxacio omnium et singularum facultatum et graciaram prefate ecclesie xanctonensis et pro tuicione fi | dei concessarum. – Followed by the first of two pastoral letters by David de Burgundia, xij kal. Decembris 1483.

2^a: the other pastoral letter by the bishop, of the same date.

5^a: Taxa omnium et singularum facultatum in prefatis indulgentiis contentarum [by Raimundus Peraudi]. End: [...] Actum in ca | pitulo nostro die secunda mensis aprilis Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo nono.

PROPAGANDA FOR THE INDULGENCE OF SAINTES

Printed Work for the Indulgence of Saintes, 1484-8

[late 1483/ spring 1484]	David de Burgundia, Mandata duo + Raimundus Peraudi, Taxa	Delft, Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer	CA 533 ^a
<i>id.</i>	Johannes de Fabrica & Nicolaus Richardi + Sixtus IV, Bulla	<i>id.</i>	CA 727
<i>id.</i>	[Raimundus Peraudi] Summaria declaratio	<i>id.</i>	CA 1565
<i>id.</i>	Collectio quedam	<i>id.</i>	CA 461
<i>id.</i>	Indulgence	<i>id.</i>	CA 1560
1486	Indulgence	Gouda, printer of Godevaert van Boloen (= Collaciebroeders?)	CA 1561
1487	Indulgence	<i>id.</i>	MKC I 1378 ^{ee}
<i>id.</i>	Indulgence	Zwolle, Peter van Os van Breda	CA 1378 ^h (Hellinga, <i>Additions</i> , p. 81)
<i>id.</i>	Indulgence	's-Hertogenbosch, Gerardus de Leempt	CA 1562
[<i>id.</i>]	[Raimundus Peraudi], Summaria declaration	<i>id.</i>	CA 1566
1488	Indulgence	Gouda, printer of Godevaert van Boloen (= Collaciebroeders?)	CA 1562 ^a

THE LEIDEN ‘AFDRUCKSEL’:
A TYPE SPECIMEN OF THE PRESS OF
WILLEM SILVIUS IN ITS LAST DAYS (1582)



WILLEM AND CAREL SILVIUS

Early in October 1582 a number of gentlemen assembled in the tap room of a well-known inn at Leiden, each carrying a sheet of printed paper. They were all printers, come to attend an auction at which the firm of a colleague was to be liquidated. The sheet of paper bore specimens of all the typefaces, alphabet by alphabet, from the stock of the bankrupt press which were going to change hands that morning. It seemed to be the best means of clearly showing every detail of the material on offer. In later years the same method was widely followed, but on this occasion, four hundred years ago, it was practised for the very first time.

One particularly sad aspect of this sale was the fact that it marked the inglorious end of the firm of an eminent printer in the Low Countries, who was himself already dead: Willem Silvius. In the previous years his reputation as a publisher in Antwerp had been such that at one point it was barely second to that of a fellow member of the guild, his great rival, Christopher Plantin. Both were men of considerable erudition and literary talent; Silvius translated several of his own publications and wrote the foreword to a number of others. Both had an artistic aptitude for producing fine printed works: Plantin was originally a binder of great renown and Silvius a competent calligrapher. But there were also differences. Plantin largely owed the unique success of his firm to his particular qualities as a businessman – as a financier and an organizer he was far superior to all his competitors. In addition to this he had the gift of making many friends, even in the highest circles, who were of invaluable use to him at a time in which inquisition and oppression formed a continuous threat to every publisher who dared to venture beyond the path of conformity. Some of his acquaintances, moreover, were prepared to put conspicuous sums of money at his disposal as capital. Silvius was not nearly so successful in such matters and, perhaps because of his northern background, where human relations tend to be more rigid, he was at a disadvantage before the intelligent diplomacy of the Frenchman.

Silvius came from 's-Hertogenbosch and took his Latinized name from his birthplace. His surname, which has only survived from one official document,

Afdruckfel van alle de letteren beuonden inden bo
Dic de curateur van zijn b

DOBBEL DESC.

met een paer cassen.
Habuit eius ætas Plato-
nem, Aristotelem, The-
ophratum, illustres, sanc-
tissimi Socratii.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p
q r s t v u w x y z.

TEXT ROMEYN.

met twee paer casen.
Eum ad modum Alexander Se
uerus, Mammææ filius ad Alex
andri Magni imaginem, veluti
ad pulcherrimum,
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNO
PQRSTVXYZ.
abcdefghijklmn opqrst
vwxyz.

TEXT CURSIVE.

met een paer cassen.
Nam & suum Caroli Magni ætas
Zuleimanum, Asie Tyrannum
habet: et eius maiores thomani,
ABCDEFGHIJKLMN
OPQRSTUVWXYZ.
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz.

TEXT ROMEYN.

meteenpaer cassen.
 Quot villi Hæres fuit Abda-
 lia: ita & huius hereditati Ab-
 dila se immiscuit.
 A B CDEFGHIKLMN
 OPQRSTVWXYZ.
 a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s
 t v u x y z

TEXT CURSIVE.

met een paar cassen.
Et his omniſus, Pontificibus di-
co, idem prorsus animus atque ea-
dem voluntas in patrem, quæ illis
in Carolum fuit.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMN
OPQRSTUVWXYZ.
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
vwxyz.

AVGVSTIN ROMEYN.

metstveepaercassen.
 Quin in Barbaros quoque Panno-
 niam de populates, omnem tum
 bellimolen Carolus conuertit.
 A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P
 Q R S T V W X Y Z,
 a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v
 u x y z.

AVGVSTIIN CVRSIIF.

met een paer eysen.
*Vt Pater Muleassem, sic Enolus Ib-
 nabalam Maurum, domesticas editio-
 ne patria pulsus, restituit.*
 ABCDEFGHI KLMNOPQ
 RSTVXYZ.
 abcdefghijklmopqr s s t u
 xyz.

MEDIAEN ROMEYN.

met twee paer cassen.
 Illi insuper: quos Divus Pater, com-
 municato augusti vellëris honore, sibi
 & pacis & belli focios delegit.
 A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q
 R S T V W X Y Z.
 a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v n
 x y z.

MEDIAEN CURSIVE.

met een paar cassen.

Ille, fecit et per beata Lelij Taurelli in opera
inexhaustis oculis prudentia thesaurus, Floren-
tini in pandectis orbi restituit.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V
W X Y Z.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v w x
y z

PHILOSOPHE ROMEIN.

met eene der casten.
Nam & suum Caroli Magni aras Zuleimanum,
Aſſe Tyrannum habuit: & eius maio-
res Othomanni, sub quibus, vt auctor est
Iſidorus rafenſis Romano Imperio mibulum
decreuit, illa in gente imperabant.
A B C D E F G H I K L M E O P Q R S T V
Y Z Z.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v u x y z.

PHILOSOPHE CYRCIIF.

met een paer casten.
 Quid dicam, quod eos etiam, quibus cum & Diu
 Patri & regis maiestatis seu fœdus, seu neces-
 situdo intercessit, quosque tua tibi plane regia mu-
 nificencia deuicisti.
 A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V
 X Y Z.
 a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z.

GARMONT ROMEIN.

met vier pact casien.
Pater vt Florentian quilibet bellis ardentem
et mole laborantem fua complicit illato in vr-
bem falutari amneltie decreto, patrum itudia
et inimicos oppido pugnacis, et contentioſe ci-
uitatis animos compellit.
A B C D E F G A I K L M N O P Q R S T V
X Y Z.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v u w x y z.

GARMONT CURCHIE.

met een paar cassen.
 Nec potnit ut eleganter abille, quisquis isfuit di
 ctum Et Catholice fidei Budifus Imperator non
 yincere, qui totam victorie sue fiduciam et animum
 in folo Deo collocaret.
 A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T
 V X Z.
 a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v x y z.

GARMONT ROMEYN OVDE

In illo tempore, vidit Iohannes Iesum venientem,
a se, et ait: Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollis pec-
cata mundi.
A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V
W X Y Z.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v u w x y z.

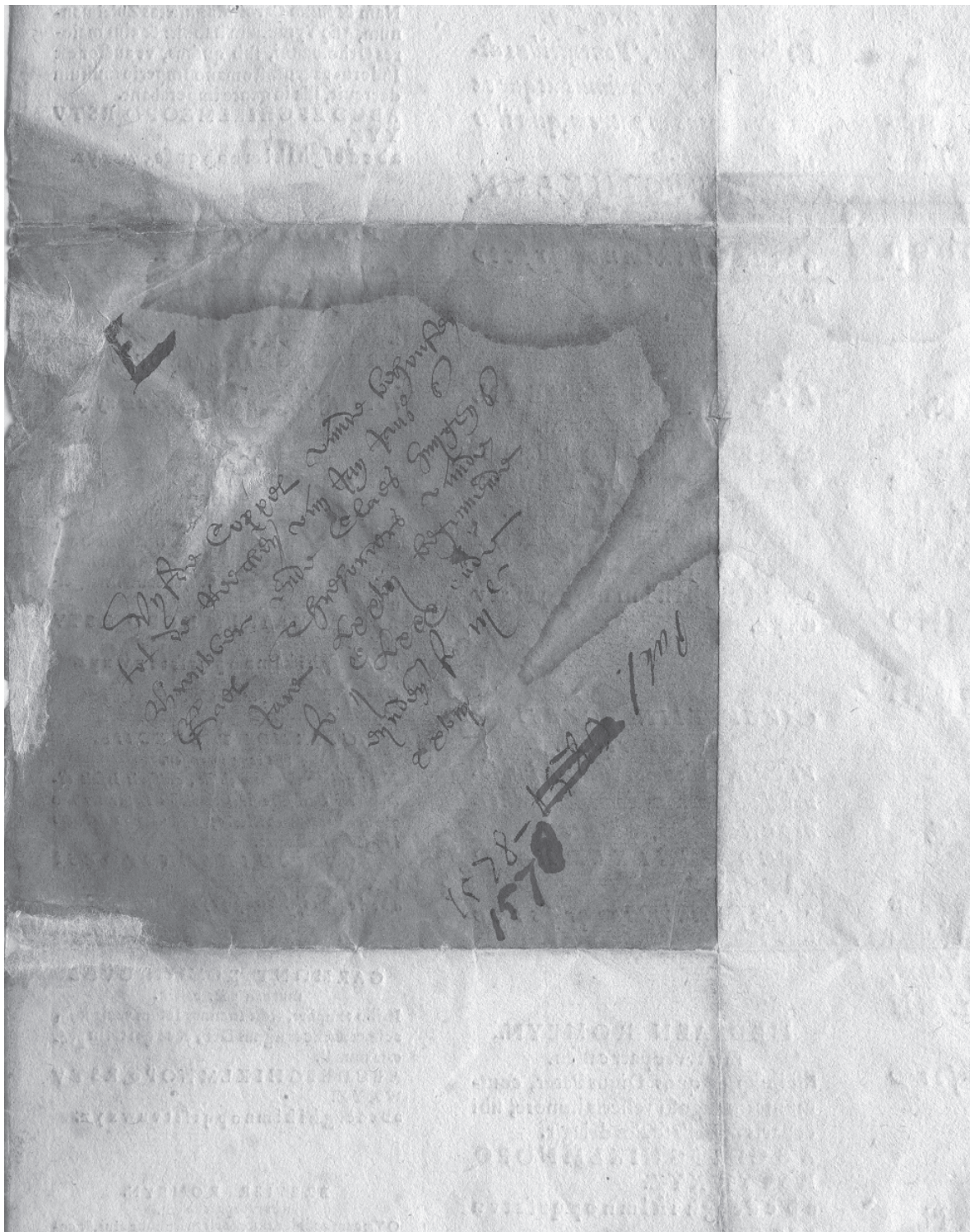
BREVIER ROMEYN.

met tyvepact callen.
 Qvæcum audisset, turbata est in sermone eius, & cogitabat qualis esset illi salutatio. Et ait illi Angelus: Nec timeas Maria, invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum. Ecce concipies in utero, & paries filium: & vocabis nomen eius Iesum.
 ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ.
 abcdefghiklmnopqrstvuxyz.

BREVIER CURSUS

met eum pater colim.
Exij, qui fatis funditis, Francijq; Ximenis, Ecclesia Tolle-
tana archiepiscopus, Compunctus, Indignus, Ecclesie Bisuntina
Metropolitae, antiquum Gratianum, Poeta nunc & Musi-
cum sedem, Lamentum, excoisitionis Collegij, & legatini vsus
litenrior potius, misisse existit.
ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ.
abcd efghiklmnopqrstuvwxyz.

THE LEIDEN 'AFDRUCKSEL'



2. Part of the 'Afdrucksel' was used as a label to a file of vouchers and receipts forming part of the Treasury's accounts of the financial year 1578. Handwriting of Jan van Hout.

was Verwilt. He was born in about 1520, but we know no more about the precise date or about the first thirty years of his life than we do in the case of his exact contemporary Plantin. The first record of Silvius' existence is his matriculation in February 1550 at the university of Louvain, where he probably ended his studies with a master's degree. He married Catharina Verhaghen, alias Jacquet, who brought him a sizeable dowry and bore him at least eight children. In 1558 we find him settled in Antwerp, where he obtained a charter as a printer, and in the winter of 1560 he opened a bookshop. In the same year he was appointed by the Court in Brussels as the printer of government publications, while Plantin, who had also endeavoured to be nominated, was passed over. As a result of this function Silvius could call himself typographer royal ('typographe du roi') and in 1561 he was admitted as master printer to the St Lucas guild. Thereafter his firm underwent a flourishing development until 1568, when he had the misfortune to be arrested during the repression which followed the arrival of the Duke of Alva, governor of the Netherlands under King Philip II of Spain, on the suspicion of having taken part in the iconoclastic riots of 1566. After eight weeks in prison he was released with a high caution and in due course the action against him was dropped, but the mere fact that he had been the centre of such a scandal meant that the local government ceased commissioning him to print official publications. Although he continued to call himself typographer royal, he was thus deprived of this particular source of income at the very time when the market in Antwerp, which was still the largest trading centre of the West, was affected by a general stagnation. As a result of these unfavourable circumstances the number of Silvius' publications diminished appreciably. In November 1576 he was afflicted by a second, still more dramatic set-back on the occasion of the Spanish fury. In order to avoid having his property plundered by the mutinying soldiers he had to pay vast ransoms and thus fell still deeper into debt.

While he was in this difficult situation he was approached from the north with a proposal which appeared to offer a solution to his problems. A part of that area, particularly the province of Holland, had rid itself of Spanish domination some years earlier. It operated independently under William of Orange and had even obtained his authorization to found a university. As the result of this development the States of Holland were looking for a printer who could set up a scholarly bookshop for the Academy of Leiden and see to the official publications of the region, if required also in foreign languages.

Master Willem Silvius, a printer in seven languages and himself an academic, fully satisfied the requirements of this double function: a good education, professional competence and experience. As a man from the northern Netherlands he had maintained regular contacts with that area during his Antwerp years. As early as 1564 he had published the Pageants of Rotterdam and *Coutumen* – the city rights

– of Utrecht. In later years he printed poems by Janus Dousa, who had in the meantime become a curator of the new university, and by the rectors of schools in Amsterdam, Haarlem and his birthplace, 's-Hertogenbosch: Petrus Apherdianus, Bartholomeus Souvius, Cornelis Schonaeus and Cornelis Lauriman. Since his days in Louvain, moreover, he had known certain close relatives of the Prince of Orange, and Thomas Tilius, who had become the latter's court preacher, was one of his best friends. It is thus hardly surprising that Silvius should have been chosen and, after informal enquiries, the States dispatched a deputation to Antwerp in the spring of 1577 in order to reach an agreement with him. The delegates visited his printing-press, were deeply impressed by the extent and the quality of his type, and appointed him at a salary of £ 300 – Flemish pounds – per year. In addition he was to be given an indemnification of £ 400 for the removal of his 'druckerije ende menaige' to Leiden and to dispose of the sum of £ 2,000 for the organization of his printing-press and 'biblioteke', the university bookshop which he was expected to establish. On 28 June he took the oath.

In view of the sizeable sums which the States of Holland put at Silvius' disposal it is surprising that they should have made such little use of his press. It was not until 1579 that he was commissioned to print a political tract, followed in 1580 by two or three government publications. For the Academy he printed nothing at all. In 1578 and early in 1579 some five Antwerp city ordinances appeared which he published under his Antwerp address as municipal printer – another post for which he had been preferred to Plantin – together with some pamphlets in French. Because of this state of affairs it has long been assumed that Silvius only came to Leiden in the course of 1579. This is incorrect, for he bought a house named *In de drie Coningen* (The Three Kings) in the Maarsmansteeg as early as 1577 and renamed it *In den Gulden Engel* (The Golden Angel) after his former premises in Antwerp; in November of that year his wife is mentioned as living there. Within a year he was even enlisted in the night watch of this quarter – a fact which indicates permanent residence in the town. We can thus assume that when he was in Leiden Silvius was primarily concerned with the organization of his bookshop. Part of the establishment seems to have remained provisionally in Antwerp, possibly on account of certain commitments and activities, and perhaps also because the States of Holland thought it useful to have their own printer in that political centre.

When Silvius was away himself the business in Antwerp was run by his son Carel, who was aged about twenty and who had been trained for the trade by his father. Two years later, in the second half of 1579, he too moved, together with the remainder of the press, to Leiden, where he matriculated at the Academy on 11 January 1580. About eight months later, after his father's death, he was called upon to carry on the business. The date of Willem's death is not known, but it must have been between 12 June, when he made his will, and 13 September 1580, the date on

which Carel obtained a privilege for a book. His right of succession to his father's functions had been settled previously by contract and on 28 October of that year Carel took the oath. In the next eighteen months, apart from two books for Leiden lecturers, he printed some twelve publications for the States of Holland, which included various editions, some of them also in French, of the famous Apology of Willem of Orange and of the so-called *Plakkaat van Verlatinge* renouncing obedience to Philip II of Spain.

Thereafter disaster struck. The estate bequeathed by Willem was insolvent: he had never managed to meet the financial obligations of his Antwerp years and, until the end, was deep in the debt of various purveyors of capital. And although few objections could be raised to the quality of Carel's printing he proved to be too inexperienced to run a university bookshop at the same time. The chances of his honouring these debts were thus minimal, especially when he found himself having to proceed against colleagues who did not observe the privileges conceded to him and who plagiarized his editions. Both the States and the Academy, moreover, had other possibilities which were probably more attractive to them. As future States typographer they had their eye on Albrecht Hendricksz in Delft, who was running his wife's printing-press, which had produced government publications in the past. Within a few months he was appointed as Carel's successor in this particular function, while in Leiden Plantin, who was to succeed him as printer and bookseller for the Academy, bought premises in the Breestraat (Broadstreet) in the autumn of 1582 after having approached the curators of the university through Justus Lipsius at an earlier stage. There was thus no reason to retain Carel. The States availed themselves of a clause in the contract which had been concluded with his father and relieved him of his post. In June Carel still received a privilege for an official publication which appeared shortly after 12 July. On 25 May, however, an official receiver was appointed to prepare the liquidation of the printing-office and the bookshop. The house was bought by Chrétien Porret to work in it as an apothecary, a purchase financed by Plantin, who was an intimate friend of his father, the Parisian Pierre Porret. Nothing is known about the sale of the bookshop, but the stock must have been auctioned off in the customary manner. From the sale of the estate the widow had the option of recovering her dowry, while Carel recovered the full sum of the proceeds of books which he had published or purchased at his own expense. He then gave up working as a printer, became secretary of various highly placed personages and ended his life as a professional writer in The Hague, where he died in poverty on 18 June 1619.

Besides specimens of the typefaces to be sold as part of Silvius' printing-press, the 'Afdrucksel' also contains other information. It tells us that the auction was conducted by Dominicus Tiara, the landlord of *t Moriaens hoofd* (the Moor's head) opposite the town hall, and that it started at nine in the morning in the taproom of

this inn. Was it on account of this facility that Tiara was appointed official receiver of the estate? We know that he was on good terms with the town secretary of Leiden, Jan van Hout, who was also a notary and entrusted Tiara with semi-official mandates on various occasions. Van Hout was a particularly capable man who occupied a central place in the life of Leiden and took important initiatives in all sorts of domains. It was thus at his suggestion that a printing-press was erected in the town hall in order to produce a variety of printed material for official use – an extremely modern form of economizing for that time. Most of the typefaces used, on the other hand, were acquired by him personally and, as the actual head of the press, he needed to have considerable experience of typography. It would thus seem obvious to regard him as the man responsible for the idea of facilitating the auction through the distribution of such a specimen. The structure of the sheet displays a striking resemblance to Plantin's *Folio specimen* of the early eighties, even if this is not such as to authorise us to believe that that served as a model – the reverse might also be true.

It is hardly surprising that the States' delegates should have been impressed by Silvius' typefaces on their visit to Antwerp. There was probably no other printer in the Low Countries, except for Plantin, who had such a vast and splendid assortment, made by the finest typesetters at home and abroad. He possessed four founts of Roman by Garamont; by Granjon two Civilité types, a Greek and a Roman face, besides five Italics to go with the Romans; and four typefaces including Greek and Nonpareil Roman and Italic by Haultin. He also had three or four typefaces by Tavernier, two by Francois Guyot, four Texturas by Van den Keere, and three German founts – thirty-one in all. Some came from Plantin when his press was auctioned in 1562, on which occasion Silvius was lent £ 1,300 by the municipal government of Antwerp. Thereafter Silvius always carefully completed and modernized his material. All the Texturas which he had used in the sixties, for example, were replaced by the new typefaces of Van den Keere. He also had attractive ornamental letters; the calligraphical alphabet to be found in his editions after 1562, and possibly designed by him, more than holds its own against the initials of the same kind commissioned by Plantin.

Of the stock to be auctioned the 'Afdrucksel' only mentions, in addition to the typefaces, the three presses: one with a copper platen, one with an iron one and one with a wooden one. But in actual fact far more material must have been auctioned – indeed, the entire stock of the printing shop, which included such things as display-letters specially cast for use on title pages as well as all sorts of decorative initials, vignettes and other ornaments. These can be found later amongst various printers, both in and outside Leiden, while even some of the printer's devices were used by others, after the removal of Silvius' motto 'Scrutamini' ('You must examine'). No list of the proceeds has survived; all we know is that Jan van Hout paid a sum of

less than £ 6 for the 'perchele' which he bought: Guyot's Double Pica (lot 1). This was not a high price, and the entire proceeds can hardly have satisfied the creditors. After the preferential creditors had been paid, the others were only left with a dividend of less than 5 per cent of their claims.

We can assume that Willem Silvius might have been far more successful, especially from a financial point of view, under more fortunate circumstances. He did not live to experience the rapid growth of the book trade in Leiden and the verdict of posterity would probably have been very different had he contributed to it for a few more years. Now the only testimonies to his skill as a printer and publisher are a number of his Antwerp editions and the 'Afdrucksel' as a specimen of the material which he used.

LITERATURE

J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 445-55.

C. Clair, 'Willem Silvius', *The Library*, 5th S., 14 (1959), pp. 192-205.

H.L.V. de Groote, 'Drukte Willem Silvius te Antwerpen ca. 1565 "De maniere van bouckhouden ghemaect by Jan Wadington ende Noel N."?', *De Gulden Passer*, 48 (1970), pp. 107-11.

H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Silvius en Plantijn', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. III-25.

A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 201-03. — Includes an extensive list of literature.

M. Schneider, *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'* ('s-Gravenhage 1939).

L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), *passim*.

THE 'AFDRUCKSEL'

The facsimile consists of two separate half-sheets slightly overlapping one another, which have survived as a result of having been used at the time as scrap paper by the town-clerk of Leiden, Jan van Hout. Some ten years ago, in the Municipal Archives of the town, I chanced to come across the left part of the specimen. Folded several times, with the printed matter on the inside, it served as a label to a file of vouchers and receipts forming part of the Treasury's accounts of the financial year 1578 (ref.: *Secretarie II* No. 3371 E).

Apparently another fragment had been discovered many years before by the Leiden archivist J.C. Overvoorde, who described it briefly in his *Catalogus van voorwerpen in het Stedelijk Museum 'De Lakenhal' te Leiden*, 2nd edn. (s.a. [1924]). For some reason this entry did not excite any interest and, in the next years, the piece was mislaid and, at the time of my request, could not be traced. Recently, however, it was recovered and turned out to constitute the adjoining half of another copy of the specimen. Like the other part, it had formerly been used as a label to a file of documentary matter at the office of the municipal administration – this time, according to a contemporary inscription at the back, dating from the year 1577.

Fortunately neither the filing holes extant in both sheets nor the traces of folding have damaged the printed surface. There is no loss of text except for the lower case 'y' in [22] which is only slightly affected, but the 'Augustijn Cursijf' [7] is rather mutilated by some ink spots which make several characters virtually invisible. For that reason a separate reproduction of this section is given from another, smaller fragment in the same collection.

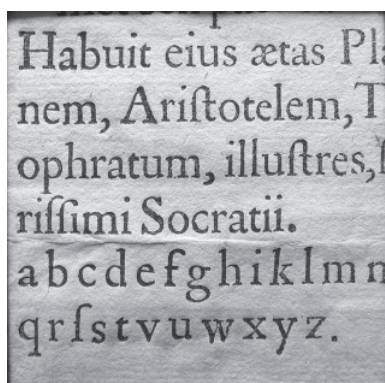
The two halves are now kept together in the Municipal Archives of Leiden, with shelf-mark Bibl. L&O 72227.

TRANSLATION

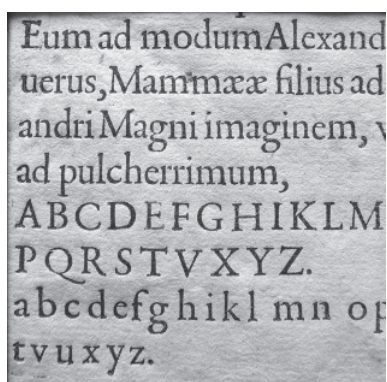
Heading: 'A Specimen of all printing types to be found in the estate of the late Master Wilhelm Silvius, at Leiden, which the curator of his estate proposes to sell.'

At end: 'And, in addition to these: three presses – one with a copper platen, the second with an iron platen, the third a wooden platen; each press with a pair of chases and further accessories, except the new press having neither a large nor a small tympan.'

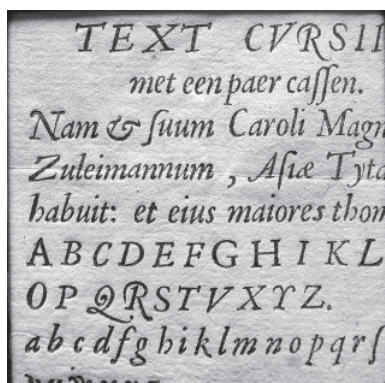
All these lots of goods will be sold publicly to any party interested, in the town of Leiden in the county of Holland, on Tuesday of the next month of October 1582. At the house of Dominicus Tiara, innkeeper of 't *Moriaens hooft* (the Moor's head), living in the Breede straet (the present-day Breestraat – Broadstreet), opposite the town hall, beginning at nine o'clock in the morning. Whoever wishes to buy the specified lots or any other objects, will find them on that day at the aforementioned place and will profit by it. Let everyone make this known to others.'



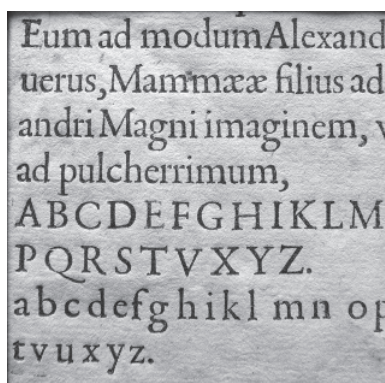
3 / 'Dobbel Desc[endiaen] with a pair of cases.' – A Double Pica (140 x 2.7:5) cut by Francois Guyot, according to an entry in the accounts of Christophe Plantin. *Index* 18, Vervliet R 17. – The lower case s is printed upside down, w is not included in the anonymous Guyot specimen in the Folger Shakespeare Library (c.1565; *T.S.F.* I, no. 1) and has been added. The capitals, not printed here, are contained in the specimen of Jan van Hout, who bought the fount at the present sale in order to use it at the Leiden 'Raadhuis' press (see C. Enschede, *Type Foundries*, p. 437, note 5). The capital C in that specimen is different from the one used here in the heading line.



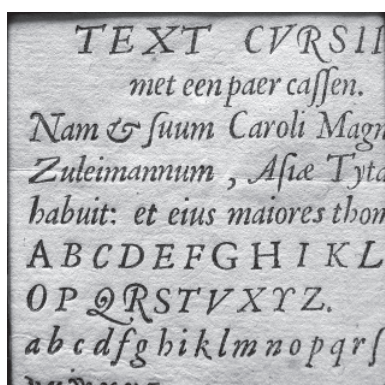
4 / 'Text Romeyn with two pairs of cases.' Garamont's Gros Romain (118 x 2.2:3.5). After Garamont's death, in 1561, the punches were bought by Guillaume Le Bé (Morison p. 18). *Early Inv.*, p. 22, MA 20a; *Index* 22.



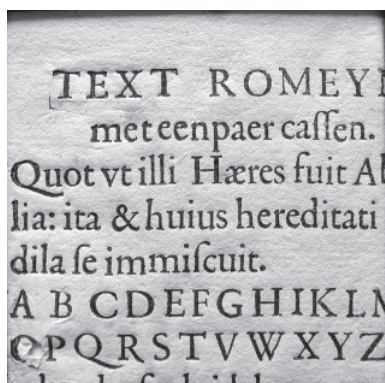
5 / 'Text Cursijf with a pair of cases.' The composer erroneously interchanged the heading as well as the text of this entry with those of [5]: the two alphabets – capitals and lower case – should have been preceded by the additional matter printed there. – The Gros Texte Cursive by Granjon (116 x 2.1:3.5) of the Egenolff-Berner specimen (*T.S.F.* I, no. 2). Apparently this is the third version of the face – for the first and second see Johnson nos. 5 and 6 – with a nearly identical lower case (the h is slightly more closed) but new capitals. Silvius used it in 1564 at about the same time as Plantin, both with two forms of V and two ampersands. *Index* 23; *Early Inv.*, p. 12, MA 81. – The capitals A, G, H, L, O, R and S printed here in the alphabet do not belong to the face; the right characters, however, can be found in Carel's printing as late as 1581.



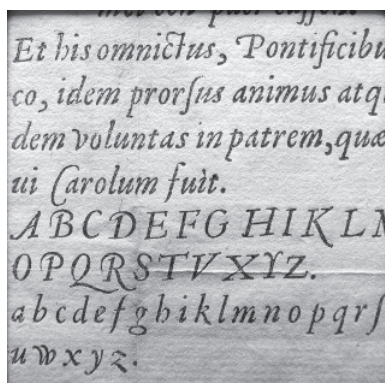
6 / 'Text Romeyn with a pair of cases.' – A Great Primer Roman (116 x 23:35) ascribed in the Van den Keere inventory (1580) to Ameet Tavernier. *Early Inv.*, p. 64, LMA 21; Vervliet R 20. – The capitals L, M and T in the alphabet are replacements from [2]; the T's and the one-eared M in the heading are the original characters.



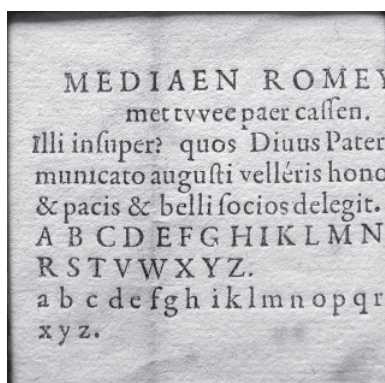
7 / 'Text Cursijf with a pair of cases.' The heading and the text of this entry do not belong to the alphabets and should be replaced by the corresponding matter of [3]; see my remark *il.* – The Great Primer Italic (116 x 22:35) cut by Francois Guyot. *Early Inv.*, p. 12, MA 69; Vervliet IT 3. – The capital Z is not included in the Folger [Guyot] specimen.



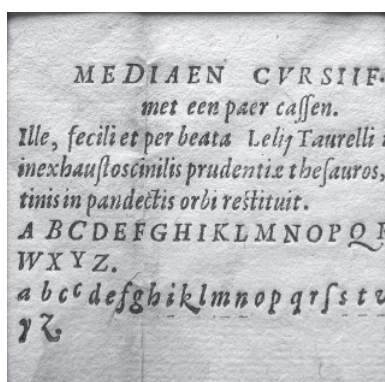
8 / 'Augustijn Romeyn with two pairs of cases.' – Granjon's St Augustin Gros oeil, a large face with short descenders. Since 1569 it was, also in Pica type, very popular all over Europe for a period of nearly two centuries. The type is shown here for the first time on a type specimen. Although Monotype Plantin is based on it, the type is not recorded in any of the early inventories of Plantin's, and he never used it himself. Johnson (Lamesle), pp. 5-7 and no. 34. When at Leiden, Silvius bought the fount to replace Haultin's English Roman.



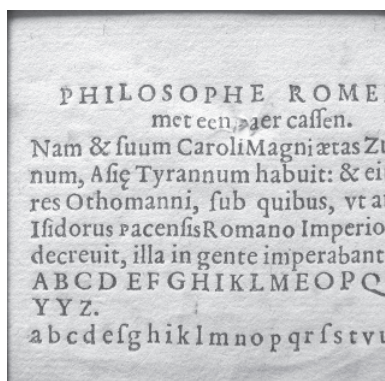
9 / 'Augustijn Cursijf with a pair of cases.' – Granjon's English Italic (96 x 2:3) dating from 1566. Johnson no. 13. It is attributed to him in the Egenolff-Berner specimen and in the Plantin inventories. *Early Inv.*, p. 47, MA 128; *Folio specimen* 27. Plantin used the type from 1571 on, while Silvius was already printing with it in 1570.



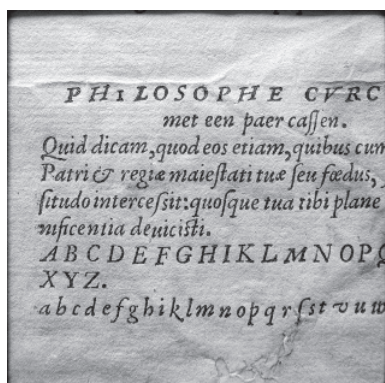
10 / 'Mediaen Romeyn with two pairs of cases.' – Garamont's Cicero Romain (82 x 1.8:2.5), so named in the Egenolff-Berner specimen. Plantin recorded matrices of the 'Mediane Garamont Rommain' in his 1561 and later inventories. At some time after Garamont's death the punches went to the Le Bé foundry (Morison p. 24). *Early Inv.*, p. 10, MA 36a; *Index* 26



11 / 'Mediaen Cursijf with a pair of cases.' – This Pica Italic (82 x 1.8:2.5) is attributed to Granjon in the Egenolff-Berner specimen and in the Plantin inventories. Johnson no. 12; *Early Inv.*, p. 29, MA 37; *Index* 28. – The type is rather worn; B, C (in the alphabet), V, and W do not belong to the face; w is an addition, v a replacement.

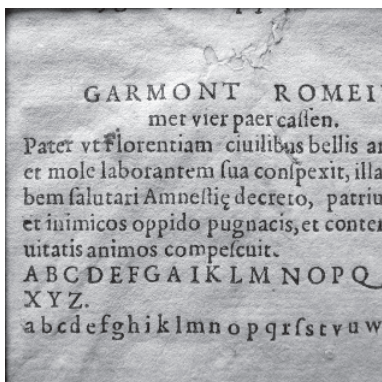


12 / 'Philosophie Romein with a pair of cases.' – This Small Pica Roman (72 x 1.5:2.3) is identical with the 'Philosophie de Haultin' in the Plantin inventories. *Early Inv.* p. 13, LMA 2; *Index* 29. Lower case n and p are not original.

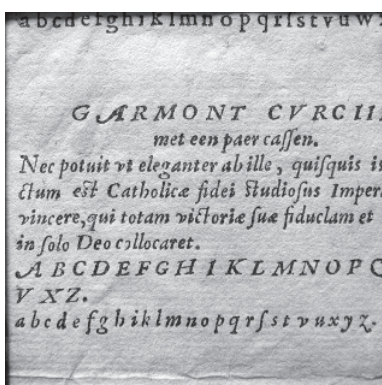


13 / 'Philosophie Curcijf with a pair of cases.' – Tavernier's Small Pica Italic (72 x 1.5:2.3), ascribed to him on stylistic grounds and because it is found in all his printing. Vervliet IT 12. – The capitals M, T and Y do not belong to the face.

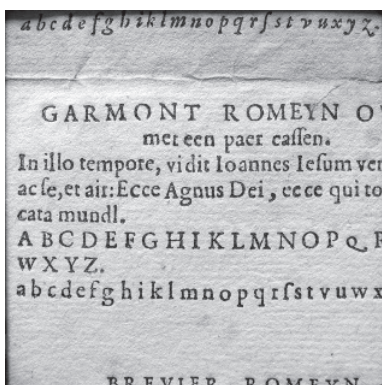
THE LEIDEN 'AFDRUCKSEL'



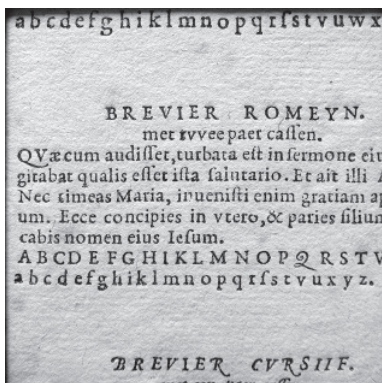
14 / 'Garmont Romein with four pairs of cases.' – A Long Primer Roman (67 x 1.4:2) identifiable with the 'Petit Roman' attributed to Garamont by Plantin, which he used since 1558. *Early Inv.* p. 8, MA 48; *Index* 31.



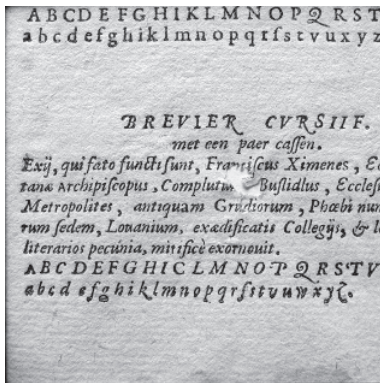
15 / 'Garmont Curcijf with a pair of cases.' – Granjon's Long Primer Italic (67 x 1.4:2), Johnson no. 2. The face, in Granjon's earlier manner, is attributed to him in Plantin's inventories. *Early Inv.* p. 8, MA 54a; *Index* 32. The capital Q is a substitute.



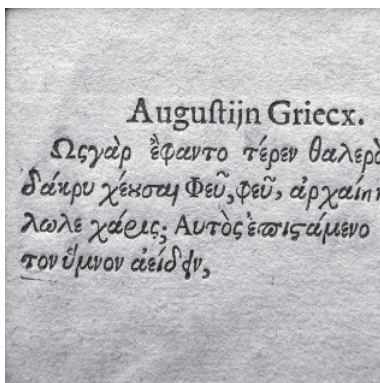
16 / 'Garmont Romeyn oude (old) with a pair of cases.' – The same face as [12], but old type presumably bought by Silvius at the 1562 sale of Plantin's property. The capital W is an addition; B and Q are replacements.



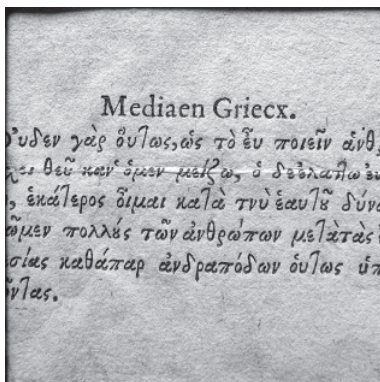
17 / 'Brevier Romeyn with two pairs of cases.' – The 'Bible' Roman (54 x 1.2:1.6) used by Plantin since 1559. The ascription to Garamont, in a specimen attributable to Fournier l'ainé, is confirmed by the occurrence of the punches in the sale of Garamont's estate in 1561. Le Bé bought the punches and then sold the set to Plantin. *Early Inv.* p. 11, MA 57; *Index* 35. – The capital Q in the alphabet is a substitute.



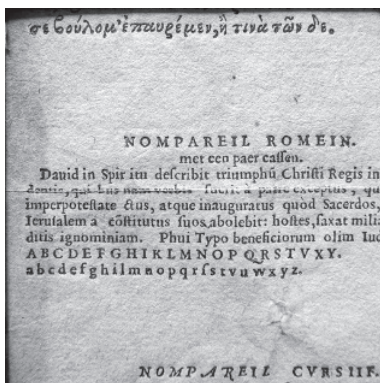
18 / 'Brevier Cursif with a pair of cases.' – The 'Curs. Petit Text de G[ranjon]' (54 x 11:1.5) of the Egenolff-Berner specimen. Johnson no. 9. It is the 'Bible Cursive' of Plantin, who also attributed it to Granjon. *Early Inv.* p. 11, MA 58a; *Index* 36. The A is a replacement.



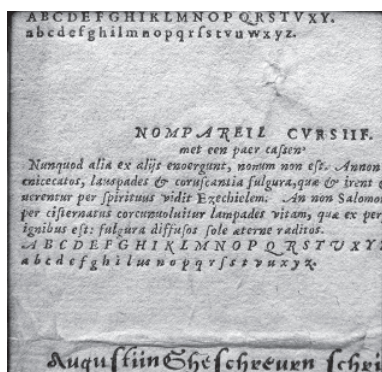
19 / 'Augustijn Griecx.' – An English Greek (95 X 2:2.7) ascribed in the Plantin inventories to Pierre Haultin, and also recorded under this name in Le Bé's inventory (Morison p. 21). *Early Inv.* p. 10, MA 32, 33; *Index* 12.



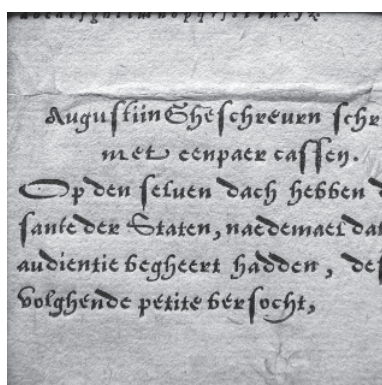
20 / 'Mediaen Griecx.' – A Pica Greek (82 x 1.5:2) identical with the 'Graec. Cicero de Granjon' of the Egenolff-Berner specimen. The type, however, was used for the first time in an edition shared by Pierre Haultin, to whom it is ascribed in the 1561 and 1563 inventories of Plantin. *Early Inv.* p. 13, MA 142, 143; *Index* 13. On the genesis of the type, see the *Le Bé Memorandum*, pp. 19, 31.



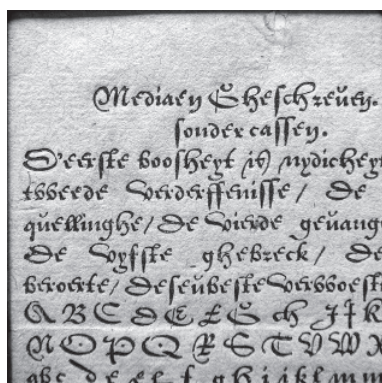
21 / 'Nompareil Romein with a pair of cases.' – A Nonpareil (40 x 0.8:1.2) ascribed to Pierre Haultin by Plantin and in the inventory of the Le Bé type foundry (Morison p. 20). *Early Inv.* I, p. 12, MA 67; *Index* 38.



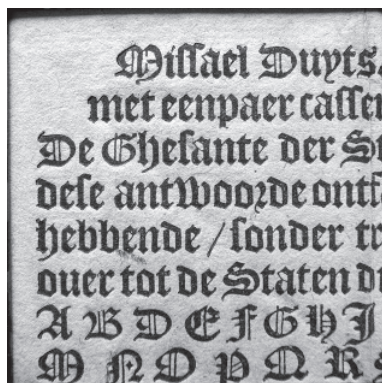
22 / 'Nompareil Cursijf with a pair of cases.' – A Nonpareil (40 x 0.7:1.1) ascribed to Pierre Haultin in the Plantin and the Le Bé inventories (Morison p. 21). Silvius as well as Plantin also had the original Roman capitals; in 1567 Haultin cut the new set of sloped capitals used here. *Early Inv.* p. II, MA 66a; *Index* 39.



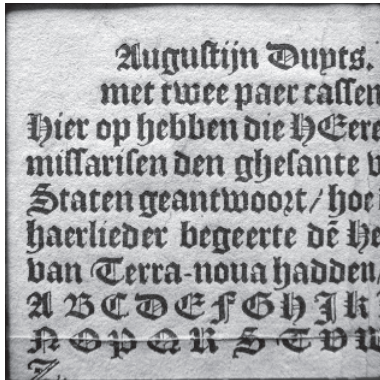
23 / 'Augusteyn Gheschreven Schrift, with a pair of cases.' – A script type (80 x 1.5:3-3.5) which constitutes a mixture of Granjon's Cicero and his St Augustin Lettre Francoise, together with some special characters to be seen in Silvius' printing only. Carter & Vervliet, type A2a (p. 48 and fig. 22). Silvius used it since 1566 exclusively for French books.



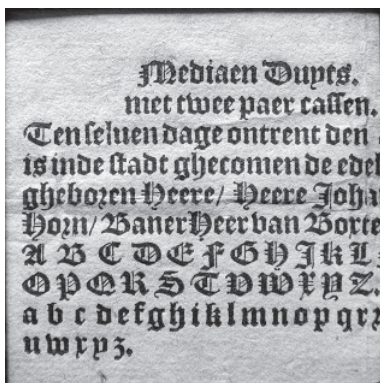
24 / 'Mediaen Gheschreven without cases.' – The Dutch St Augustin or English cut for Silvius, almost certainly by Granjon in 1565-6. Carter & Vervliet, type A4 (pp. 51-2 and figs. 24, 25): 'It is an extremely well-made type with the characteristic neatness and fluency of Granjon's scripts'. The form of several characters (e, h, t, u, v) is adapted to the Flemish handwriting and the face has a number of abbreviations and ligatures (not shown here) especially made for printing Dutch texts. Jan van Hout bought the fount some years after the sale, in 1586, according to his note on his own type specimen, and used it at the Leiden city press.



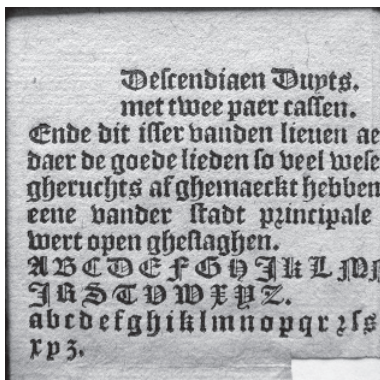
25 / 'Missael Duyts with a pair of cases.' – The current French Great Primer Textura (116 x 3.5:4.5) which was, since the beginning of the century, very popular in the Netherlands also. This is a later variant and identical with the face as cast from matrices in the Plantin-Moretus collection (MA 132). Vervliet T 12(b) and fig. 56.



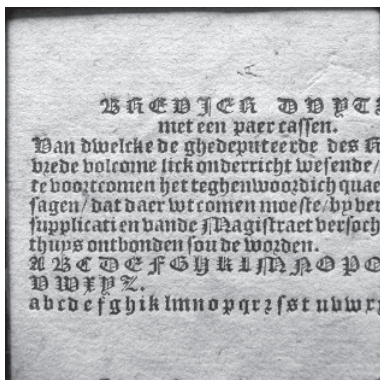
26 / 'Augustijn Duyts with two pairs of cases.' – Van den Keere's Textura for the body of English (96 x 2.7:3.7), ordered by Plantin, who in 1572 was the first to use the type. In 1580, after Van den Keere's death, Plantin bought the punches of all the types cut by him from his widow. A few years later Thomas de Vechter brought the Texturas to Holland where they became exemplary for the faces to be used during the next two centuries. *Early Inv.* p. 58, ST 36; *Folio specimen* 28; Vervliet T 23.



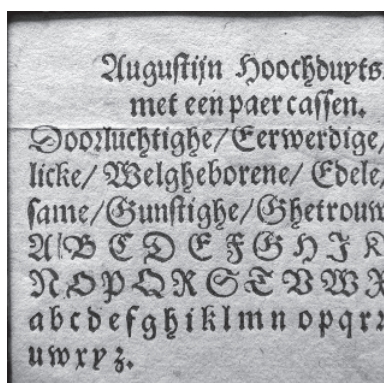
27 / 'Mediaen Duyts with two pairs of cases.' – Van den Keere's Pica Textura (80 x 2.5:3.5), first used by Plantin, in 1572. *Early Inv.*, p. 58, ST 37; *Folio specimen* 41; Vervliet T 28.



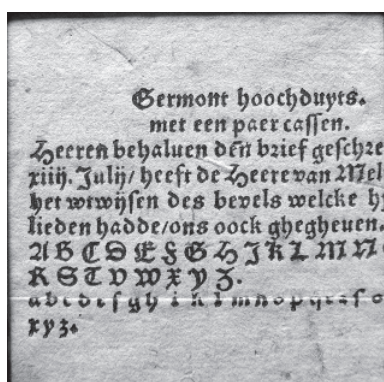
28 / 'Descendiaen Duyts with two pairs of cases.' – Van den Keere's Small Pica Textura (72 x 2.1:3), used by Plantin since 1570. *Early Inv.*, p. 51, LMA 14, p. 58, ST 38, p. 76, MA 44; *Folio specimen* 48; Vervliet T 40.



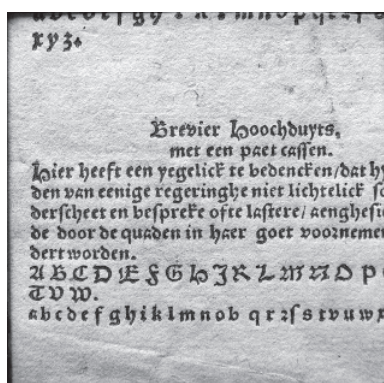
29 / 'Brevier Duyts with a pair of cases.' – Van den Keere's Brevier Textura (52 x 1.5:2). The type was available since 1570. Plantin was not the first to use it, but bought the punches, along with those of the other faces cut by Van den Keere, from his estate. *Early Inv.*, p. 58-9, ST 39, 41, p. 65, LMA 29; *Folio specimen* 65; Vervliet T 49.



30 / 'Augustijn Hoochduyts with a pair of cases.' – A 'Mittel-Fraktur', on the body of English (95 x 2.1:3), after the design of Johann Neudorfer as cut by Hieronymus Andreae. This is one of the several imitations which, copied after the original face, became very popular and replaced the Schwabacher in Germany from 1560 onwards.



31 / 'Germont hoochduyts with a pair of cases.' – A Long Primer Schwabacher (68 x 1.5:2.5) which was used by Plantin in his *Dictionarium tetraglotton* of 1562. Silvius apparently bought the fount, in the same year, at the sale of Plantin's property.



32 / 'Brevier Hoochduyts with a pair of cases.' – A Brevier Schwabacher (54 x 1.1:1.8) closely resembling, and possibly identical with, the 'Jungfrau schriftlein' contained in the specimens in Hieronymus Hornschuch's *Orthotypographia* (see there p. 42). Since the book only gives one line and a half of text in this small type, it is not possible to identify it with any degree of certainty. Perhaps the type is the same as Plantin's German 'Bible' in the 1562 sale.

Abbreviations

- CARTER & VERVLiet: H. Carter & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types* (Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, NS, 14; Oxford 1966).
- EARLY INV.: M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices, and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139.
- FOLIO SPECIMEN: *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum, 1567, & Folio specimen of c.1565, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca 1599.* With annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), no. 17: Plantin's *Folio specimen* c.1585.
- HORNSCHUCH: Hieronymus Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia* (Lipsiae 1608; reprint 1940, ed. O. Clemen (Schorndorf 1940)).
- INDEX: *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum, 1567, & Folio specimen of c.1565, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca 1599.* With annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), no. 16: *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini 1567.*
- JOHNSON: A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308.
- JOHNSON (Lamesle): A. F. Johnson. *The Type-Specimens of Claude Lamesle. A facsimile of the first edition printed at Paris in 1742.* ([Amsterdam] 1965)
- LE BÉ MEMORANDUM: H. Carter, *Sixteenth-century French Typefounders: the Le Bé Memorandum.* (Documents typographiques français, 3; Paris 1967)
- MORISON: S. Morison, *L'inventaire de la fonderie Le Bé, selon la transcription de Jean Pierre Fournier.* (Paris 1957)
- T.S.F. I: *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. I [1-15]. *Reproductions of fifteen Type Specimen sheets issued between the 16th and 18th centuries ...*, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1963).
- VERVLiet: H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries.* (Amsterdam 1968)

[THE FACSIMILE]

ORIGINAL COLOPHON

The Leiden ‘Afdrucksel’. A *Type Specimen of the Press of Willem Silvius in its Last Days (1582)* was edited by Paul Valkema Blouw and published at the Ter Lugt Press in Leiden in May 1983. The text of the introduction was translated into English by John Lane. The publication would not have been possible without the co-operation of the Leiden Municipal Archives, and the material encouragement of the Netherlands Government Printing and Publishing Office at The Hague, Silvius’ ultimate successor. One hundred copies were printed on ‘Hollands Druk’ and ‘Orion’ ivory paper.

New photos of the original were made in 2012 by Paul Dijstelberge, courtesy of the Leiden Municipal Archive.

PRINTERS TO HENDRIK NICLAES:
PLANTIN AND AUGUSTIJN VAN HASSELT



After the Reformation, anonymity was the only effective means of defence for printers of nonconformist works in countries where they were persecuted as heretics. Wherever secular and ecclesiastical authorities were collaborating to suppress expressions of the new doctrine, the struggle went on doggedly and ingeniously. In the Netherlands the authorities resorted to harsh legislation – the notorious ‘placcaten’ – and to a rigorous campaign of inquisition in which they did not stop short of typographical investigations and the use of *agents provocateurs*.¹ As for the printers involved, they endeavoured to eliminate every recognizable link between the printed work and its maker by using typographical material that could not serve to identify a particular printer. Other precautions, like the indication of a fictitious place or date of publication, gradually became ineffectual over the years. Besides the suppression of any recognizable element, the most effective method turned out to be the elimination of any indication of origin, and this was how nearly all printers of ‘heretical’ books in the Low Countries tried to elude their persecutors after 1550. Inevitably, however, their identity was known to a few collaborators, who were religious leaders and distributors of this literature. These initiates always tried to conceal the names of their printers, and later generations of followers continued to keep the secret. There is a single exception to this rule of secrecy: the Family of Love.

¹ There are documented examples of the two methods of persecution in this period. In May 1566 an investigation was made in Antwerp into the type used in some printed matter. This step was taken after a subversive pamphlet had been distributed in that city entitled *Vermaninge aen de regeerders ende gemeynte vanden vier hoofsteden van Brabant*. The authorities tried to identify the source by establishing which Antwerp printers possessed the Italic typeface used. The interrogations have been published in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 10 (s.a.), pp. 310–14. At the time the investigation led nowhere. Only recently has it been proved that Gillis Coppens van Diest was the guilty party: see H.D.L. Vervliet, ‘Een onbekende tijdgenoot van Christoffel Plantin: Ameet Tavernier, lettersteker’, *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 7 (1961), pp. 37–41. An espionage episode in Vianen, which also took place in 1566, concerned the investigation by an agent of the Court in Brussels into the activities of the printer Albert Christiaensz, who, under the protection of Hendrik van Brederode, one of the leaders of the Revolt, was responsible for printing and selling all sorts of prohibited publications. For the reports of the spy, who also describes the artful means by which he managed to worm his way into the confidence of the printer, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen’, *Het Boek*, 30 (1949–51), pp. 38–41 (= Appendix).

So much has recently been written about Hendrik Niclaes and his movement² that I shall limit myself to mentioning a few facts of particular relevance to the printing history of his writings. Shortly before his death, in the late 1570s, two of his earliest collaborators immortalized the history of the sect in two separate manuscripts: *Cronica. Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Liefsten* by Daniel (hereafter quoted as *Chronika*) and *Acta HN. De Gescheften HN.* by Zacharias.³ These works contain a curious mass of information about the life of Hendrik Niclaes and his closest relatives, his religious experiences and visions, and developments in the movement he founded. They were written for the benefit of future generations of followers, hence the mystical and allegorical form of the account and the Biblical language. In so far as they can be checked, the facts are reported selectively but reliably, although the authors are not immune to a certain bias against opponents of the sect. Only in the bitter comments on the attitude of apostate members can we detect an apologetic tone which leads to a distorted account

² The first scholar to devote an extensive study to Hendrik Niclaes and the Family of Love based on the sources was the ecclesiastical historian Friedrich Nippold. His 'Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe', the basis of all later research, was published in *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 32 (1862), pp. 323-402, 473-563. The most recent standard study on the subject is Alastair Hamilton's *The Family of Love* (Cambridge 1981). At the same time there appeared: J. Dietz Moss, 'Godded with God'. *Hendrik Niclaes and His Family of Love* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 71, pt. 8; Philadelphia 1981), which concentrates on the history of the movement in England. Historical information about the life of Hendrik Niclaes is collected in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The Family of Love', *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), pp. 219-71, which includes a survey of earlier literature. In Dutch much of the text is to be found in *id.*, 'Het Huis der Liefde en zijn publicaties', *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 1: *Humanisten, dweepers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1975), pp. 85-III. Further biographical information from the Emden archives was published by Irmgard Simon in her 'Hendrik Niclaes. Biographische und bibliographische Notizen, Emden (1540-60)', *Niederdeutsches Wort*, 13 (1973), pp. 63-77. From a bibliographical point of view this article contains hardly anything new.

³ Library of the Society for Dutch Literature (in Leiden UL), LTK 620, 621. For the full titles and further data see Nippold, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 326 ff. Cf. Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 146, n.1, and De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (1976), pp. 225 f. The title-page and the first page of text of *Acta HN* are reproduced in Dietz Moss, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 10, fig. 2. A much needed critical edition of the Leiden manuscripts will soon be appearing, edited by Alastair Hamilton, in the series *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica* [*Cronica, Ordo sacerdotis, Acta HN. Three texts on the Family of Love*, ed. A. Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden 1988). *Eds.*] – We do not know who the authors were who hid behind the Biblical names. We do know, however, that the author of the *Chronika*, Daniel, was one of the three followers of Hendrik Niclaes who travelled with him from Amsterdam to Emden in about 1540/1 (*Acta HN.*, V, 16; see Nippold, art. cit. (n. 2), p. 353). He could perhaps be identified as a brother of Hendrik Niclaes who settled in Emden as a brewer and became one of the richest inhabitants of the town (Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 148, n. 40). He was known as a dissident at an early stage: on 15 April 1545 Quirijn Pieterssen admitted during his interrogation in Amsterdam that '... Jan van Amsterdam, die woont tot Eemden in een hoeckhuys' (usually a sign of prosperity) '[was] van Davidts Joryszs secte'; see *Amsterdam (1536-1578)*, ed. A.F. Meilink (Documenta Anabaptistica, 2; Leiden 1980), no. 52, p. 62.

of events. As far as the form is concerned, the most striking aspect of the *Chronika* in particular is that the most heterogeneous items of information follow one another without any transition. The chronological order of events is indeed observed, but dates are replaced by indications of HN's age at the time, and this leads to problems owing to the uncertainty of his exact date of birth. Apart from a few vague allusions, moreover, we are not given any information enabling us to acquire an idea of his activities as a merchant: both the nature and the extent of his transactions are hidden in obscurity. The object was obviously to allude only in the most general terms to HN's worldly existence and to shroud his sources of income in secrecy.⁴

Information derived from other sources has shown that the work of the chroniclers is worthy of credence. But does this also apply to the subject of the present article, the printing history of HN's writings? In so far as the facts reported can be checked against documents in the Plantinian archives, the answer is yes. Thanks to the research of Max Rooses and his successors, we now know that various reports in the *Chronika* about Plantin's life and his relations with Hendrik Niclaes are correct,⁵ and there is no reason to doubt the veracity of information concerning episodes for which no other documentation has yet come to light. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey was thus fully justified in using the manuscripts as the basis for his 'De Geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes. Prolegomena eener Bibliographie'.⁶ Besides a historical survey of the life of HN and his movement, this eminent study on the literary heritage of the Family of Love provides a bibliographical list of HN's works and their various editions and has

⁴ In a number of the reports by the chroniclers we find identical passages which suggest a common source. HN's journals may well have played a part in this connection. As we read in *Chronika*, XIII, I, he chose a career as a 'coopman' at an early stage, and, judging from his later financial position, he was undoubtedly successful in this capacity. As his residence he always chose ports; he traded 'so-wal tom Oosten alse tom Westen' ('both in the east and in the west'), in other words overseas; and, according to documents in the archives of Emden and Aurich, he had an interest in ships (see Simon, art. cit. (n. 2), p. 67). A man who traded on such a scale must have had a good book-keeping system, and this might well account for the chronicle-like structure of the Leiden manuscripts, as well as for the attention devoted to financial questions within HN's family and which could hardly have been of relevance to the sect so many years later.

⁵ M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversois* (Anvers 1882), pp. 61 ff.; *idem*, 2nd edn. (Anvers 1896), pp. 59 ff.; *id.*, *Le Musée Plantin Moretus* (Anvers 1914), pp. 33 ff.; M. Sabbe, 'Les rapports entre B. Arias Montanus et Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt', *De Gulden Passer*, 4 (1926), pp. 19-43; H.F. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied', *De Gulden Passer*, 18 (1940), pp. 87-141; L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses, A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1969-72), vol. I, pp. 21-30.

⁶ In *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. 161-221; also issued as an offprint dated 1942. References to the editions described therein will be designated below with the abbreviation 'FV'. A condensed version of this bibliography can be found in I. Simon, 'Hendrik Niclaes und das Huys der Liefde. Ein Ueberblick', *Gedenkschrift für William Foerste* (Köln 1970), pp. 432-53.

since been fundamental for all research performed in this domain. The time at which it was written (the article appeared in 1942) and the consequent inaccessibility of much material, however, made it impossible to carry out a typographical investigation of all the printed matter to supplement the information given in the *Chronika* and *Acta*. Where the activities of two of the printers, Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt, were concerned, a number of questions thus remained unanswered. Above all the role of Augustijn, who is said to have printed for HN in Kampen, remained obscure, although the author used the information in the *Chronika* to attribute a Latin edition (FV 13) to him (albeit without ever having seen a copy).⁷ That this attribution, which was then hypothetical, should have turned out to be correct is a further confirmation of the reliability of the *Chronika*. At the same time such an outcome (to which I shall be returning later) proves the validity of the typographical analysis behind this confirmation as a means of investigating historical facts in a sometimes very distant past; what follows is largely based on the application of this same means of investigation. I shall not be discussing the Cologne editions of HN's works, nearly all revised, which were published after 1570. The unanswered questions concerning that production are largely of a historical rather than a typographical nature.⁸

DIRK VAN DEN BORNE

According to the *Chronika*, Hendrik Niclaes started to divulge his theological views from Emden, in other words after 1540/1, the year in which he probably moved there from Amsterdam. To start with he had copies made of his manuscripts, but we soon hear of 'een Boecxken' – a booklet – by him which appears to have had a wider circulation in a printed form. David Joris mentions it in a letter of 10 May 1548, but does not, unfortunately, give the title.⁹ It may have been the original edition of *De Openbaringe Godes unde syne grote Prophetie* (FV 18), which has since been lost, but the existence of which is proved by the revised Cologne edition (FV 19). As the number of his writings increased and as the steadily rising number of his followers required ever more copies of them, HN felt a growing need for the services of a printing-press.

⁷ See also Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 150, n. 56. There is a Cologne revised edition of this translation: *ibid.*, p. 151, n. 80. None of the French translations printed in Kampen and mentioned in the *Chronika* have come to light.

⁸ On the Cologne editions, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 178 ff., 209 ff.; *id.*, art. cit. (n. 2: 1976), pp. 240 ff. How long Augustijn van Hasselt printed for HN in Cologne, and who the mysterious printer Niclaes Bohmbargen was whose name appears on the publications from the Cologne press from 1576 on, are questions which have yet to be answered.

⁹ Letter no. 100 in David Joris, *Christlycke Sendtbrieven ...*, vol. 1, pt. 1 (*s.a.*); cf. A. van der Linde, *David Joris. Bibliographie* ('s-Gravenhage 1867), no. 225. For a summary of the letter see Nippold, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 364 ff. and Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 21 f.

Because of his desire to remain unobtrusive – that ‘hypocrisy’ which his enemies held against him but which was a far from uncommon form of protection in business circles – his own town of residence was an unattractive site, although in 1554 a printer came to live in Emden who did not hesitate to undertake dangerous work: Steven Mierdmans.¹⁰ Hendrik Niclaes, however, searched elsewhere and found an opportunity in Deventer, where the printing-press of Dirk van den Borne, which had been largely inactive for twenty years, following his death in 1519, had been revived by his homonymous son. This Dirk (II) had been involved previously in clandestine printing, and had been in serious trouble in 1544, after printing various books by David Joris, including his principal work, the *Wonderboeck*.¹¹ He got off lightly at the time thanks to the clemency of the town magistrates, who accepted the plea that he was insufficiently educated to judge the true nature of the work.¹² When he was approached by HN, therefore, he knew from personal experience about the dangers involved in printing books of this sort, but for the previous ten years he had only produced schoolbooks and almanacs, and his new employer undoubtedly possessed sufficient means to make an order attractive. The *Chronika* tells us that Dirk van den Borne printed an unspecified number of tracts and ‘epistles’ for HN, under the supervision of the latter’s collaborator Hendrik Jansen (Barrefelt), who had come to Deventer for the purpose. After the order had been completed, Barrefelt carried the entire edition to his master in Emden and was then instructed to distribute the publications in the northern Netherlands and Brabant.¹³ There is no doubt about

¹⁰ In that year Niclaes van den Berghe (Nicholas Hill) and Steven Mierdmans, emigrants from the southern Low Countries who had acquired an important position in London as jobbing printers but who had to leave England owing to the royal succession, both settled in Emden, where they each opened a new printing-press. Van den Berghe printed for the Reformed community in Emden and was thus unsuitable for HN, but Mierdmans was far more liberal and in 1556 even published some writings by the Anabaptist Dirk Philips; see M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips, 1504-1568. A Catalogue of His Printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Nieuwkoop 1975), nos. 16 (p. 77) and 22 (p. 91).

¹¹ For the original edition of the *Wonderboeck*, dated in 1542 but not completed until 1544, see A. van der Linde, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 14, and, more extensively, *id.*, ‘La première édition du *Wonderboeck* de David Joris de Gand (1542)’, *Annales du bibliophile belge et hollandais*, 1 (1864-6), pp. 127 ff.

¹² For the proceedings of his trial, see *Bescheiden betreffende de Hervorming in Overijssel*, ed. J. de Hullu, vol. 1: *Deventer (1522-1546)* (Deventer 1899), pp. 277-324.

¹³ *Chronika*, xv, 10: ‘Dho nu HN dessen synen dener [i.e. Barrefelt], benevens em dus gesettet, unde em in alles wal underwesen hadde, so sende he em dus einmael to Deventer, to einem Drucker genaempt Dierick van dem Bo[e]rne, unde bestede em dus etlicke kleine Stucxkens unde Sendtbrieven, (dorch HN am-dach gegeven) tho drucken. Blev oick daer-by, beth dath se alle gedaen waren; unde brachte also desulve mit sick tho Embden, by HN.’; *ibid.*, xv, 11: ‘Desulve gedruckede Boeckskens, gaf em HN einsdeels in handen, dath he daermede wat reisen, unde den Lief-hebberen der Waerheit, so hyr unde daer, andenen solde; unde bracht also desulve einsdeels by etlicke

the accuracy of these reports. Various tracts do indeed have the same types as those which appear in the books Van den Borne had formerly printed for David Joris and which he had admitted to be from his press at the time of his trial in 1544.¹⁴ As De la Fontaine Verwey has shown,¹⁵ he printed for Hendrik Niclaes FV 26, 51, 53, 57 and 58, the only known copies of which are bound together in a single volume.¹⁶ The dates at the end of each item, running from 1546 to 1552, do not indicate when the texts were published but when they were written. Since, as the *Chronika* reports, they were printed in the course of a single visit ('einmael') by Hendrik Jansen (Barrefelt) in Deventer, the year of publication cannot be earlier than 1552 (the last date), or perhaps 1553, if the year given in FV 68, no copy of which is known, is quoted correctly in the source. We also know that they cannot have been published later than 1557 or 1558, since Van den Borne died at about this time.¹⁷ The most likely date seems to be about 1553-5, in connection with the probable year of publication of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* (FV 2 = FV 1),¹⁸ which I will be discussing later. For Van den Borne printed an extensive

Goedtwilligen in Frieslandt, int Landt van Overysel, unde oick in de Landen van Hollandt unde Brabandt.'

¹⁴ For the tracts by Hendrik Niclaes Van den Borne used his Corpus Schwabacher (74/5 mm) with which he had printed his New Testament in 1532. See the reproductions in W. Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540 ...*, 2 vols. + Supplément (La Haye 1926-35), Theodoricus de Borne, Pl. VIII, illus. 38 and 39. Besides this typeface use is made of faces familiar to us from the *Wonderboek*: the Grobe Canon (288 mm) and the Grobe Fraktur Bapsts (Pabst) (144 mm), to use the names given to these types in Hieronymus Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia* (Lipsiae 1608; repr. 1940, ed. O. Clemen, and repr. 1983, ed. M. Boghardt), p. 40 resp. 42. – For a reproduction of the title-page of one of the tracts, on which the three typefaces appear, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (1942), illus. 2 (p. 214).

¹⁵ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 166 ff.

¹⁶ Mennonite Library, on loan to Amsterdam UL, shelf-mark I. 2661.

¹⁷ On 20 April the town auctioneer declared that Dirck van den Borne's printing-press and all that went with it had been sold publicly in his estate to Johan van Breda. The proceeds went to the creditors; see M.E. Houck, 'Iets over Deventer's oudste drukkers', *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging tot Beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis*, 23 (1904), p. 29.

¹⁸ There still exists the mistaken idea that, besides the revised Cologne edition of 1578-80, there were two impressions of *Den Spiegel*: one entitled *Den Spiegel der Gerechticheit* (FV 1, Voet 1731; reprod. in Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. I, Pl. 4), and the other *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* (FV 2, Voet 1732; reprod. in De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 2, 1976), illus. 2); containing 292 and 318 leaves respectively. [For the references to Voet followed by a number, see Voet, op. cit. (n. 39, Eds.)] The two editions are first mentioned in C. Borchling & B. Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, vols. 1-3, pt. 1 (Neumünster 1931-57; repr. 1976), nos. 1651 A* and 1546 P (with the wrong date 1549). In fact only one edition exists, entitled *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*. The *Den Spiegel* title-page is an extra title-page which, preceded by 26 leaves of index and errata, opens the first part of the text. The misunderstanding is obviously due to the incomplete copy in Berlin which is described as a separate edition in

synopsis (FV 7) of that work as a sort of prospectus to attract interested purchasers and thus to collect the money necessary for the publication of this expensive work.¹⁹ He was not going to produce it himself, however, since the author had managed, in the meantime, to find another way of having the book published.

CHRISTOPHER PLANTIN

This leads us to the next printer who worked for Hendrik Niclaes: Christopher Plantin. Much has been written about the relations between the two men ever since P.A. Tiele publicized in bibliographical circles the sensational information which F. Nippold had found in the *Chronika* a few years earlier.²⁰ After the passages referring to Plantin had been published in full²¹ and had turned out to be reliable wherever they could be checked, the view was generally accepted that he had printed for HN – all that remained unsettled was what he had published and when. There was no doubt about his share in the printing of *Den Spiegel*, described in such detail in the *Chronika*, until Colin Clair observed in his biography of Plantin that he could hardly believe that the Frenchman could ever have printed a book with ‘so heavily Teutonic’ an aspect.²² More recently H.D.L. Vervliet said something similar: ‘... I remain sceptical. The typography of the book [...] does not correspond to that of other known products of Plantin’s press at this time. Instead, it is quasi-German in character (Cologne?)’.²³

These observations are valid and make a closer investigation of the matter necessary. How can we account for a design which is so very different from that of Plantin’s normal production if he really did print the work? I believe that two elements are central in solving this problem: the special nature of the book and the market which

FV 1. It lacks the preliminaries with the general title-page and consequently starts with the second title-page. The intriguing question remains of what has become, in the above-mentioned reproduction of the (second) title-page, of the indication ‘fol. j’ in the upper right-hand corner of the original.

¹⁹ See De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 2, 1976), p. 229.

²⁰ P.A. Tiele, ‘Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Henrik Niclaes’, *Le bibliophile Belge*, 3 (1868), pp. 121-9; cf. also n. 2.

²¹ First by Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), pp. 393-400: ‘Extraits de la Chronique de la Famille de la Charité concernant Plantin’. Then again, with the exclusion of some passages, by Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 133-41; reproduced in *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durme (Anvers 1955), pp. 282-90.

²² C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), p. 246, with a reproduction of the title-page facing p. 33.

²³ This passage appears in a book review in *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), p. 72.

HN had in mind. David Joris died in 1556 and it was not long before a connection was seen between his death and the rise of Hendrik Niclaes. If we judge from the external appearance of *Den Spiegel*, the author must indeed have regarded his magnum opus as a successor and replacement of the *Wonderboeck*, so similar is the design of the two books, down to the woodcuts in the margin of disproportionately large pointing hands calling the reader's attention to special passages. Even if we realise that in these years late-Gothic stylistic elements still prevailed in German books, we are nevertheless dealing with a book deliberately designed to impress the reader. The overcrowded layout of the title-page²⁴ and the pompous initials – expensive purchases for use on a single occasion – all played their part. The boisterous appearance of the book is in complete contrast to the balanced layout of the Renaissance book in France on which Plantin based himself. Clair was probably right in suspecting the hand of Augustijn van Hasselt in *Den Spiegel* – a man sent by Hendrik Niclaes, for whom he had worked as a copyist for about a year,²⁵ as a corrector to Antwerp, where, as we shall soon see, he turned into an excellent printer.

Even if the book was printed at Plantin's establishment it would be incorrect to regard it as a result of Plantin's own policy as a publisher. In every respect the work is a creation of Hendrik Niclaes, who conceived it, wrote it, designed it, financed and distributed it. As the *Chronika* tells us he bore the expense of all purchases. Types, woodcuts, initials, paper – he paid for everything necessary. When 'more different types' were required in Antwerp he sent two men to Cologne, again at his own expense, for the purpose of obtaining them.²⁶ We must realise that we are dealing with what, for that time, was a huge publishing venture, one of the most expensive undertakings in the Low Countries since the publication of the *Louvain Bible* in 1548. For the production of the latter work, which was also printed with specially acquired

²⁴ For a full-scale reproduction of the title-page see Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), facing p. 62; *id.*, op. cit. (n. 5, 1896), p. 60; *id.*, op. cit. (n. 5, 1914), p. 50. Reduced reproductions in De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 2, 1976), illus. 2, and in Clair, op. cit. (n. 22), facing p. 33. Comparison with the *Wonderboeck* should be based on the original edition of 1542(-4) (Van der Linde, op. cit. (n. 9), no. 14; see. n. 11), and not on the revised edition dated 1551, but only printed in about 1583 by Dierck Mullem in Vianen (Van der Linde 57). On this reprint and the date of publication, see J. Smit, 'Nogmaals Dierck Mullem', *Het Boek*, 25 (1938-9), pp. 65 f. Later on another reprint appeared with the same year (Van der Linde 58).

²⁵ *Chronika*, xv, 29: 'Unde Augustyn, die sick seer ermelick behelpen mo[e]ste, wart oick van HN. in dem Denste upgeholfen, um mede in de Druckerie tho helpen, tor beteren vorthganck; welcken Augustijn oick vohr-hen tom Hu[e]se van HN. umtrent ein Jaer edder mehr, de Boecker overschreven hadde, unde dath oick allent, up de Kosten van HN.'; reprinted in Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), p. 394.

²⁶ *Chronika*, xv, 28: 'HN sende oick van Antwerpen two menner (up syn eigen Costen) to Collen, um mehr andere Schriften, die men daer-thoe bedarf was, tho kopen, die he oick alles betalede ...'; reprinted in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 135, and in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 283.

typographical material, the printer and his two fellow publishers signed an agreement, the surviving text of which gives us an excellent insight into the care with which a similar partnership was organized.²⁷ We can assume that Hendrik Niclaes and Plantin also had a business contract, although, understandably enough, no indication of it survives in Plantin's accounts.

Still basing ourselves on the *Chronika*, we see that, for this production, Plantin provided the facilities of his press and Hendrik Niclaes purchased the necessary typefaces and woodcuts ('Boeckstaven edder Schriften unde Figuren').²⁸ The choice of this material – and we now come to the second factor determining the external aspect of the book – was conditioned by HN's expectations concerning the geographical area where he was likely to find the largest number of followers: the north-eastern Netherlands and the bordering Dutch and German regions. Owing to the strong influence from the east in this Hansa area, people were accustomed to German characters, and both David Joris' *Wonderboeck* and the earliest publications of Menno Simons, like *Dat Fundament* (1539), were printed in a Schwabacher. In the German-speaking countries, however, this typeface was gradually replaced by a more modern design, the Fraktur. In Cologne, too, the most important centre of printing in western Germany, this latter typeface was being introduced on a large scale, and it was in this city, as we saw, that HN purchased his types. Thus, in *Den Spiegel*, we find three bodies of Fractura: Canon (288 mm), Double Pica (144 mm) and English (91 mm).²⁹ These, later supplemented by a fourth, smaller type, are used in all books by HN, even in the later Cologne editions, which include, moreover, some of the woodcuts and initials already used in Antwerp.³⁰

²⁷ L. van Buyten, 'Het kontrakt van Bartholomeus Gravius, Anthonio-Maria Bergaigne en Jan Waen voor het drukken van "Leuvense Bijbels" (1547)', *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en omgeving*, 5 (1965), pp. 83-95. – For a contract concluded by Plantin himself at about this time, see the fairly complicated agreement with the artist Lambert Suavius in 1558 in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 21), pp. 255 f. (no. 228).

²⁸ *Chronika*, XV, 27, reprinted in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 134-5 and in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 283.

²⁹ The largest typeface is the particularly successful Grosse Canon, the most commonly used German face on this body for about two hundred years. The earliest known specimen in which this typeface is found is in Hornschuch, op. cit. (n. 14), where four lines are reproduced in the type on p. 40. The Double Pica is reproduced on p. 41 as Bibel- oder Textschrift. It is the Neudörffer-Andreae Fractura dating from 1525 in an almost unaltered form. Compare the alphabet of this face in E. Crous & J. Kirchner, *Die gotischen Schriftarten* (Leipzig 1928), Pl. 63, illus. 126, with the alphabet in K. Siebert, *Meisterbuch deutscher Schrift* (Berlin 1934), Pl. 30, composed of characters in Sigmund Feyerabend's *Thurnier Buch* (Frankfurt 1566). The type bought by HN is identical to the latter example. For the English Fractura see note 44.

³⁰ For the types see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6), illus. 6 (p. 215; full-scale) and 7 (p. 216; reduced). Of the initials used in Antwerp and Kampen the following appear in Cologne editions:

As the *Chronika* informs us, besides *Den Spiegel* Plantin printed an unspecified number of ‘small books’ (‘mehr andere kleine Boeckeren’) – ‘small’ presumably in comparison with *Den Spiegel*, the only work by HN which appeared in a folio format.³¹ In attempting to establish what these books were, we have to consider the following points. That the typographical design of HN’s books differs so greatly from the style of Plantin should not, as we have seen, prevent us from attributing them to the Antwerp printer. The German types in which they are set, however, do not appear in any work from his early period and are consequently of no use in proving his involvement; only other typefaces used besides the Fracturas can prove a connection. Actually several typefaces are to be found, both in *Den Spiegel* and in the group of ‘small books’, which we know to have been in Plantin’s possession. This is probably why De la Fontaine Verwey (albeit not specifically), later to be followed by Voet, attributed all early editions not published in Deventer to Plantin. These are mainly preserved in a second volume³² containing fourteen tracts and ‘epistles’ printed with the aforesaid Fracturas. Since they are supplemented with some types used by Plantin, an attribution to this printer is justifiable.

A complication, however, is provided by the fact that Augustijn van Hasselt is also said to have printed for HN. The *Chronika* says that HN put him in charge of a new printing shop in Kampen, a port in the northern Netherlands, where he printed a number of ‘small’ books for his master, including translations in Latin and French.³³ Not a single book with his imprint is known, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the report, since Augustijn definitely stayed in Kampen. On 4 September 1561, an ‘Augustin Boekeprenter’ is reported to have satisfied the aldermen with

A in FV 15, D in FV 31, H in FV 72, N in FV 43, V in FV 76 and FV 86, and perhaps some others in English translations which I have not seen.

³¹ *Chronika*, XV, 27. Reproduced in Bouchery, art. cit., p. 134, and in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 283. See also *Chronika*, XV, 32: ‘Dho nu overst den Spiegel der Gerechtigheit mit de andere kleine Bocker, dus alle by Ch. Pl. gedruket, unde dath de Kosten meest alle van HN. bekostiget unde betaelt waren, so heft HN. etlicke kleine Boeckskens, synem Sone Franscois behandet ...’. Also in Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), p. 394.

³² Mennonite Library, on loan to Amsterdam UL.

³³ *Chronika*, XVIII, 4: ‘In dessem middelen tyde overst, so richte HN (tom meestendeel up syne sulvest kosten) ein gantze Drückerie up, to Kampen, in dem Lande van Over-ysel, unde datt mit Augustyn van Hasselt, die he daer-tho gewonnen hadde, um to Kampen int openbaer tho drucken; unde also worden daer to Kampen noch eensdeels unde mannigerleye kleine Bo[e]ckeren vant Hu[e]s der Lieften gedruket, oick einsdeels in der Latynscher Sprake, unde einsdeels in der Franscoiser Sprake, die allnt [*sic*] uth den Dudischen Schriften van HN. amdach gegeben, overgesettet waren; unde de Here gaf syne Barmherticheit over idt sulve Werck, dattet allent in der Stadt Kampen, unbeschadiget uth-gevo[e]ret wart’. Also in Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), p. 395.

the documents of identity which he presented at their request on 24 July.³⁴ We do not know how long he remained in the town, but he certainly departed before the summer of 1564, for he was living in Antwerp on 14 May of that year.³⁵ The question of what he printed in Kampen and how that work can be recognized has hitherto gone unanswered. In this context a curious fact, which has not previously been remarked upon, emerges when we draw up a list, according to printer, of the original editions of HN's writings – in other words of all the works which appeared before he had a new series printed in Cologne, in 1573 and later, after a general revision. We then have the following picture: (a) Dirk van den Borne published six tracts – FV 7, 26, 51, 53, 57 and 58 or even seven, if the lost FV 68 is included, about which an early source says that it carries the date 1553. As far as we know the dates are only given in the editions printed in Deventer; (b) Twenty publications printed with material to be found in Plantin's books have come to light: FV [I =] 2 (*Den Spiegel*), 8, 13, 14, 22, 46, 55, 56, 59, 63-7, 69, 70, 71, 74 (fourteen of which are contained in the volume mentioned), an edition of *Dre grundighe refereinen* not recorded by De la Fontaine Verwey, and FV 96, one of the woodcuts from *Den Spiegel* published separately with a printed text;³⁶ (c) A single tract (FV 35) was published in Kampen in 1565 by the printer Peter Warnersen.

Fortunately, and partly owing to the existence of the later revised editions, the work of Hendrik Niclaes has survived almost entirely and we know the titles of virtually all his writings. We can thus establish which original editions of his works are lacking in the above list. There would appear to be eight: FV 18, 30, 49, 60, 68, 83, 106 and the original edition of *Eine hertelicke vormaninge* (= epistle XIX), or seven if we attribute FV 68 to Van den Borne (see above). This group of lost editions could include books printed in Deventer or Antwerp, or by an unknown printer, as was the case of the book discussed by David Joris, or, finally, books printed in Kampen. But even in the event of their all having been printed by Augustijn van Hasselt, this would still mean that HN set up a press of his own in order to print a maximum of forty quires (judging from the length of the Cologne reprints). This is obviously out of the question.

The unacceptable conclusion of this argument can only be attributed to a mistaken premise: the tacit assumption that everything printed with types found in books produced by Plantin was his own work. The conclusion may seem obvious, but in this case it apparently cannot be correct, and we must accept the possibility, indeed the

³⁴ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6), p. 175.

³⁵ Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. no. 31 '*Livre des ouvriers*', f. Or. [= unnumbered page before f. 1].

³⁶ In *Den Spiegel* the woodcut is printed on the first folio after the title-page. – See De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 2, 1976), pp. 263 ff. and illus. 8 (a reduced reproduction of the edition as a broadside).

probability, that a considerable number of the editions attributed to Plantin were in fact not printed by him but by Augustijn van Hasselt. Such a development may seem surprising, but it is hardly so if we consider that, as we shall see in the next pages, the printing of nonconformist books had become far too dangerous in Antwerp, as Plantin was to discover to his cost in 1562. The foundation of a printing-office in a safer town was thus a logical decision.

Kampen was probably the best conceivable choice. Several printers had already settled there who were allowed enough elbow-room by the magistrates to publish a variety of books whose orthodoxy was dubious to say the least.³⁷ It was also a port and, like Amsterdam and Emden, consequently an attractive haven for HN after his escape from the latter city in 1560. As we might expect, he lived unobtrusively, stayed with a friend, and must have made sure that his interest in the printing-office remained concealed. For the outside world Augustijn van Hasselt was the man in charge, and he, of course, had to be an official resident of the city in order to print and had to have lodgings of his own. Plantin stayed with him when he visited Kampen at about this time.³⁸ The two printers had probably been on good, indeed on intimate, terms ever since they had worked on *Den Spiegel*, and this led to Augustijn's coming to Antwerp in May 1564, after his association with HN had ended, in order to prepare Plantin's *Thesaurus theutonicae linguae* (Voet 2310) for the press.³⁹ As far as the use of Plantin's typographical material in Kampen is concerned, the good reciprocal relations between the three men would obviously mean that Hendrik Niclaes and his printer obtained whatever they needed to supplement their own types (for the printing of the French and Latin translations, for example) from Plantin. Who else could guarantee so much collaboration and discretion?

We should thus assume, as a provisional hypothesis, that books were printed for HN in Kampen at least partly with types supplied by Plantin from his own collection, and the question is now how these works can be distinguished from those which appeared in Antwerp. By and large we can say that the use of identical material – possibly even with the same initials and ornaments – in more than

³⁷ See G.H.A. Krans, 'Kamper boekdrukkers in de 16e eeuw', *Kamper Almanak 1959/1960* (Kampen 1959), pp. 176-91; *id.*, 'Peter Warnersen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 147-69; *id.*, 'Steven Joessen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen van c.1550-1581', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 91-103.

³⁸ *Chronika*, XXI, 20. During this stay, Plantin handed over to HN the legacy of jewels bequeathed by a supporter in Paris, having kept several valuable pieces himself to cover his claims on the Frenchman. The background to this much discussed matter remains unclear.

³⁹ All references to Voet followed by a number are to L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle, 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3).

one printing-office makes attributions difficult but not necessarily impossible. In order to draw a dividing line within such a production and to establish what comes from what press, we do, however, need supplementary evidence. Sometimes this is provided directly by historical sources, but when such information is lacking we must acquire the necessary indications indirectly. In our case they can be derived from a combination of typographical and historical data concerning the types possessed by Plantin's press in the first six years of its existence.

THE PRINTING TYPES IN HENDRIK NICLAES' WORKS

Plantin began his career as a printer on a small scale with type which he acquired in his home town from Ameet Tavernier and which can also be found among other printers.⁴⁰ It was from this punchcutter that, in the first year of his activity as a printer (1555), he bought, in addition to other material, four founts of Roman: Double Pica (116 mm; Vervliet R 16), Great Primer (96 mm; R 20), Pica (82 mm; R 26) and Long Primer (68 mm; R 32).⁴¹ All four appear in *Den Spiegel*, otherwise entirely set in the three largest Fraktur. The smallest Roman (R 32) is used throughout the work in the marginalia, but the others are only used once, for special purposes. On the verso of the second folio a large woodcut includes a dozen words set in capitals of R 20; in the same place we find three words in R 26; and finally, R 16 is used on the last page of the book for the motto 'Charitas extorsit'. Likewise, small quantities of these types can be found in two books of group (b) set in the same Fraktur (FV 69 and 74), in which R 32 is used for the marginalia and the motto is also set in R 16. These are not the only similarities with *Den Spiegel*: there is a striking decorative motif which appears both here and in the *Psalmen* (FV 74) which consists of two onion-shaped fleurons lying above one another. Such a replacement for a large paragraph sign which was obviously lacking is so exceptional in the Netherlands that it must be regarded as an important clue. And there are other indications of the common origin of the three books: the spelling, for example, is closer to Low German than that of the other editions listed under (b), where it is adapted to the eastern Dutch dialect spoken and written in Kampen.⁴² All this suggests

⁴⁰ On Ameet Tavernier, see M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, III. Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter (ca. 1522-1570)', *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 17-76. See also H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), pp. 28 ff. On his life, see M. Sabbe, 'Ameet Tavernier', *Het Boek*, 12 (1923), pp. 163-76. On his relations with Plantin, see Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. 2, pp. 68 ff.

⁴¹ Vervliet, op. cit., pp. 246 f., 254 f., 266 f., and 276 f.

⁴² The example comes from a four-line poem which is always printed under the motto 'Charitas extorsit' and the appropriate woodcut (see following note): 'Unse Hert is Godes Gemüth'; see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 2, 1976), p. 234, and illus. 4 (p. 242). For the version with 'Gemot',

that we are here dealing with two of the 'small' books printed, according to the *Chronika*, by Plantin for HN. In addition to *Den Spiegel*, we can therefore ascribe to him *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes over de olde vordorvene werlt* (FV 69) and *Psalmen unde Ledern* (FV 74). Two elements are decisive for dating these books and provide narrow chronological limits. Three of the four Roman types used in *Den Spiegel* (R 16, R 26 and R 32), and probably also the fourth (R 20), all by Tavernier, had been in Plantin's possession since the beginning of his activity as a printer in 1555. At an early stage, however, he replaced his Pica Roman (R 26) by buying matrices of Garamont's *Mediane Rommain*, as the face is described in his inventory of 1561, and with this type he printed *l' A,B,C, ou Instruction Chrestienne* (Voet I) as early as 1558. We can thus conclude that *Den Spiegel*, in which Tavernier's Pica Roman (R 26) appears, came off the press between 1555 and 1558. For this book, and for the two smaller ones which, judging from their typography, appeared about the same time, the date 1556/7 must be reasonably accurate.

We are now left with a large series of tracts printed both with HN's Fracturas and with other types used by Plantin but which differ from the ones mentioned so far. The only extant copies of most of these editions are bound together in the second Hendrik Niclaes volume at Amsterdam. If we open this volume we are immediately struck by the homogeneity of the contents. Not only do the types and the repeated occurrence of woodcuts⁴³ form a common element, but it is above all the uniform design which betrays the hand of an expert compositor. A number of the tracts contain the above-mentioned new typeface, a Small Pica Fractura (71 mm). The

see *id.*, art. cit. (n. 6), illus. 5 (p. 215). No special study has been devoted to the language of HN and his followers. See, however, Simon, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 445 f., who rightly observes that the language written by HN was probably different to the language which he and his followers spoke daily. The Dutch philologist J. Wille describes the language of the Family of Love as Low German but very close to Dutch in his 'De godsdienstige denkbelden van Jan van der Noot in zijn Keulsche periode', *Studies aangeboden aan Gerard Brom* (Utrecht/Nijmegen 1952), pp. 223-44. I believe, however, that we are dealing with a language which is essentially Dutch, but adapted, perhaps more in spelling than in idiom, to the mixed form in which it was spoken in the eastern regions of the Netherlands and the German border area. A closer analysis of HN's writings printed in Deventer and Antwerp (the Emden period), Kampen and Cologne may reveal linguistic elements characteristic, respectively, of East Frisian, the dialect of Overijssel and Gelderland, and the Low German of the Rhineland.

⁴³ On these heart-shaped woodcuts, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 172 f., with illus. 4 and 5 (full-scale) on p. 215, and Nippold, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 330 f., n. 23. Each appears three times in the volume: in FV 8, *Evangelium*, FV 22, *Prophetie*, and FV 71, *Vorkundinghe van dem vrede up erden*; on the verso of the title-page a representation of the last judgement, on the last leaf a woodcut with two clasped hands under a lily, above which is the device 'Charitas extorsit'. They both also appear in *Den Spiegel*, and in *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte* (FV 69). The *Psalmen* (FV 74), however, only has the 'Charitas' woodcut, which suggests that this 'small' book was printed before work was started on the large volume. Of the initials used in *Den Spiegel* three appear in the volume: D in FV 8, J in FV 96 and W in FV 70.

Fractura on English (91 mm) formerly used for HN,⁴⁴ which suits the folio format of *Den Spiegel*, was an unnecessarily large and consequently expensive body for smaller books of any length. The new type was purchased in answer to this requirement, but this time the *Chronika* does not tell us where it was bought. Besides this and the other Fracturas, Garamont's Brevier (54 mm) is used for the marginalia,⁴⁵ while running titles and chapter headings are set in a Roman on the body of English which can be identified with Pierre Haultin's (first) *Saint Augustin* (95 mm).⁴⁶ These two typefaces also appear together in a Latin edition of HN's *Evangelium* (FV 13), which is obviously one of the Latin translations mentioned in the *Chronika*. The fact that the two types should have been used both in this Latin edition and in the pieces collected in the second Amsterdam volume points to a connection between the editions which suggests that all of them, including those in the vernacular, came from Kampen. Next to this connection the time factor plays an important part: Garamont's typeface was already used by Plantin in 1559, but Haultin's first appears in Jacobus Raevardus' *Tribonianus*, which he printed in 1561 (Voet 2117).⁴⁷ This date shifts the entire set of editions to the year in which we have seen that HN opened his own printing-office. It is unlikely that he was still calling on Plantin's services as a printer in this period.

Yet, such a possibility cannot as yet be rejected out of hand, especially since the new Fractura also appears in an Antwerp edition of this year: *De Secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois* (Plantin 1561; Voet 39), a translation of the *Secreti* attributed to Girolamo

⁴⁴ *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II (16-18). *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive specimen characterum*, 1567, & *Folio specimen of ca. 1585*, together with the *Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca 1599*. With annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), pp. 6-11: Plantin's *Folio specimen*, c.1585, no. 31 (p. 9): Augustine Allemande; M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 (hereafter cited as 'Early Inventories'), pp. 87 and 94 (Inventory 1588), and see p. 66. — This is the 'Mittel Fraktur' in Hornschuch's type specimen: op. cit. (n. 14), pp. 42 f. The type is a later development of the Neudörffer-Andreae Fractura of 1525. For the original design, see Crous & Kirchner, op. cit. (n. 29), Pl. 6, illus. 131.

⁴⁵ For Garamont's *Bible* (or *Breviaire*) *Romaine*, see *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, op. cit. (n. 44), vol. 2, pp. 1-5: *Index sive Specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini* (1567), no. 35 (p. 5); *ibid.*, pp. 6-11: *Folio Specimen of ca. 1585*, no. 63 (p. 10); 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 9 and 11 (Inventory [1561]). Although the editors say this was the only Brevier Roman which Plantin used until after 1570, two separately catalogued founts of this type appeared at the auction of 1562, designated as 'old' and 'new' (Arch. no. 27, f. 42). He does not appear to have owned a set of matrices at that point; in neither of the two lots is a mould mentioned. In 1562 or 1563 he took over the punches from Le Bé II, which the latter had bought at the auction of Garamont's estate.

⁴⁶ 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 9, 14 (Inventory [1561]): *Augustin Rommain de Hautin*. Cf. *Folio Specimen of ca 1585*, op. cit. (n. 44), no. 21 and p. 8: *Augustine sur le Texte*, where the lower case of the type, cast on Great Primer, is combined with Garamont's *Texte* capitals. On the use of Haultin's types by Plantin, see H. Carter, 'The types of Christopher Plantin', *The Library*, 5th S., II (1956), pp. 175 f.

⁴⁷ According to 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), p. 14, after a statement by Matthew Carter.

Ruscelli. This must be a reason for wondering whether Plantin's collection of matrices included this typeface and whether the Fractura, like the two Romans, was provided by Plantin. There are other indications that this is what happened: the typeface appears in the Folio Specimen which he printed in c.1585 from the types then in his possession;⁴⁸ it is mentioned in several of his inventories; and besides, matrices of this face are still kept in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (no. MA 39).

THE SMALL FRACTURA

In light of this abundant documentation, there seems to be no doubt that Plantin had the type in his possession around 1561. Yet I hope to show that he could not have had a Small Pica Fractura at his disposal in these years and that the typeface only entered his possession many years later. This assertion rests on an analysis of the types he owned on the basis of the inventories then made. The lists, compiled for various reasons and at different times, give a complete survey of the growth of his collection of types. They contain data of great importance both for the attribution and the dating of typefaces.⁴⁹ Before using this information, however, we should take note of a fact which, in view of what has been said, may seem surprising: our Fractura does not appear in the list of Plantin's possessions auctioned in the spring of 1562.

The circumstances leading to this dramatic event have been described repeatedly, so that I need only recall the principal facts.⁵⁰ At the end of February 1562, the authorities in Brussels discovered that a book which they regarded as inadmissible had been printed by Plantin's press – apparently by some of his employees who had availed themselves of their master's absence of a few weeks. Plantin was prosecuted and saw himself threatened both by imprisonment and the confiscation of his property. He managed to avoid the first danger by going into hiding, while he got around the second thanks to a speedy manoeuvre: he accepted his bankruptcy. Consequently a public auction of his personal and professional possessions, including his publishing stock and the printing-office, was held in April. A written catalogue of this auction has survived in the Plantinian archives, an inventory in which the sale prices (but

⁴⁸ Plantin's *Folio specimen*, op. cit. (n. 44), no. 52 and p. 10: *Philosophie Allemande*. Described with reservations by the compilers of *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II as identical to the so-called *Petri-Fraktur*. On comparison with this typeface as reproduced in Crous & Kirchner, op. cit. (n. 29), illus. 93, 94 and 129, the identification would appear to be untenable. See also n. 60.

⁴⁹ See the introduction by the editors (pp. 1-6) and Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. 2, pp. 80 f. and 86 ff. Mentions of the first use of certain typefaces by Plantin without source references are mainly taken from this valuable collection of information on Plantin's types.

⁵⁰ Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. 1, pp. 34-44; Clair, op. cit. (n. 22), pp. 23-7; C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes Plantiniens', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 33 (Mainz 1958), pp. 155-63; *id.*, 'Jean et Jacques Taffin, Jean d'Arras et Christophe Plantin', *De Gulden Passer*, 36 (1958), pp. 125-36.

unfortunately not the names of the buyers) of every lot have been noted.⁵¹ This extensive list, apparently a contemporary copy of the original auction catalogue, gives a detailed description of the goods on offer, and also of the founts: cast type and, where present, the matrices as indicated by the accompanying mould. The specification, obviously the work of an expert, gives us an idea of all the types in the firm at the time of the inventory. They include three German typefaces: 'Hoochduytsche', as opposed to the types described as 'Duytsch', a term then used to designate a Dutch Textura. According to the list these three were a *Mediaen* (Pica), an *Essendiana* (Long Primer), and a type 'accorderende opten bybel', suitable for the printing of bibles (a Brevier) – but no Small Pica.⁵²

The Fractura was thus not at the auction and, since there is no evidence that Plantin removed any typographical material from the sale, it is clear that the typeface was not in his possession at the time. And yet we see that the Inventory of 1561 mentions 'une Colognoise' on *Garamonde* (Long Primer), identified by the compilers of 'Early Inventories' with our small Fractura.⁵³ This discrepancy requires an explanation, and gives rise to two observations. The first is that the date given to this Inventory is arbitrary. As the authors rightly pointed out the list refers 'to the period preceding the partnership with the van Bomberghens which was contracted on 26 November 1563'. When they go on to say: 'However, the inventory [...] does not include matrices Plantin is known to have bought at Garamont's executors' sale in November 1561 or early 1562 ...', this statement, correct in itself, is misleading, if, as happened, it is used for dating the document two years earlier than the agreement. This date would presuppose that Plantin sent his Paris purchases directly to Antwerp and that the new matrices were thus already there by about the end of 1561. There is no evidence that this was so; indeed, the auction catalogue of April 1562 implicitly suggests the contrary, for not one of these purchases appears in it.⁵⁴ What is certain, therefore, is that the Inventory of '1561' does not contain the material which was in Antwerp in that year, but which was there at some time after the sale held in the year following. In fact, Plantin only drew up this list on the occasion of the dissolution of his company in 1566,⁵⁵ with the specific purpose of separating the matrices which he

⁵¹ PMM, Arch. no. 27; Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. 1, p. 41.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Arch. no. 27, ff. 41, 43 and 43v.

⁵³ 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 9 f.: 'Garamont petit Rommain, Italique et grec de Granjon et une Colognoise avec 2. Instruments'.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9. For a description of the typefaces bought in Paris, see *ibid.*, pp. 18–24.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9: 'The [1561] and [1566] Inventories were written by Plantin at the same time on two halves of the same piece of paper. Internal evidence makes it clear that they were written in the second half of 1566. [...] Both were copied in part from the 1563 Inventory.'

had bought previously to the co-operation from the later purchases, which had been acquired jointly and for which a price had to be settled at the separation. Strictly speaking the list contains the types in Plantin's possession by 25 November 1563, the day before the agreed partnership came into force. In fact it is simply a splitting up of the inventory of that year, the first one which Plantin compiled after his return to Antwerp in June 1563.⁵⁶

Another observation concerns the question of whether the typeface is actually the same as our Fractura. This is the opinion expressed by the authors of 'Early Inventories' in their commentary to the 'Colognoise' in the Inventory of '1561' (i.e. 1563). Yet they do not seem to be fully convinced themselves when they add: 'This entry can only refer to MA 39 (85 matrices), a Fractura which is also referred to in the 1563 and [1572] inventories as "lectre de Colongne". Plantin cast it on both *Garamonde*, or *Petit Romain*, and *Philosophie* bodies'. In this connection they refer to the Folio Specimen, where the face appears as *Philosophie Allemande*, and, for its appearance in print, to *Alexis Piemontois*, 1561. These references are correct, as we saw, but, where the inventories are concerned, only in as far as mention is made of a Cologne, and therefore German, typeface. The Inventory of 1563 speaks of a 'Lectre allemande dicte lectre de Colongne contenant 104 matrices', which is obviously the same as the 'Colognoise' of '1561'.⁵⁷ The number of 104 matrices, however, differs considerably from the 85 items of MA 39, a figure also mentioned for the *Philosophie Allemande* in inventories of 1588 and later.⁵⁸ This great difference is difficult to account for in view of the care with which Plantin and his successors looked after the collection of matrices.⁵⁹

How can we sort out these confusing and contradictory items of information? The solution is fairly simple: we are not dealing with one, but with two different faces,

⁵⁶ The inaccuracy in the date [1561] could lead to two sorts of mistake: the erroneous dating of undated editions by Plantin – 1561 instead of 1563 or later – or the mistaken attribution to him of books without an imprint but with the year 1561 or 1562, set with types which, although mentioned in the '1561' Inventory, were not yet owned by him in those years. Whether such cases will ever come about is uncertain. For the dating of typefaces the margin of a maximum of two years does not appear to lead to serious consequences, except where the identification is concerned of Plantin's stock of matrices before the 1562 auction with the same faces now in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. As far as we know Plantin only bought back a single set of his matrices after reopening his firm: Granjon's *Lectre, faceon d'écriture* (MA 38), his famous first *Civilité*. Apparently he had already been able to replace in Paris the other sets which he had lost. The matrices mentioned in the Inventory of [1556] – the only one preceding the '1561' Inventory – presumably came into other hands at the auction, so Plantin's earliest sets are probably not contained in the surviving MA 48, MA 54a and MA 133, to which we are referred by 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 7 f.

⁵⁷ 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), p. 16.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87 (Frankfurt Inventory of 1588); p. 94 (Leiden Inventory of 1590); etc.

⁵⁹ Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. 2, pp. 78 ff.

namely with our Fractura on *Philosophie* or Small Pica (71 mm)⁶⁰ and a Schwabacher on *Garamonde* or Long Primer (67 mm),⁶¹ which Plantin had bought especially for his *Dictionarium tetraglotton* (Voet 1082), published just before the difficulties in 1562. If we know about these two faces all the information falls into place. The Schwabacher (104 matrices) is reported in the inventories up to and including 1572,⁶² then to be replaced by the Fraktur (85 matrices), which first appears in the *Folio Specimen* of c.1585 and then reappears regularly in the inventories of 1588 and later. In the Inventory of 1581 no comparable typeface is mentioned.⁶³ Plantin apparently also had the Fraktur cast on Long Primer for, in the so-called Frankfurt Inventory of 1590, a list of punches and matrices sent from that city to Antwerp, we read of an 'Allemande sur la Garamonde J[ustée] contenant p. 85'.⁶⁴ In view of this conjunction of circumstances, it is hardly surprising that misunderstandings should have developed in later investigations. The various references in the inventories are thus only in apparent contradiction with one another: the German type which Plantin had in his house in 1561 was not our Fractura, but a slightly smaller Schwabacher. He had bought it for the Dutch words in his *Dictionarium* – it was of the same size as the Roman, Italic and Greek types which he used in that book – because no Dutch Textura on that body (67-8 mm) was yet available in the Netherlands. The work, his first large publishing venture, was just ready when fate struck: the colophon gives as date of completion 4 Non. Januarii 1562.

Thus, at the time when the pieces in the Amsterdam volume were printed, Plantin did indeed have a German type, the Schwabacher, but not the slightly larger Fractura in which they are set. The inevitable conclusion is that he cannot have printed these writings by HN and that the existing attribution to him should be reconsidered. The series does not appear to have come from his press, but from Kampen where Augustijn van Hasselt had at his disposal the typographical material which had already been used for *Den Spiegel*, supplemented by the Small Pica Fractura and two Roman types obtained from Plantin. This applies to the whole of group (b) with the exception of the three books attributed above to Plantin (FV 2, 69, 74) – in other words to FV 8, 14, 22, 46, 55, 56, 59, 63-7, 70, and 71 (described in this order by Voet under nos. 1733-46), together with the broadside FV 96 (Voet 1746bis), the Latin edition FV 13, and the as yet undescribed *Dre grundighe refereinen*.

⁶⁰ Plantin's *Folio specimen*, op. cit. (n. 44), no. 52 and p. 10; in the specimen the 'y' is a replacement. 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 71 and 76 (Inventory of 1581).

⁶¹ 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 9 f. (see n. 53). The type is slightly smaller than the *Corpus Schwabacher* in Hornschuch, op. cit. (n. 14), p. 43.

⁶² 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), p. 35.

⁶³ The matrices may already have been in Frankfurt in that year; see 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), p. 66.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

FURTHER PRINTING IN KAMPEN

A further conclusion can be drawn from the analysis above: *Die Secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois* printed in the same Fractura, the only book of Plantin's in this typeface, must also have been printed by the press in Kampen. This attribution seems more difficult to defend since the book, in contrast to the tracts by HN printed without any indication of place of publication, has an imprint: 'Thantwerpen, by Christoffel Plantijn, inden Gulden Eenhoorn, 1561'. Although this only means that the book could be bought from him and not that it was printed by him, Plantin used the same formula frequently for editions he did print.⁶⁵ So we may wonder whether the colophon means that he did indeed work with the Fractura for some time in, or just before, 1561, in the months before the press in Kampen went into action. This assumption, resting solely on the imprint, is not confirmed anywhere, however. On the contrary: there are only arguments against it. For one thing the book is simply a reprint of a translation which Plantin had published earlier, without the extensive additions contained in his French editions of 1559 and 1561 (Voet 34 and 35), which one would certainly have expected in a publication of his own. For another the date, 15 October 1557 in the dedication to Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, is unaltered despite the fact that Plantin could easily have readjusted it since he was the author.

And there is more: strikingly enough the book does not contain a single ornament. In 1561 Plantin possessed three complete alphabets of ornamental initials, as well as various head and tailpieces which he used frequently in this early period.⁶⁶ In each book which he produced at this time, we encounter at least one of these decorative elements, and usually several. Yet there is none of this in *Die Secreten*, which only contains typographical material: capitals of Tavernier's Two-line Great Primer (Vervliet R 4),⁶⁷ supplemented with Fractura capitals on two bodies: Canon and Double Pica, identical to HN's largest types. Not a single Fractura appears, however, in the very book in which one might have expected it: Valentin Mennher's *Buechhalten* (Voet 1661). That Plantin used an Italic for this work, the only one in German which he printed in these years, is the best conceivable proof that he did not have any Fracturas in 1560, when the work appeared. The only possible conclusion is that the

⁶⁵ Examples: *De Secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois* (1558) – Voet 38, the 1561 edition of which is a verbatim reprint; Hans Staden, *Warachtige historie ...* (1558), Voet 2225, and *De seer schoone Ordonnantie ...* (1559), Voet 939. C. Plantin used a similar imprint during his entire career, see Voet 1229 and 1043 for editions as late as 1585 and 1587 respectively.

⁶⁶ For the initials, see S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials. The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin. A complete Catalogue* (New York 1974), nos. 20 (B2, D2, F, P, Q1, T and Y date from after 1562), 25 and 31. For the ornaments, see Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), plate facing p. 14.

⁶⁷ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 40), pp. 222 f.

types used for *Den Spiegel*, purchased and paid for by HN, were no longer in Antwerp, and that books from this period in which they appear, like *Die Secreten*, cannot have been produced in that city. In this connection a further typographical detail should be mentioned: *Die Secreten* contains a hitherto unmentioned typeface, a Brevier Textura (Vervliet T 47),⁶⁸ which serves as a second text type. This typeface, too, appears nowhere in Plantin's publications, except in *Den Spiegel*, where it is used exclusively for a brief text set within some woodcut cartouches.⁶⁹ Some capitals differ from the ones properly belonging to this face: L, M and V have no hairline, P, too, has a Rotunda shape (as in Vervliet T 48) and W is a Schwabacher (like Frank Isaac's W 17).⁷⁰ This combination of replacements is so typical at the time that we are undoubtedly dealing in both cases with type cast from the same set of matrices, of what must have been the smallest typeface which Hendrik Niclaes had acquired. It is also used on the title-pages of three of his books printed in Kampen: FV 8, FV 22 and FV 70.

There is yet another feature in *Die Secreten* which deserves our attention: the device. This modest woodcut with the compasses, dating from 1558, was still used by Plantin in 1562, for example on the title-pages of Cornelius Valerius, *Grammaticarum institutionum liber III* and *liber IV* (Voet 2375). We may well wonder why this little block should have been sent back from Kampen after use, or indeed whether it ever left Antwerp. There is no reason for such a doubt, however, since we are dealing with a copy. The woodcuts bear an exceptionally strong resemblance to one another, but there are minute differences which make it clear that there were two different blocks: one which is still in the Plantin-Moretus Museum,⁷¹ and one which was used in Kampen and has since been lost. All these facts point in a single direction, viz. that *Die Secreten* was not printed in Antwerp but in Kampen, and that Plantin availed himself of the

⁶⁸ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 40), p. 167. The typeface does not appear in Plantin's *Index characterum* of 1567, or in his *Folio Specimen* of ca. 1585 (for both see n. 44). It is not mentioned in any of the inventories and was missing at the auction in 1562. The set of matrices in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 154) is incomplete and only contains the lower case. It was almost certainly not acquired before 1650. 'Plantin appears never to have owned matrices, and none survive. There is no indication as to where he got the type' (*Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus, Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices* (Antwerpen 1960), p. 91).

⁶⁹ For a full-scale reproduction of this page (f. 2 of the 3rd part, sig. AA2), see Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), facing p. 62; *id.*, op. cit. (n. 5, 1896), p. 61; and *id.*, op. cit. (n. 5, 1914), p. 51. In FV 69, too, one of the 'small' books from Antwerp, *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes* printed by Plantin, six words are set in this typeface within the woodcut on the verso of the title-page.

⁷⁰ See keyplate (fig. 1) in *English and Scottish Printing Types, 1535-58, 1552-58*, collected and annotated by Frank Isaac (Facsimiles and Illustrations, issued by the Bibliographical Society, 3; Oxford 1932).

⁷¹ PMM, no. HB 8198. The reproduction (after printed work) in G. van Havre, *Marques typographiques des imprimeurs et libraires qui ont exercé dans les Pays-Bas ...*, 2 vols. (Gand 1894), vol. 2, Plantin no. 8, does not represent the existing block but the one used in Kampen. The same applies to the reproduction in Voet, op. cit. (n. 39), vol. 6, p. [2873] and the following plate.

printing capacity there to have a book printed in a type which he did not possess himself.⁷² The existence of HN's printing shop is confirmed by this state of affairs, as is Plantin's involvement in the organization of the enterprise.

As we saw under (c), a tract by HN appeared in Kampen in 1565, *D'anderde vormaninge* (FV 35), this time produced by the printer and publisher Peter Warnersen, who did not hesitate to place his name on it in full. The only extant copy, which has now been located,⁷³ provides decisive evidence for the above attributions, for it contains all the types we have already encountered in Kampen editions: the four Fracturas (only capitals of Canon), the two Romans and the Brevier Textura. We find this same material in many of Warnersen's other books printed after 1564, so that what happened becomes obvious: when HN's firm closed down Peter Warnersen took over all his type, probably as a part of the entire inventory of the printing shop. That a printer residing in Kampen should have been involved in this transaction confirms the location of HN's press in the town and closes the circle of the argument.

This outcome is not only important because it shows what Augustijn van Hasselt printed and proves that he was an excellent typographer (a fact which facilitates investigation into his further activities) but for other reasons as well. Now, for the first time, we have demonstrable evidence, derived from the printed matter itself, of the connections between Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes in these years. Hitherto we have simply accepted the statement in the *Chronika* that Plantin worked for HN, but the veracity of this information was never confirmed. We now have proof of their joint activities in Kampen and there is nothing to contradict the conclusion that they were continuing, there, an earlier relationship in Antwerp. For this reason, and with the support of evidence from the typographical analysis, we can rightly regard Plantin as the printer of *Den Spiegel* and two other books by Hendrik Niclaes.

Finally a few remarks about the *Augustine Allemande* (91 mm) and the *Philosophie Allemande* (71 mm), which both appear in the Folio Specimen.⁷⁴ They are identical to the English and Small Pica Fracturas of Hendrik Niclaes and probably came into Plantin's possession early in 1580. On 27 February 1580, he received from the punchcutter and type founder Hendrik van den Keere (II), his constant purveyor for the previous ten years, a proof of 'la lecture Allemande sur l'Augustine'. A few months

⁷² The text of Plantin's first edition of *Die Secreten* (1558; Voet 38) is printed in Roman. There was no question of 'ignorance' on Plantin's part (see Voet, op. cit., n. 2) but of necessity: he possessed no Textura before 1561.

⁷³ The only copy, with the name inscribed of J.F. Vande Velde (auction Ghent 1831, lot 4472), found its way via various private collections into the hands of the collector P.A. Pijnappel, who left the book as a part of his entire library to the Amsterdam UL. The shelf-mark is now OK 91-19 (*olim*: 2497 B 36).

⁷⁴ Plantin's *Folio specimen*, op. cit. (n. 44), nos. 31 and 52; see nn. 44 and 60.

later the same man delivered a large fount of this type, charging separately for a mould (which was therefore missing from the set) and the revision of 112 matrices and the striking and adjustment of three others.⁷⁵ The Inventory of 1581 refers to this set as 'lectre D'Allemainge',⁷⁶ and in the same year Plantin used the type for Mathias de l'Obel's *Kruydtboeck* (Voet 1579). At about this time, the type was also used for two books⁷⁷ by Hiël, the pseudonym of the above-mentioned Hendrik Jansen (Barrefelt), who had broken away from Hendrik Niclaes after many years and who continued to write for his followers after HN's death. Hiël and Plantin were already corresponding about these editions in the autumn of 1580 and it is quite possible that the great admiration which Plantin had for the man and his work contributed to his decision to buy the types.⁷⁸

Van den Keere's work done in readjusting the matrices implies that they had been used earlier. One is struck by the fact that the purchase took place shortly after the closure of Hendrik Niclaes' printing-office in Cologne, operating for the last years of its existence under the name of Niclaes Bohmbargen, the actual existence of whom has not yet been proved. The production of this press appears to have come to an end in 1580 with the publication of the *Speculum Justitiae* (FV 3), the revised edition of *Den Spiegel*. When we find a large part of the Cologne material at Thomas Basson's press in Leiden some years later, however, the Fracturas are missing.⁷⁹ Is this a coincidence or is there a causal connection? In earlier years, when he was still working as a bookseller in Cologne, Basson⁸⁰ had dealings with Plantin which went further than the acquisition of books from his stock. In 1582, for example, he acted as middleman in delivering to Janus Guilielmi a hundred copies of his *Verisimilium libri tres*, printed

⁷⁵ PMM, Arch. 42, f. 22; see 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), p. 76. The statement that 'Silvius used this face before Plantin' is erroneous. Silvius' Mittel-Fraktur (95 mm) was slightly larger and also differed in other respects from Plantin's type. See *The Leiden 'Afdrucksel'. A Type Specimen of the Press of Willem Silvius in its last Days (1582)*, ed. P. Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983), no. [29] and p. 16.

⁷⁶ 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 44), p. 71.

⁷⁷ *Het Boeck der Ghetuygenissen vanden verborghen Acker-schat* (Voet 627), and the French translation of this work, *Le Livre des Tesmoignages du Thrésor caché au Champ* (Voet 628). Both appeared in Antwerp, probably in 1581; Voet, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. I, pp. 256 ff. A full-size reproduction of one of the pages is in Rooses, op. cit. (n. 5, 1882), facing p. 90; *id.*, op. cit. (n. 5, 1896), facing p. 80; and *id.*, op. cit. (n. 5, 1914), p. 52.

⁷⁸ On the relationship between Hiël and Plantin, see above all A. Hamilton, 'Hiël and the Hiëlists. The Doctrine and Followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 243-86, and *id.*, 'From Familism to Pietism. The fortunes of Pieter van der Borch's Biblical illustrations and Hiël's commentaries from 1584 to 1717', *Quaerendo*, 11 (1981), pp. 271-301.

⁷⁹ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6), p. 211.

⁸⁰ On him, see J.A. van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson 1555-1613, English printer at Leiden* (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Leiden, Special S., 1; Leiden 1961).

by Plantin (Voet 1283).⁸¹ This large uninvoiced quantity shows that the German humanist had to pay a considerable part of the costs himself before Plantin put his hand to the edition. The fact that the consignment was addressed to Basson points to his being directly connected with the agreement: he may even have introduced the printer to the author. Shortly after settling in Leiden, during Plantin's two-year stay in the town, there is further evidence of a close collaboration: in 1585 Basson leant him his name as the publisher of various political publications, mainly in French,⁸² a domain from which he was to keep well away after Plantin's return to Antwerp in the same year. These circumstances indicate a relationship between the two men in which a sale of German types from Cologne to Plantin is perfectly conceivable. This must have taken place early in 1580, shortly before Van den Keere received the matrices in order to produce a proof, and this in turn implies that the printing shop of Niclaes Bohmbargen closed shortly after the death of Hendrik Niclaes and immediately after the completion of the *Speculum Justitiae*. All this can only be an hypothesis, however. As we know, nothing has survived concerning the end of the Family of Love in Cologne.

CONCLUSION

This investigation reveals that, in accordance with the information in the *Chronika*, the publication of Hendrik Niclaes' writings took place in four phases. These, in chronological order, were Deventer, Antwerp, Kampen and Cologne. The books printed in Deventer and Cologne had already been identified. Hitherto, however, the Antwerp production was uncertain and nothing was known about the books printed in Kampen. Plantin's direct participation in this process appears to have been limited to printing *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* and, apparently, two smaller books. It has also emerged that, apart from the revised editions printed in Cologne, the greater part of HN's works in quantity rather than in length came from his own press, which we know now to have been located in Kampen. It was there that all his later writings were published, with the exception of the last one, his *Spro[e]ken* (FV 40)

⁸¹ For a list of Plantin's deliveries to Basson in 1582-3, see Van Dorsten, op. cit. (n. 80), pp. 102-3 (= Appendix II). For Janus Gulielmus, a brilliant German text critic who died in his youth, see *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 10 (Leipzig 1879), p. 106. The dedication of his book is dated Cologne, 1 December 1581.

⁸² In his early years in Leiden Basson did not print himself. What appeared under his name in 1585 came from the press of Plantin, who, still earlier in Antwerp, had used the names of relations for editions which were not entirely safe. To the three publications mentioned by Van Dorsten, op. cit. (n. 80), p. 72, from 1585 we must add: *Declaratio [...] regis Navarrae ad calumnias adversus se sparsas* ... (Leiden, Thomas Basson, 1585). A copy is to be found at the BnF in Paris; see *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale. Auteurs*, vol. 70 (Paris 1929), col. 642. I hope to return to these editions in connection with other hitherto unknown activities of Plantin.

– or *Proverbes which hee, in the dayes of his olde-age hath set-fourth*, to quote the title of the English edition (FV 42) – which appeared in 1570, without any place of publication but almost certainly printed in Cologne.

The printer in Kampen was Augustijn van Hasselt, a man who achieved fame as a follower of Hendrik Niclaes. Yet his relationship with Plantin was also of great significance for his career, and I hope to return to that and to other activities of the press in Kampen. It appears to have operated there until 1563, after which, as we saw, it was taken over by Peter Warnersen. Both Hendrik Niclaes and Augustijn van Hasselt left the town, the former for an unknown destination (probably Rotterdam), the latter for Antwerp, where he was to work for Plantin. They had therefore left Kampen before the political climate changed and the town lost its short-lived position as the most important centre of printing in the northern Netherlands, following the measures taken by an alarmed magistracy. Under pressure from superior powers, the town subjected the printers to such restrictions in the turbulent year of 1566 that they soon gave up the unequal struggle and laid down their tools. Peter Warnersen even had to save his life by escaping from prison and, despite various attempts, he was never able to return to his birthplace.⁸³ In the case of Augustijn van Hasselt, it was not before about 1569 that he again met his former master and, thanks to Plantin's mediation, once more entered his service. A rift which took place between him and Hendrik Niclaes in about 1573 may well have put an end to his role as printer to the Family of Love, and thus to what, also from a bibliographical point of view, was a fascinating episode in the history of the book in the Low Countries.

⁸³ On his trial and the consequences, see J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, 'Vervolging van boekdrukkers te Kampen wegens het drukken van fameuse libellen en geuzenliederen, 1566-67', *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, NS, 8 (1875), pp. 192-203, and S. Elte, 'De rechtzaak tegen Peter Warners, boekdrukker te Kampen (1566-1567)', *Kamper Almanak 1951/1952* (Kampen 1951), pp. 148-73. A son, Berendt Petersz, tried to continue his father's business for a few years, but left himself in 1571 or early 1572 for Emmerich, just over the Dutch border.

ADDITIONS TO VOET

[HENDRIK NICLAES] Van dem recht- | ferdigen Gerichte Godes | ouer de olde vordoruene werlt | vnde van | ere straffinge vnde vthrodinge. Mith vel- | derley Rupinge des Geistes der Liefden | dar he alle Volckeren tho den Denst der | Lieffden | vnde tho de Enicheit des | Vredes mede rupende | vnde noden- | de is. | [...] Jesa. 40. Math. 3. Mar. 1. | Luc. 3. Joan. 1. | [...] Psal. 94. Heb. 3.4.

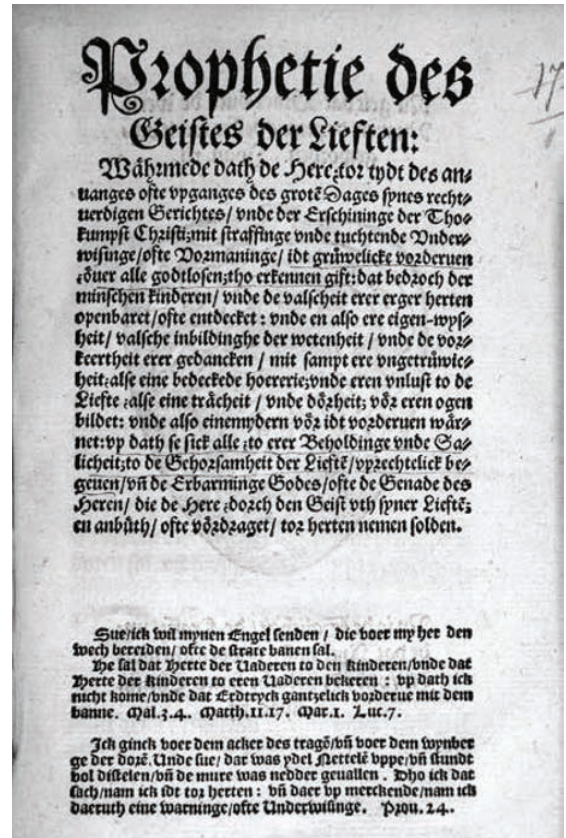
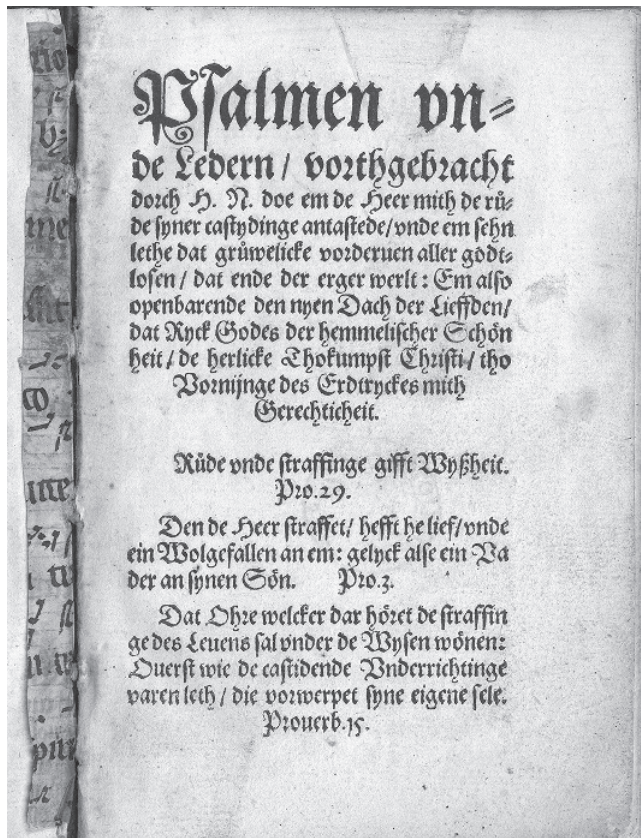
(Antwerpen, C. Plantin, c.1556). 8vo. 14 leaves. Col.: A⁸ B⁶. Woodcuts verso title and on last page.

Mennonite Library in Amsterdam UL (OK 65-555:1). De la Fontaine Verwey, 'De Geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes' (see n. 6), no. 69.

[HENDRIK NICLAES] Psalmen vn | de Ledern | vorthgebracht | dorch H.N. doe em de Heer mith de ru | de syner castydinge antastede | vnde em sehn | lethe dat gruwelicke vorderuen aller godt | losen | dat ende der erger werlt : Em also | openbarende den nyen Dach der Lieffden | dat Ryck Godes der hemmelischer Schon | heit | de herlicke Thokumpst Christi | tho | Vornijng des Erdtryckes mith | Gerechtigheit. | [...] Pro. 29. | [...] Pro. 3. | [...] Prouerb. 15.

(Antwerpen, C. Plantin, c.1556), 8vo. 56 leaves. Col.: A-G⁸ (G8 blank?, wanting). Woodcut on [G7] verso.

Amsterdam UL (OK 91-19). De la Fontaine Verwey, no. 74.



1

H[endrik] N[iclaes], *Psalmen unde Ledern* (FV 74) ([Antwerp, C. Plantin, c.1556/7]).

Types: Fractura on Canon, on Double Pica and on English

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-9849)

2

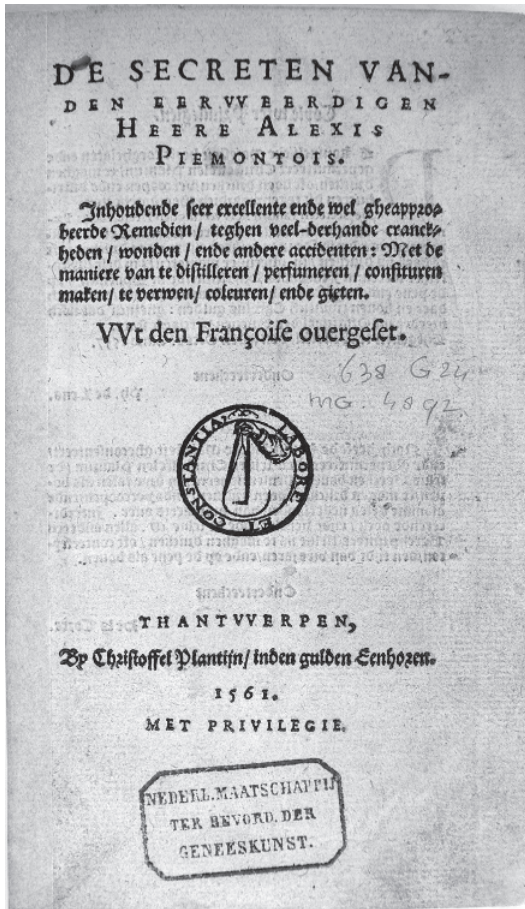
[Hendrik Niclaes], *Prophetie des Geistes der Lieften* (FV 22) ([Kampen, Augustijn van Has-selt, 1561/2]). Types: the same three Fractura's with a fourth on Small Pica, and a Parisian

Textura on Brevier (Vervliet T 47)

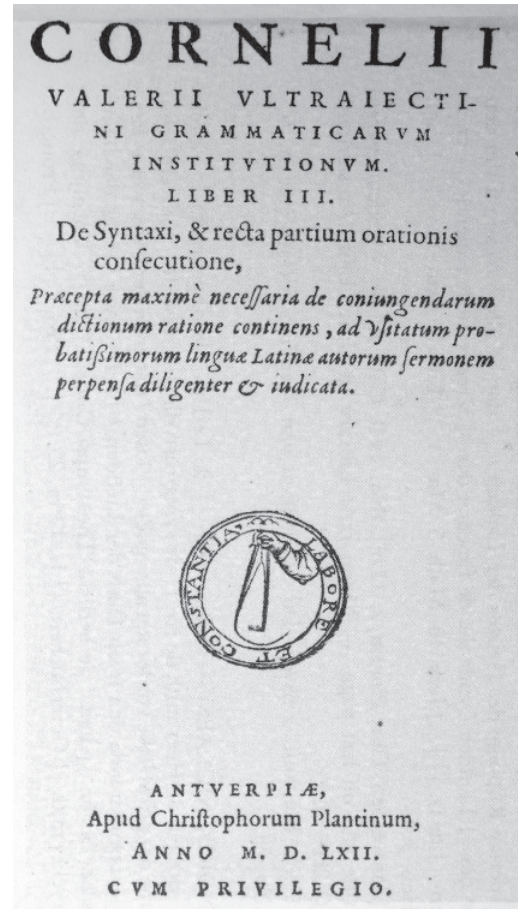
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-557:16)

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<p>Edax, edâcis, adiect. Cic. ἀδὲ φάγος. <i>Grand mangeur, Gourmand. Groot eterer/ Gulfighen slocker.</i></p> <p>Edens, edentis, participium ab edo, edis, prima longa. Ouid. <i>Qui met hors & produit. Die wigheeft/ wileyt ende voortbrengt</i></p> <p>Edento, as, âui, âtum, âre, Plaut. <i>Edenter, Rôpre ou arracher ou faire tomber les dents à aucun. Iemanden de tanden wibrefe/ wirtrecken/ oft wt doen vallen/ Tandeloos maken.</i></p> <p>Edentulus, a, um, Plaut. <i>Edenté, Sans dents, A qui les dents sont cheutes. Tandeloos/ Sonder tanden/ Dien de tanden wtgeuallen sijn.</i></p> <p>Edico, dicis, dixi, dictum, edicere, ex e & dico. Cic. ἀπαγορεύω. <i>Ordonner & commander, Denoncer, Publier par attaches, son de trompe, ou autrement, Faire à sçavoir. Ordineren/ ghebieiden ende beuelen/ Ontbieden/ Openlick/ verfondighen met aengheplecte bricuen/ horegheblaes/ trompette/ oft anders sins/ Te kennen gheuen.</i></p> <p>Edictio, ōnis, f. g. verbale ab edico. Plaut. <i>Commandement & ordonnance. Ghebot/ beuel ende ordinancie.</i></p> <p>Edicto, as, âui, âtum, âre, Frequentatiuum ab Edico. Plaut.</p> <p>Edictum, i, n. g. Cic. δῆταγμα, δῆταγμα. <i>Edict, Commandement, Ordonnance fait par le Prince ou Magistrat. Ghebot/ Beuel/ Mandament / Ordinance van den Prince/ oft Kaetsheeren ghemaect.</i></p> <p>Edictus, a, um, participium ab Edico.</p> <p>Edilis, is, e. Gell. ἐδῆλιος. <i>Bon à manger, Qu'on peut manger. Erelie/ Goet om te eten/ Satmen eten mach.</i></p> <p>Edisco, is, didici, ediscere: ex e & disco. Cic. ἀπὲρ διὰ τὴν καρδίαν. <i>Van buytens leeren.</i></p> <p>Edissero, is, scriui, sctum, disserere. ex e & dissero. Cic. διακρίνω, διακρίνω. <i>Declarer & bailler à entendre. Verklaren ende te kennen gheuen.</i></p> <p>Edissero, as, âui, âtum, edisserare. Frequentatiuum ab Edissero. Plaut.</p> <p>Editio, ōnis, f. g. verbale ab edo. Cic. ἐκδόσις. <i>Edition, Publication. Wigheninghe/</i></p>	<p><i>Ghemeyn makinghe/ Verfondinghe.</i></p> <p>Edition, a, um, Cic. <i>Produit ou à produire, Nommé & publié. Voortghebrocht oft voort te brengen/ Wighgheuen/ Se noemt/ wighleyt/ verfondicht/ Ghemeyn ghemaect.</i></p> <p>Editor, ōris, m. g. verbale ab edo, edis, pr. l. Lucan. <i>Qui produit ou met hors, Qui publie. Die voortbrengt oft wigeest/ Die verfondicht.</i></p> <p>Editus, a, um, participium ab edor, pr. lon.</p> <p>Editus, a, um, nomen. Liu. ἐπιπλοῦς. <i>Haut, Esleut. Hooghe/ Verheuen.</i></p> <p>Edo, es, est, esse: vel Edo, edis, edi, esum, edere, pr. br. Virg. ἐσθία. <i>Manger. Eten.</i></p> <p>Edo, edōnis, m. g. Vairo. <i>Grand mangeur, Gourmand, Goulu. Groot eter/ Slocker/ Draet/ Gulschaert.</i></p> <p>Edo, edis, edidi, editum, edere. prim. longa. Plin. ἐκδοῦναι. <i>Mettre hors, Produire. Publier. Declarer, Nommer. Wighue/ Voort brengen/ Ghemeyn maken/ Verfondighen/ Verklaren/ Noemen.</i></p> <p>Edoceo, edoces, edocui, edoctum, edocere. ex e & doceo, es. Plaut. ἐκδοῦναι. <i>Enseigner parfaitement. Volkcomelic leeren ende onderwijsen.</i></p> <p>Edoctus, a, um, participium ab edoceor.</p> <p>Edolo, edolas, âui, âtum, âre. ex & dolo, as. Cic. κατὰ ψῆμα. <i>Doler, Polir. Schauen/ Effsen ende glat maken/ Palleren.</i></p> <p>Edomitus, a, um, participium ab Edomor.</p> <p>Edomo, as, dōmui, dōmitum, edomare. ex e & domo. Cic. Idem quod domo.</p> <p>Edormio, edormis, iui, itum, edormire. & Edormisco, edormiscis, edormiscere. ex e & dormio & dormisco. Cic. Se defendormir, S'euiller. Digerer en dormant. Dormir. Wt slapen/ Wacker worden. Al slapende verteren. Slapen.</p> <p>Educatio, ōnis, f. g. verbale ab educo, as. Cic. <i>Nourriture. Opvoedinghe.</i></p> <p>Educator, ōris, m. g. verbale ab educo, as. Cic. τροφὸς. <i>Nourrisseur. Opvoeder.</i></p> <p>Educatrix, icis, f. m. m. g. verbale ab educo.</p> <p>Educatus, a, um, particip. ab educor, aris.</p> <p>Educo, educas, âui, âtum, âre. pen. bre. Cic. ἡγῶ, ἀνέλεον. <i>Nourrir & eleuer. Opvoeden / Ophouden.</i></p>	Educo,

I



2



4

De secreten van ... Alexis Piemontois, printed for Plantin by Augustijn van Hasselt at Kampen; with a device previously used in Antwerp. Voet 39. Types: the Small Pica Fractura and Haultin's *Saint Augustin* with the small capitals belonging to the face (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 63-9393)

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Corn. Valerius, *Grammaticarum institutionum liber III* (Antwerp, C. Plantin, 1562), showing a second copy of the same device. Voet 2375. (Scan from the original publication)

MENNONITICA AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH



Menno Simons' *Sommarie* appeared in 1600/1. It was the first edition of his collected works in so far as they had not already been included in his *Fondamentboeck*. The name of the publisher on the title-page runs: 'Jan Janszoon boeckvercooper, woonende op het Noort, in die Lakeman, tot Hoorn' – a name and an address which are not to be found in any other book.¹ It is strange that a book dealer who was able to produce a work of nearly nine hundred pages never seems to have published anything else. We are thus probably faced with a fake address concealing one or more publishers from Hoorn and/or Amsterdam. They preferred not to reveal their identity, in contrast to the printer of the work, Jacob de Meester, who did indeed dare to declare his name and address in Alkmaar.

The difference in the assessment of the consequences entailed by the publication of such a work marks the growing, but still by no means general, toleration towards Menno's followers at the time. In this respect the turn of the century was a turning point. Some ten years later, in 1613, both Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh in Amsterdam and Zacharias Cornelisz in Hoorn could produce new editions of the *Fondamentboeck* under their own names.² Public opinion had evolved to such an extent that the authorities no longer felt called upon to take measures against such publications despite possible complaints from Reformed circles. A few years earlier, on the other hand, in 1595, Cornelis Claesz had been obliged to interrupt his publication of a Mennonite Bible, which he was having printed in Haarlem by Gillis Rooman. He yielded to the pressure of the consistory of Amsterdam after the synod of South Holland had also intervened in the matter. This, however, did not prevent the publisher from having the work completed by a fellow-citizen three years later and having it issued with a fake foreign imprint: Krijn Vermeulen in Danswijck (Danzig).³ This was long thought to be a real person working for the

¹ I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons* (Nieuwkoop 1962), no. 1 and illus. 6; *De Computer als hulpmiddel bij bibliografische ontsluiting: Catalogus van Hoornse drukken 1591-1718 in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1979), no. 105 and (Hoorn addresses) p. 114.

² Horst, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 17; *De Computer*, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 49.

³ Men vindtse te coop by Krijn Vermeulen de jonghe, Cramer, woonende opte lege zijdt van Schotlandt by Danswijck'. See H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van*

Dutch emigrants in that city – which was exactly what Cornelis Claesz intended with his fictitious imprint on the title-page.

The case is illustrative in various respects. First of all it is an example of how ecclesiastical institutions dealt with the expression of deviant religious views. Both the synod and the consistory were obviously informed about the publication of the Bible well before it had been fully printed and could come on the market. They immediately appealed to the States and the municipal authorities of Haarlem and Amsterdam, with the result that the deputies of North Holland forbade the printer, Rooman, to complete the work ('van de gedeputeerden van Noorthollandt [is] verclaert, dat denselven drucker verboden is in ditselve aengevangen wercke voort te gaen.'). In Amsterdam, however, they were less successful. Cornelis Claesz did indeed promise to desist, 'te desisteren', but the request to the deputies to have the copies suppressed and destroyed ('de exemplaeren [...] mogen gesupprimeert ende te nyete gedaen worden') seems, judging from the later course of events, to have had no effect.

The episode also shows how publisher and printer went to work in such a case. At first they hid behind a foreign patron, an Anabaptist from Flanders named Jacob Vermeulen ('eenen Vlaemschen Dooper, genaempt Jacob Vermeulen'). When publication was nevertheless brought to a halt, Cornelis Claesz waited for a few years until interest had waned and he could have the task completed by his young colleague Nicolaes Biestkens, a descendant of the original publisher of the Bible translation. The name of the Fleming Jacob disappeared as the patron and was succeeded by a namesake with the Christian name Krijn allegedly living in Danzig. But this, too, was camouflage since the Bible was intended for the home market. The previous edition 'na de Copye [...] van Nicolaes Biestkens' was already over ten years old and had probably been sold out. Good sales could consequently be expected of the new edition of a Bible still in great demand among the Anabaptists.

Finally this episode shows us how important bibliographical research can be for the reconstruction of historical facts. Previously the printing of the entire Bible has been attributed to Rooman. Cornelis Claesz was only seen as the intermediary who maintained contacts between the printer and the foreign patron. Now, however, typographical investigation shows that a second printer was subsequently involved – a man who, like Rooman, had permanent dealings with Cornelis Claesz. The latter's role consequently appears in another light, and we have good reason to believe that the edition appeared at his initiative and expense. Partly with an eye to what had happened before, he must have thought it advisable to conceal his involvement as the publisher.

These examples demonstrate that in about 1600 public activity as a printer or

publisher of Mennonite material was not entirely free of danger. Admittedly the situation in the last decade of the century could not be compared with the time preceding the departure of the Spaniards. In those days of the Inquisition to publish works such as these was to risk one's life. Nearly all sixteenth-century publications of this sort – in as far as they have survived – did indeed appear without any mention of their origin. Anonymity was the best means of defence for printers and publishers against their persecutors. In the case of the few publications which actually came out with an imprint we must always reckon with fictitious addresses. Sometimes they are immediately recognizable – nobody would have assumed that 'Utopia' or 'Buyten Roomen' (Outside Rome) were real places – but in many cases, such as the one we have just discussed, the fanciful element is less clear and calls for further investigation.

Anonymity was not only used by printers of Anabaptist books, but by everyone who worked for dissidents. The over two hundred writings of David Joris all appeared without an address, as did the later reprints.⁴ The same applies, with a single exception, to the works of the founder of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes.⁵ In this case it made no difference whether the books were printed within or out of the reach of the Spanish authorities. Even emigrant printers, working in safe places where their production in this domain was either openly or tacitly permitted, preferred to remain hidden. They were uncertain times, when anything might happen.

The experiences of their colleagues within the national borders make such precautions all too comprehensible. Jan Seversz, the Leiden printer of the first prohibited book in the Netherlands, had been able to seek safety in flight in 1524, and the Deventer printers Albert Paffraet and Dirck (II) van den Borne survived their activities for David Joris thanks to local protection. But at about the same time, in 1542, the Antwerp printer and book dealer Adriaen van Berghen was executed in The Hague. Three years later his colleague Jacob van Liesveldt suffered the same fate in Antwerp simply because he had printed a Bible in the vernacular.⁶

The strict legislation and the efficiency of the investigating authorities made more victims. For printers of prohibited books the only solution was either to settle on the safe side of the border, or to defy the dangers in their place of residence and continue their activities as cautiously as possible. A first condition was to omit any typographical or ornamental element which could betray their involvement

⁴ A. van der Linde, *David Joris. Bibliografie* (s-Gravenhage 1867), *passim*.

⁵ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De Geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2; offprints are dated 1942), *passim*.

⁶ M. E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), pp. 83 ff., 130 f., 89 ff. and 135 f. respectively.

in the publication, or even point in the direction of their printing office. Several printers managed to remain beyond the reach of the authorities by this means. If, after almost four hundred years, it is now possible to confirm their 'guilt', this is the result of methods which were sometimes known even then but which were not sufficiently developed to produce results.

One of these is typographical research. It is wrong to think that the possibilities entailed by the study of the typefaces used in 'heretical' or other subversive publications were unknown at the time. Attempts were indeed made to establish the identity of suspected printers in this way, but they often encountered insuperable difficulties. One example is the action taken against a political pamphlet no more than eight pages long: *Vermaninge aende regeerders ende gemeynte vanden vier hoofsteden van Brabant* [Reminder to the rulers and citizens of the four Brabant capitals]. The printed work was distributed in the streets of Antwerp among all sorts of people and houses, on the night of 27 April 1566, ('gestroyt in Antwerpen in printe opter straten ende tot diverse luyden ende huysen, opten 27. Aprilis 1566 des nachts'). It does not have a particularly striking title-page and is set, obviously deliberately, in a single typeface. The magistrates immediately ordered an enquiry and questioned five printers in the town, three of whom admitted to owning the typeface but naturally denied having printed the pamphlet. It emerged, moreover, that matrices had also been sold to printers outside the town. In these circumstances the municipal authorities, who were probably glad to leave it at that, saw no chance of identifying the culprit. Not until a few decades ago was it possible to establish who he was by way of a typographical analysis: he was indeed one of the three Antwerp printers who owned the typeface.⁷

The discovery of such secrets is one of the most exciting aspects of a bibliographer's task – some of them have written about it enthusiastically – but the results can also be of value in a far broader context.⁸ Research in various areas is impeded by the fact that we do not know the place of origin, or sometimes even the date of publication, of much that was printed in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. Where the domain of theology is concerned this emerges from recent studies on the place and date of publication of Van Haemstede's *Historien der Martelaren*, on the origin and chronological order of the various editions of the *Christelike Sermoenen* by the

⁷ H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Een onbekende tijdgenoot van Christoffel Plantin: Ameet Tavernier, lettersteker', *Antwerpen, Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 7 (1961), pp. 37-41.

⁸ A single quotation: 'And it is just this fact, that there is always a chance of lighting on new problems and new methods of demonstration, that with almost every new book we take up we are in new country, unexplored and trackless, and that yet such discoveries as we may make are real discoveries, not mere matters of opinion, provable things that no amount of after-investigation can shake, that lends such a fascination to bibliographical research', R.B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, 2nd impr. with corr. (Oxford 1928), p. 5.

fictitious friar minor Niclaes Peeters, and on the history of the *Summa der Godliker Schrifturen* of 1523.⁹ Nor, to mention another example, can we proceed with any investigation into the spread of David Joris' teaching in his early years as a preacher as long as we are unaware of which of his works were available in printed form and were thus accessible to a broader group of readers.¹⁰

That we cannot expect any reports from the printers themselves about their clandestine activities is obvious. Even in the remarkably complete archive of Plantin, the name of Hendrik Niclaes, with whom he had a close relationship for so many years, only appears once as the addressee of a business letter, the draft of which has only survived by chance.¹¹ The most important information about heretical ('ketterse') books, however, is to be found elsewhere in the archives, in the files of judicial proceedings, not, as one might expect, in the sentences of the condemned, but in the interrogations of printers or adherents of the new doctrine. Sometimes the titles of confiscated books are mentioned in the municipal Books of Resolutions and Agreements ('Resolutie- en Recesboecken'), and sometimes even in their correspondence or other administrative papers. The *Indices librorum prohibitorum* of 1550, 1558 and 1570 published by Reusch and Sepp refer to quite a number of prohibited Dutch books, but unfortunately they only give their year of publication or the name of the printer when they are actually mentioned in the imprint.¹² Titles quoted by authors or their contemporaries are usually so summary that they are of little more use for bibliographical purposes than to determine a *terminus ad quem* for the work in question. One major objection to these sources is the inaccuracy of the descriptions of titles and the consequent difficulty in identifying them with existing works. There is always a chance of confusion, with the ensuing erroneous attributions and datings. Only a very fragmentary image of the production and the participation of the various printing-presses can be obtained from what factual material has been collected over the years, much of

⁹ For these problems, see: J.-F. Gilmont, 'La genèse du martyrologe d' Adrien van Haemstede (1559)', *Revue d' Histoire ecclésiastique*, 63 (1968), pp. 379-414; A.J. Jelsma, *Adriaan van Haemstede en zijn martelaarsboek* (Nijmegen 1970; thesis Nijmegen University); C.C. de Bruin, 'De Sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', *Kerkhistorische Studiën, uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75 jarig bestaan van het kerkhistorisch gezelschap S.S.S.* (Leiden 1977), pp. 7-49; J. Trapman, *De Summa der Godliker Schrifturen (1523)* (Leiden 1978; thesis Leiden University).

¹⁰ See the prize contest of the Teylers Godgeleerd Genootschap in 1982, requesting a treatment of some aspect of the life and work of David Joris or a theme relating to his religious and theological ideas ('Gevraagd een verhandeling over een aspect van het leven en werk van David Joris, of een thema uit zijn godsdienstige en theologische gedachtenwereld').

¹¹ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, vol. 1, ed. M. Rooses (Anvers 1883), no. 74: pp. 157-60.

¹² F.H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bucher* (Bonn 1883); C. Sepp, *Verboden lectuur. Een drietal Indices librorum prohibitorum toegelicht* (Leiden 1889), *passim*.

which was already assembled in the nineteenth century. However valuable in other respects, this material is altogether insufficient for a good insight into the manner in which sects and their leaders proceeded with the publication of their works.

Unfortunately we can only expect unknown facts to come to light from new discoveries in the archives in very sporadic cases. Research in the future, we can assume, will be based mainly on the historical material now at hand. Of these sources written archival documents are unlikely to bring anything new to light, since they have already been thoroughly sifted for any information they might contain about books and their printers. But even if this also applies to what has survived in print, it nevertheless emerges that it is this same printed matter which enables us in many cases to discover where, by whom, and approximately when, the publications in question actually appeared.

It will be clear that this result cannot not be reached with the usual instruments of historical research. A different approach is consequently needed, concentrated on a source of information which has only seldom been exploited in this respect: the book as a typographical product. We are not concerned with the content of the text, but with the external appearance: the book as a printed object, the visible image of the activity of the printer with the material at his disposal including, besides his typefaces, ornaments such as initials, vignettes and other woodcuts. A comparison of these typographical aspects with those of other printed matter affords the possibility of identifying printed work without an imprint and the unnamed presses which produced it. Besides its value as an item of information in itself, this knowledge is essential for determining the period in which undated publications appeared.

This manner of in-depth bibliographical investigation is far from new. Such forms of analysis were applied above all in the domain of incunabula at any early stage, as a means of getting to know the history of printers and their products, the technical and commercial developments of the art of printing books in the fifteenth century, the policy of publishers and the building up of their stock, their mutual dealings and their relations with booksellers, type founders and the paper trade as well as with artists, authors and authorities – the entire domain of the book and the book trade in that period. The important results achieved might lead us to expect that analogous methods would come to be used for research into the sixteenth century too.¹³ And indeed, in Holland Dr M.E. Kronenberg

¹³ For a recent survey, see P. Amelung, 'Methoden zur Bestimmung und Datierung unfirmierter Inkunabeln', *Buch und Text im 15. Jahrhundert* (Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, 2; Hamburg 1981), pp. 89-128. No study has yet been written with a survey of bibliographical research into the places and dates of sixteenth-century printed matter and the methods for establishing these. An excellent example of the practical application of such research is the work by Laceulle-van de Kerk mentioned in n. 3 on Haarlem printers from 1540 to 1600.

frequently applied this method in her pioneering work on the first forty years of the century, the period of the post-incunabula. But as yet she has had too few followers. Despite her great experience, moreover, she was occasionally defeated by the fact that, towards the end of 'her' period, printers tended increasingly, in dangerous publications, to avoid deliberately the use of typographical material that could betray them. In order to remain unrecognizable they omitted all ornamental elements and limited themselves to cast types. As the native punchcutters in the Netherlands – François Guyot and Ameet Tavernier until 1570 and Hendrik van den Keere thereafter – expanded their assortment and thus conquered an ever larger part of the home market, the typefaces became more uniform. Their Texturas in particular were applied so generally that the identification of a book exclusively on the basis of these types is no longer possible. Attributions must thus be based on eventual combinations of this typeface with other ones, or on the presence of certain differences in detail, the treatment of which would carry us too far afield.¹⁴

We can assume that these complications are also the reason why so few efforts have hitherto been made to identify printed work produced after 1540. The necessity of typographical investigation seems to be the greatest obstacle, perhaps because of the judgement of an expert such as J.W. Enschedé. In one of his few studies devoted to the subject he claimed that the identification of typographical and ornamental material demanded a degree of knowledge and expertise which could not be expected of a bibliographer. That was hardly encouraging, and his concluding words were even more dismissive. 'It is impossible', he wrote, 'to identify printed matter on the basis of material information taken from the printed matter itself.' One is struck by how negatively an author who had more than won his spurs both as a bibliographer and as a typographer approached the potential of typographical analysis.¹⁵ In fact it has often indeed proved possible to situate an anonymous printed work in the production of a particular press and thus to place it in the time and surroundings in which the press was functioning on the basis of the book as a typographical product together with relevant information from elsewhere.¹⁶

¹⁴ The standard work for typographical research into Dutch publications is H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968). The extensive 'Introduction' is essential for anyone investigating typefaces in the Netherlands, however indirectly.

¹⁵ J.W. Enschedé, 'Determinatie van drukwerk', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 3 (1905), pp. 201-7: 'Het vaststellen van identiciteit tusschen druk- en siermateriaal eischt zeer bijzondere kennis en vaardigheid, welke een bibliograaf niet kan hebben krachtens den aard van zijn studie [...]. Kortom, drukwerk kan op materiele gegevens aan dat drukwerk zelf ontleend, niet gedetermineerd worden'.

¹⁶ More recent examples concerning sixteenth-century printers in the Netherlands or printers from the Netherlands working abroad include, in chronological order: C. Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books' [Steven Mierdmans in Antwerp and Londen], *The Library*, 5th S.,

It should now be clear that the chances of doing so depend on the amount of significant material for comparison contained in the printed matter. When the number of characteristic elements is insufficient, at least in the present state of our knowledge, we can only hazard a temporary attribution to one or more printers. Sometimes, moreover, when the typeface has so few particular characteristics as to give no support to any attribution, even this is impossible.

So what are the results of such research where the Reformed literature which appeared in the Netherlands is concerned? In part they confirm what had already been accepted on good grounds, such as the fact that only a very few of Luther's writings were printed in the Netherlands after c.1530; that in about 1560 Kampen was briefly the most important publishing centre within the national borders and saw the production of numerous prohibited, or at least suspect, publications; and that before 1580, with the exception of the *Institutio*, no more than three works of Calvin were printed in Dutch. On the other hand there appeared, mainly in Emden, six works by Bullinger as well as a few reprints and as many as eleven by Sebastian Franck. And this author leads us into the domain of the Radical Reformation where the results are still more surprising. First of all we see how difficult it was for these sectarian movements to get the work of their leaders into print and how far afield they frequently had to search to find a printer ready to take the risk. In the publication of the writings of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips at least twelve printers were involved in less than thirty years – and these do not include the ones who, both then and later in the century, published reprints. Where Menno is concerned, his earliest works, including *Dat Fundament* (1539), were probably published in Deventer and produced by an as yet unidentified printer. A little later he found a publisher in Antwerp for three other books, after which it took about ten more years before his later writings appeared, first again in Antwerp, and then successively in Fresenburg, in a press especially established for the purpose, and probably in Franeker where the Utrecht printer Jan Hendricksz worked for the movement. During his activities there, which were previously unknown, he also printed various writings for Dirk Philips, whose later tracts appeared elsewhere.

Of the countless writings by David Joris we now know which ones appeared in

18 (1963), pp. 275-87; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'La première imprimerie [Goossen Goebens] à Sedan et le poète Charles de Navières', *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain* (Paris 1968), pp. 215-22; R. Breugelmans, 'Quaeris quid sit amor? Ascription, date of publication and printer of the earliest emblem book to be written and published in Dutch', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 281-90; J. Stellingwerff, 'De drukker van de Emden bedingen', *Uit bibliotheektuin en informatieveld. Opstellen aangeboden aan Dr. D. Grosheide bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, eds. H.F. Hofman, K. van der Horst & A.H.H.M. Mathijssen (Deventer 1978), pp. 199-208; D.E. Rhodes, 'The First Edition of Gildas (Antwerpen, Christoffel van Ruremunde?, ca.1526-1527)', *The Library*, 6th S., 1 (1979), pp. 355-60; D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellinga Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225-31.

his lifetime and which were published afterwards – in some cases considerably later. Most of his works that appeared in Deventer had already been identified, as had some of the editions issued in Rostock.¹⁷ It now also appears that Adriaen van Berghen also printed for him. What is of interest for the dating of the work is the fact that Van Berghen, from Antwerp, had to leave his hometown in 1536 and subsequently led a peripatetic existence in the northern Netherlands. We also now know more about the printers who worked for Hendrik Niclaes. The reports of the chroniclers of the Family of Love about Plantin's share in these affairs seem correct. At present we can identify what was printed in Antwerp and what, some years later, was issued by a press set up in Kampen by Hendrik Niclaes himself under the direction of Augustijn van Hasselt.¹⁸

It has also emerged that the role of Emden in the spread of Anabaptist literature was limited. It was once generally accepted that certain publishers in that town braved the hostility of the authorities to the followers of Menno Simons and printed a great many books for the Mennonites in secret. This view now appears to be wrong. Apart from the 1562 edition of Menno's *Fondamentboeck* a few writings by Dirk Philips did indeed appear, but that is about all.¹⁹ Of the three or four editions of the martyrology *Het offer des Heeren* supposedly printed there, not a single one was produced in Emden.²⁰ The same applies to a series of New Testaments and Bibles 'gedruct na de Copye van Nicolaes Biestkens'. These were bought above all by Anabaptists for particular attention was devoted in the indexes to certain doctrinal points which they considered fundamental. Of the anonymously printed Bibles previously ascribed to Emden the majority was certainly not issued there.²¹ Although this does not mean that Emden must forfeit her place in history as the greatest producer of Dutch Reformed literature, it is now certain that her position

¹⁷ Indicated by A. Hofmeister in C.M. Wiechmann, *Mecklenburgs altniedersächsische Literatur*, vol. 3 (Schwerin 1885), pp. 131-41. See also: A. Hofmeister, 'Nog iets over de Rostocker band met tractaten van David Joris', *Bibliographische Adversaria*, 2nd S., 1 (1888), pp. 86-93.

¹⁸ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-82.

¹⁹ M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips, 1504-1568. A Catalogue of his printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1975), nos. 16 (and illus. 20), resp. 22 (and illus. 28). Horst, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 12 (and illus. 11).

²⁰ For title descriptions, see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen, rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, vol. 4 (Bruxelles 1964), pp. 489-98: nos. O 17, O 19, O 20 and O 22); F.C. Wieder, *De Schriftoerlijke Liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche hervormden tot op het jaar 1566. Inhoudsbeschrijving en bibliographie* ('s-Gravenhage 1901), nos. LVII, LXXIV, LXXVIII and LXXXIII.

²¹ See P.H. Vogel, 'Der niederländische Bibeldruck in Emden 1556-1568', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), pp. 162-71. Nos. 6,7,9-13, 16, 21 and 21a are not from Emden.

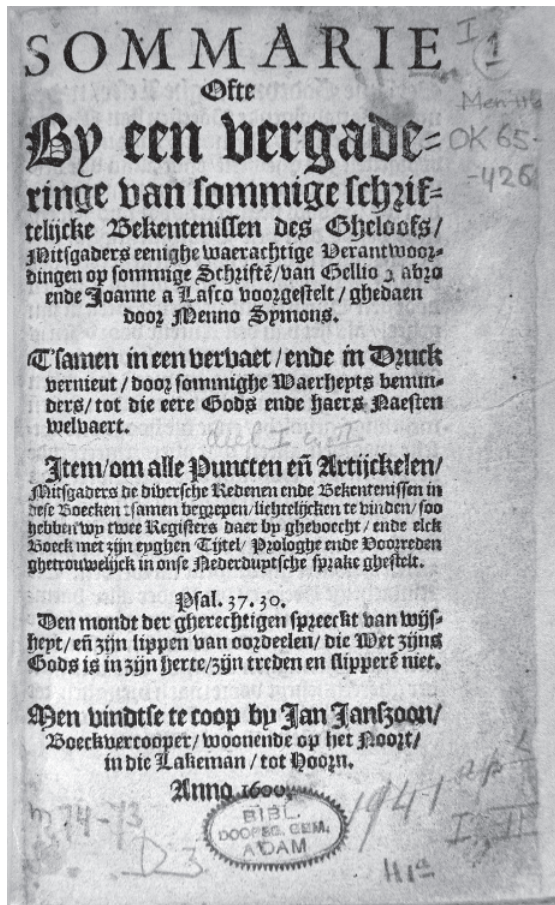
was not quite as predominant as was once thought. Besides the various measures taken by the magistrates against Menno's followers, there was a prohibition to print their writings. This was effective and was only breached exceptionally. And so the apparent contrast between the strict opposition to their presence in the town and the hitherto supposed liberality with regard to the publication of their works can no longer be sustained.

Earlier views must be abandoned and we must search for the origin of many of these non-conformist books elsewhere: in the north and east of the Low Countries, or sometimes just across the border in Germany or even in France. Besides a few towns which have already been mentioned, Deventer and Steenwijk were also involved in this production. What is surprising is the important part played by Friesland. Franeker has already been discussed in this connection, but a little later much was also published in this domain in Leeuwarden. There it was that Pieter Hendricksz van Campen, while acting as the official printer to the Court and the States, managed to print a considerable quantity of books for the Frisian Anabaptists, either anonymously or with a fictitious imprint. This made the town the most important centre of this kind of production for almost ten years. The situation only changed in 1587, probably because of Pieter Hendricksz van Campen's death. His greatest rival was Nicolaes Biestkens in Amsterdam, who had arrived in Emden after the 'Alteratie' – the revolution in Amsterdam in which the town opted for the Reformation and the Roman Catholics lost sole control of the city government – and printed for the Waterlanders from 1578 to 1583.²² His activities marked the beginning of a development which we can observe in the seventeenth century, and which was particularly evident in Amsterdam and Hoorn. In this last town it started with the book that served as my point of departure, the *Sommarie* of Menno's works.²³ Because, as we saw, it was generally possible for printers after 1600 to publish Anabaptist books without any risk under their own name, no bibliographical investigation is usually necessary to establish the origin of the publications. Soon, however, as the result of deep conflicts among the members of the Reformed church, a new stream of writings appeared whose printers again had to resort to anonymity. The freedom of conscience and worship obtained with such a struggle appeared to be in peril, and even in the world of the book persecution raised its head once more. The identification of the printers involved in this new

²² E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamse boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam 1907), pp. 1-26; Nicolaes Biestkens; see nos. 267-73.

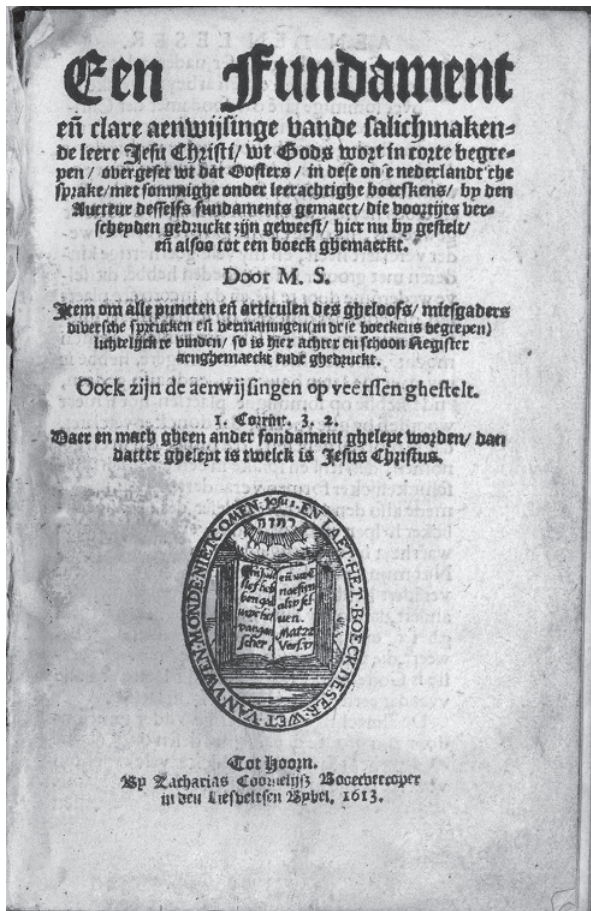
²³ For what was published in Amsterdam, see J.G. Boekenoogen, *Catalogus der werken over de Doopsgezinden en hunne geschiedenis, aanwezig in de bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1919), *passim*; for Hoorn, see op. cit. (n. 1: *De Computer*), *passim*, and J.A. Gruys & G. de Wolf, *A short-title Catalogue of Books printed at Hoorn before 1701. A Specimen of the STCN, with an English and Dutch Introduction on the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (Nieuwkoop 1979), *passim*.

phase will be just as exciting an adventure in a field which is still hardly charted from a bibliographical point of view as the investigation of their predecessors in the sixteenth century.



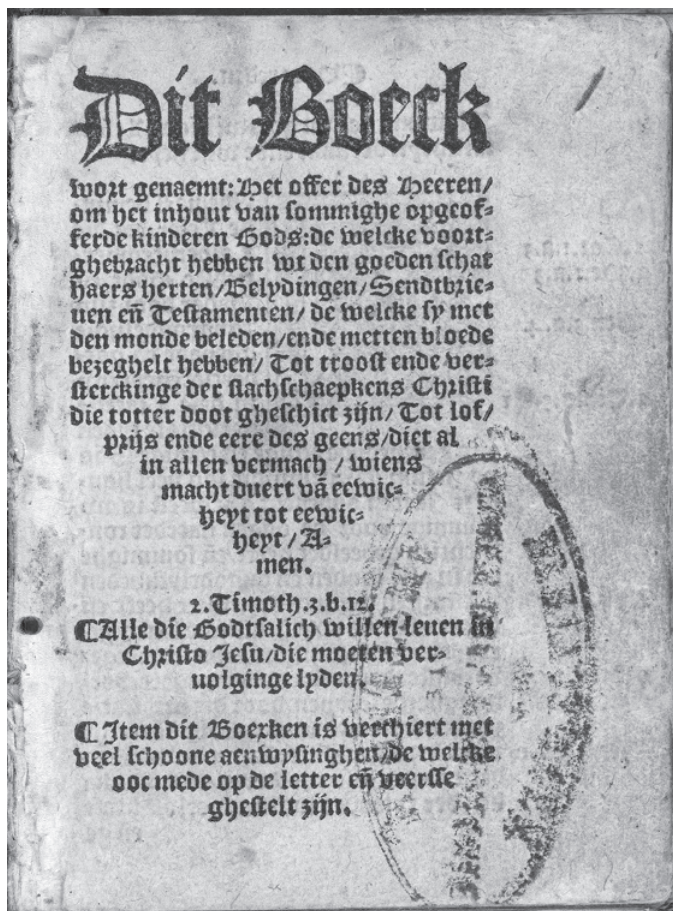
I

Menno Simons. *Sommarie ofte By een vergaderinge van sommige schriftelijcke bekentenissen des gheloofs* (Hoorn, sold by J. Janszoon, 1600 [colophon: Alckmaer, printed by J. de Meester, 1601]) (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-426)



2

Menno Simons. *Een fundament ende clare aenwysinge vande salichmakende leere Iesu Christi*
 (Hoorn, Zacharias Cornelijz, 1613)
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 62-9721)

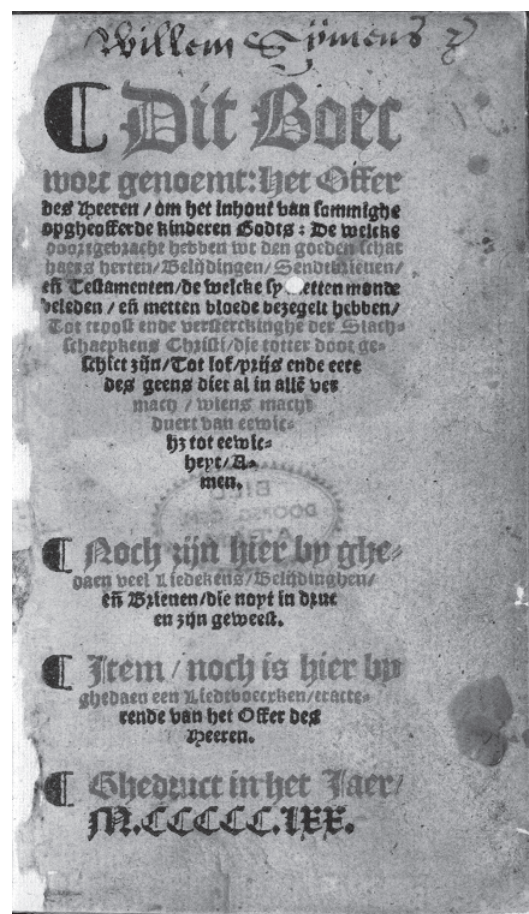
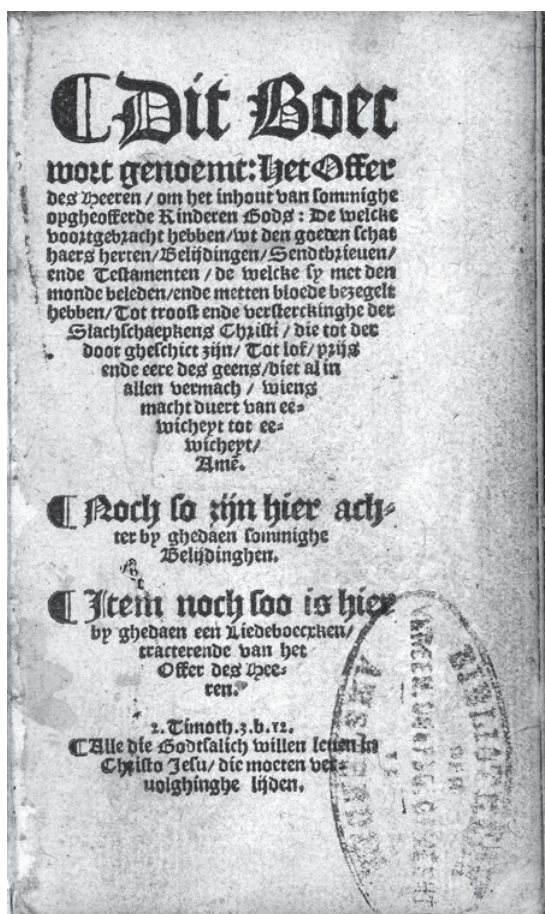


3

Dit boeck wordt genoemd: Het offer des Heeren

([Franeker, J. Hendricksz] colophon: 1562/63)

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-183; TB 3806)



4

Dit boec wort genoemt: Het offer des Heeren

([Franecker, successor J. Hendricksz] colophon: 1567)

TB 3808

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-183)

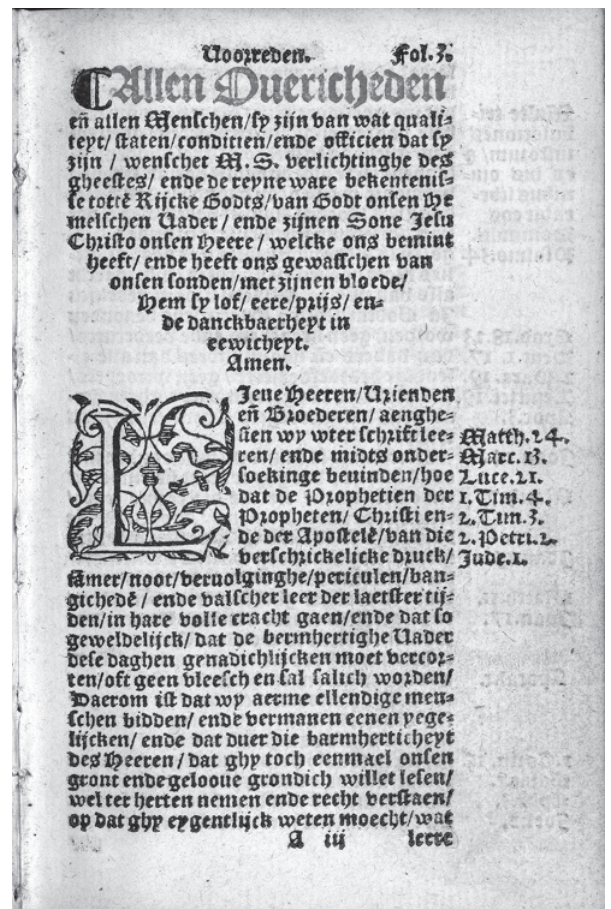
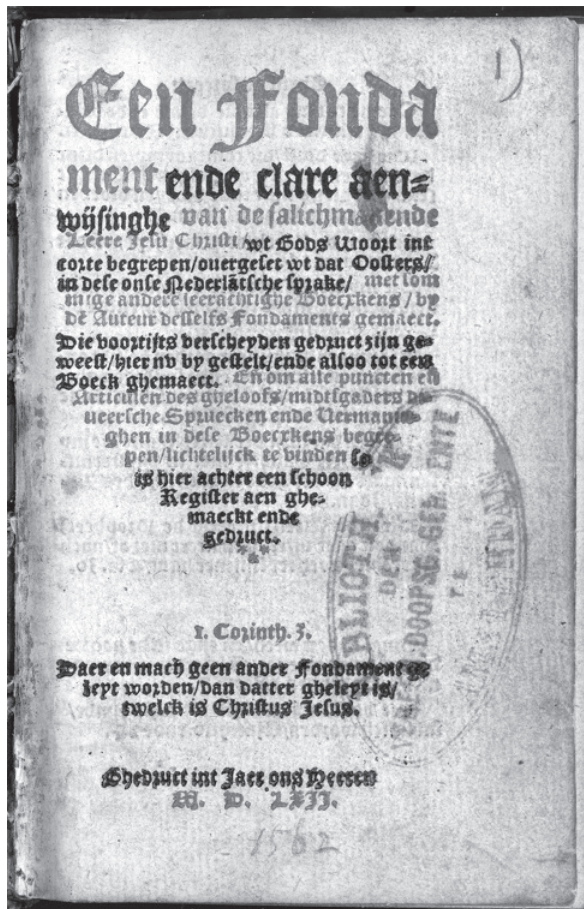
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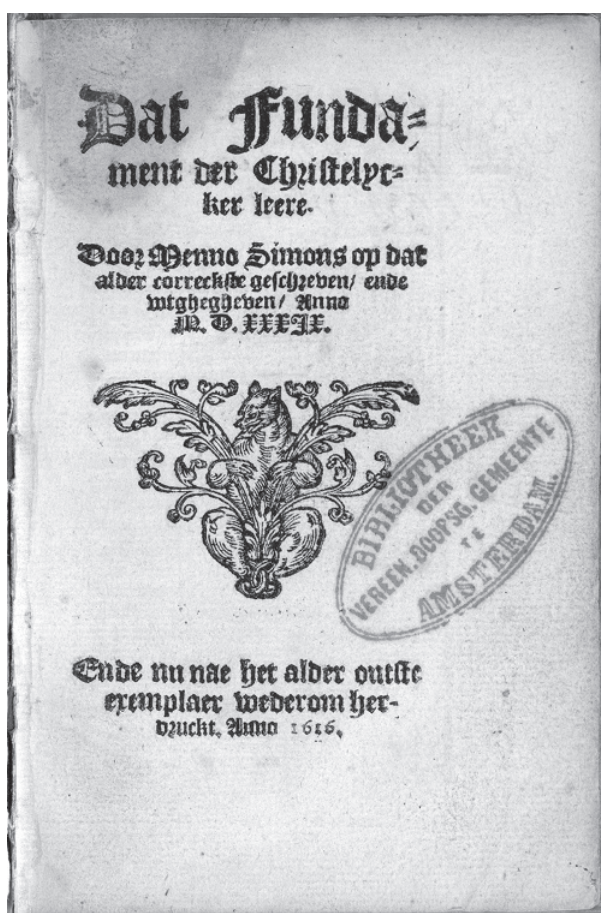
Dit boec wort genoemt: Het offer des Heeren

([Franecker, successor J. Hendricksz], 1570)

TB 3809

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-183)





7

Menno Simons. *Dat fundament der christelycker leere*
([Haarlem, Herman Theunisz Kranepoel?], 1616)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-1235)

OF FRISIAN ORIGIN:

THE *CHRONYC HISTORIE*, NOORTWITZ 1579



The *Chronyc Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen* was the first consecutive historical account of the wars in the Low Countries ever to appear in Dutch.¹ For a whole generation who knew only Dutch, the book was the sole source of information about the tumultuous events of the previous years and thus the only means of forming an idea about the course of the struggle for independence from Spanish rule. French and English translations appeared too and show that the work also had its influence and success outside the national borders.² Yet the book is in fact little more than a compilation, a collection of previously published material, assembled, moreover, with little critical sense. Historiographers of later years were seldom flattering about this work of their predecessor and, by present standards, they were certainly right. Since the book is of little value as a contribution to historical knowledge, it might seem surprising that certain prominent historians as well as various bibliographers, even in England, should have taken the trouble to write about it extensively.³ Their interest, however, was directed not so much at the

¹ *CHRONYC. Historie der Nederlantscher Oorlogen, Troublen ende oproeren oorspronck, anvanck ende eynde. Item den Standt der Religien, tot desen Jare 1580. Beschreven durch den hoochgeleerden Heren Adam Henricipetri, Docteur by den Rechten tot Basel, also by schriftelick van een Raetshere te Bruessel ontfanghen heft, allen Liefhebberen der Christelicker Religion seer profytelick ende ten dienste uutgegeven. Uut den Hoochduytschen in onse Nederlantsche sprake getrouwelick overgesedt. Mitzgaders diversche Copien van Sentbrieven, Placcaten, Accoorden van peysen, Unien, Articlen ende Verbontenissen, in Nederlant gepubliceert ende uutgegaen. Gedruckt tot Noortwitz na de Copie van Basel. Anno 1579. (=Leeuwarden, Peter Hendricksz van Campen, 1580). 8vo : A-Z⁸, Aa-Ii⁸, Kk⁶. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Gouda, Librije; The Hague, Royal Library (KB); Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL; and many foreign libraries.*

² For the book and its translations, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'Gilb. Roy, alias Theophilus, auteur van de anonieme "Chronic. Historie" ... of "Histoire des troubles [...] des Pays-Bas" (1582)', *De Gulden Passer*, 36 (1958), pp. 91-111.

³ The interest on the part of the English was determined by the intriguing address 'Noortwitz', which was thought to be Norwich. The first scholar to write about the book from this angle was W.J.C. Moens, 'Bibliography of "Chronyc Historie der Nederlandtscher oorlogen, etc."', *Archaeologia*, 51 (1888), pp. 205-12. In his acceptance of the earlier attribution to the printer Antoine de Solemne he was followed by W.H. Alnutt, 'Some Account of English Provincial Presses', *Bibliographica*, 2 (1896), pp. 150-2, and 3 (1897), pp. 481-3, and by E.M. Beloe in his *Facsimile Reprint of An Historical Perpetual Calendar [...] Norwich [...] 1570* (King's Lynn 1915), pp. 61 and 63 (reproduction of the title-page). After

content of the text as at the creation of the book, and their main questions were: who was the compiler, where did he write his work, and in what town, in what country, was it published? That these matters are narrowly connected is obvious, and in searching for an answer we can also approach the problems concerned from more than one angle.

The title-page of the book already seems to give most of the desired information. The author is said to be Adam Henricpetri, a jurist and professor in Basel. The first two of the three books comprised by the work are indeed an almost literal translation of his *Niderlendischer ersten Kriegen, Empörungen, Zweitrachten Ursprung, anfang und end*, which was published in Basel by Samuel Apiarius in 1575.⁴ They describe the events in the Netherlands during the first years of the resistance against the Spaniards, from 1566 to October 1568. According to B.A. Vermaseren, who studied the genesis of the book, Henricpetri made exclusive use of German and French sources in his compilation, including printed news reports and official publications which he adopted either in part or in their entirety.⁵ An example is the *Apology* of William of Orange, dating from 1568, an authorized edition of which appeared in French as well as in Dutch.⁶

The compiler of the *Chronyc Historie* translated the two books of Henricpetri literally, but whenever possible he replaced the German version of the documents included by the texts published in Dutch. This, however, is only the smallest part of the *Chronyc Historie*. For, after he had completed his translation, he continued the work on his own, and expanded it with a third book covering the period from 1572. The intervening years, he observed, witnessed no military exploits worth mentioning. And in that third book we find most of the documents mentioned on the title-page, copies of dispatches, edicts, peace agreements, unions, articles of faith and treaties published and issued in the Netherlands ('diversche Copien van Sentbrieven, Placcaten, Accoorden van peysen, Unien, Articlen ende Verbon-tenissen, in Nederlant gepubliceert ende uutgegaen'). Here too these official documents were taken from printed editions. Much of the information about the more sensational events, moreover, comes from reports which appeared as newsletters, such as Pieter Sterlincx' *Corte beschrijvinghe* about the siege of Haarlem and

it became known that the work was not printed in England, D. Stoker published his 'Anthony de Solempne: attributions to his press', *The Library*, 6th S., 3 (1981), pp. 17-32.

⁴ For the writer and his work, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'Dr. Adam Henricpetri uit Basel en zijn boek over het begin van onze opstand', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 13 (1959), pp. 189-216, with references to earlier literature.

⁵ For a survey, see Vermaseren, art. cit. (n. 4), pp. 201-8.

⁶ For these publications, see W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1889-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), vol. I, nos. 159 (*Justification*) and 160 (*Verantwoordinge*).

the extensive account by Jan Fruytiers of the siege of Leiden, both of which are quoted at length.⁷ Then there is the full text of the Pacification of Ghent, of the Unions of Brussels and Utrecht and other important treaties, given in strictly chronological order. Together with an unpretentious connecting text, these pieces make up the third book, which thereby exceeds the joint length of the first two.

But who was the man responsible for translating and continuing the work of Henricpetri? At certain points in the book he calls himself Theophilus, a pseudonym so frequently used in these years that the author's identity could not be established without further information. W.J.C. Moens,⁸ the first bibliographer of the *Chronyc Historie*, believed that Philips van Marnix, lord of Sint Aldegonde, was the writer of the work, an attribution accepted in England up to the recently revised edition of the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland, ... from 1475-1640*, where the book is included on account of the address, Noortwitz.⁹ This attribution, however, is just as unfounded as the one to Jean François le Petit which we find in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* for the authorship of the French edition, which appeared as a translation.¹⁰

After that a long period ensued in which the preacher Carel Rijckewaert was regarded as the author. Rijckewaert was indeed accustomed to call himself Theophilus and even to sign his letters with that name. A Flemish emigrant, he became minister of the Dutch community in Norwich in 1567 and later at Thetford in Norfolk. He left England in August 1577 after accepting an invitation to Leiden and acted as second secretary at the synod held in Dordrecht in 1578.¹¹

⁷ Knuttel, op. cit. (n. 6), nos. 203 and 226 respectively.

⁸ Moens, art. cit. (n. 3), pp. 207 f.

⁹ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926); 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, compl. by K.F. Pantzer, vol. 2 (London 1976), p. 140, no. 17450. Also L.W. Forster, *Janus Gruter's English Years. Studies in the continuity of Dutch literature in exile in Elizabethan England* (Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute, Special S., 3; Leiden 1967), pp. 33 f.

¹⁰ *HISTOIRE DES TROUBLES ET GUERRES CIVILES DU PAYS-BAS, Autrement dict la FLANDRE. Contenant l'origine & progres d' icelle, les stratagemes de guerre, oppugnations & expugnations des villes & forteresses, aussi la barbare Tyrannie & cruauté de l'Espagnol, & des Espagnolisez. Ensemble l'Estat & faict de la Religion, especialement depuis l' An 1559 jusques à l' An 1581. Avec plusieurs Missives, Placcars, Contracts de Paix, Unions, Articles & Pactions, publiez esdites Provinces. Le tout departy en quatre Livres. L'AN M.D.LXXXII* (Antwerpen, Gillis van den Rade, 1582. 8vo). For an extensive description of the book and the possible author, see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), vol. 3, p. 818, no. L 54.

¹¹ For him and his presumed authorship, see C. Rahlenbeck, 'Notes sur les auteurs, les imprimeurs et les distributeurs des pamphlets politiques et religieux du XVI^e siècle, 18: Théophile', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 18 (1862), pp. 416-20; P.J. Blok, 'Theophilus – Henricpetri', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 4th S., 7 (1909), pp. 195-207; A.A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche*

On that occasion the participants decided that the events of the previous years, and above all those pertaining to religious matters, should be recorded. The man chosen to write this history was Philips van Marnix, but he never completed such a work.¹² The attribution to Rijckewaert rested on three points: he used the name Theophilus as a pseudonym, he lived for many years in the city mentioned as the place of publication on the title-page, Norwich, which became Noortwitz in the Dutch spelling of the time, and he knew about the general desire in ecclesiastical circles for such a work to be produced. And, it was believed, there was also a further argument: in the French translation, which appeared in 1582, the author calls himself Theophile D.L.¹³ Here the abbreviation 'D.L.' can hardly stand for Doctor Legum or Doctor Legis, or for Divinitatis Licentiat. Bakhuizen van den Brink, however, proposed another explanation: D.L. was an abbreviation of Dives Leno, or Rijcke Waert.¹⁴ Although not everyone was convinced by this interpretation – Leno is not the most obvious translation of 'waard' [innkeeper] – the attribution was generally accepted for many years.

Matters only changed when B.A. Vermaseren established that, with the exception of the documents included, the *Chronyc Historie* showed a remarkable resemblance to a little chronicle by Philip Galle of a slightly earlier date.¹⁵ That booklet contains a text originally printed in Latin together with a map of the Netherlands which he had engraved and published in 1578. When Galle realized that this account, which expressed little sympathy for Spanish rule, met with a broader interest, he had his friend Plantin print both a Dutch and a French version of it in book form. The Dutch title runs: *Een cort Verhael van de gedinckweerdichste saken [...] totten jare 1579*, and the work appeared with an approbation of the Governor for the Spanish King Philip II, Prince Matthias of Austria, dated 5 January 1579.¹⁶ Large parts correspond almost word for word to the text of the *Chronyc Historie*.

Galle, who came from Haarlem, was a pupil of the poet, humanist and engraver

vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland ... (s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 196-8, 202; Forster, op. cit. (n. 9), pp. 33 f.

¹² For the relevant texts, see Moens, art. cit. (n. 3), p. 212.

¹³ Cf. Blok, art. cit. (n. 11), pp. 204 f.

¹⁴ For his article Blok used the notes left by Robert Fruin, to whom Bakhuizen van den Brink had communicated this solution orally.

¹⁵ Vermaseren, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 91 ff. – For an extensive discussion of Galle and his chronicle, see *id.*, 'De Antwerpse graveur Filips Galle en zijn kroniekje over de Opstand (1579)', *De Gulden Passer*, 35 (1957), pp. 139-47.

¹⁶ L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle, 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), vol. 3, pp. 977 ff., no. 1230.

Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert. He had become an excellent engraver and had been for many years a successful publisher in Antwerp of prints and maps,¹⁷ but he was not a historian. So how did he obtain the information for his chronicle? On this score he tells us that the content is largely derived from authentic memoirs and original documents which had been given to 'Doctor Roy' in order to write the general history of the Netherlands in which he was engaged, and that Roy had been of assistance to him for the common good ('dattet ghene dat ick u voor ooghen legghen, meest ghetrocken is uut autentike memoiren, ende originale stucken, die Doctor Roy in handen ghegheven zijn om te beschrijven de generale Historie vande Nederlanden, de welcke hy onder handen heeft [...] waerinne dat hy my heeft gherieft tot tghemeyne proffijt').¹⁸ The 'Doctor Roy' in question is undoubtedly Gilbert Roy, Le Roy or Regius, a man connected with William of Orange, who lived in Antwerp at the time and there did his best to be appointed official historiographer by the States General.¹⁹ In this he failed, but he was indeed, as we see from Galle's words, engaged in writing a history of the Netherlands in which, according to Galle, the causes, origins and histories of events and public acts of all and sundry would be recounted at length ('waerinne dat d'oorsaeken, oorspronghen ende geschiedenis vande saken, ende openbare acten van een yghelick int langhe sullen verhaelt staen').²⁰

This is a description which corresponds perfectly to the content of our *Chronyc Historie*. Struck by the astonishing similarity between parts of that work and Galle's little chronicle, and by Galle's report of how it came into existence, Vermaseren drew the following conclusion: Gilbert Roy was the author of the *Chronyc Historie*. He was in the process of compiling it when Galle approached him with a request for help with the text of his map, which would later be published independently as the *Cort verhael*. Roy placed his manuscript at his disposal, and Galle made a summary of it, took over large sections literally, and published them as they stood. Roy then completed his book and, in his turn, gave it to a(nother) printer who started work on it in 1579 and launched it on the market in the course of 1580.²¹

¹⁷ For Filips Galle see, besides Vermaseren's article quoted in n. 15, M. Bataillon, 'Philippe Galle et Arias Montano. Matériaux pour l'iconographie des savants de la Renaissance', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 2 (1942), pp. 132-60; J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn*, vol. 1 (Antwerpen 1912), pp. 221 ff.

¹⁸ *Een cort Verhael* ..., f. D5v.

¹⁹ F. Prims, 'Dr. Gilbert Roy, schrijver der "Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas"', *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Klasse der Letteren* ..., 4/2 (Antwerpen 1942), pp. 8-12; B.A. Vermaseren, 'Dr. Gilbert Roy of Regius, een gunsteling van Prins Willem van Oranje', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 11 (1956), pp. 40-68, esp. pp. 54 f.

²⁰ *Een cort Verhael* ..., f. D5v.

²¹ The information on the title-page, 'Gedruct [...] Anno 1579', is outdated by the addition of

This representation of the course of events seems plausible, and provides a logical explanation of the direct relationship between the two texts. Yet it raises certain questions. Why did the book of a Frenchman – Roy came from Nozeroy in Bourgogne – appear first in Dutch and only two years later in his own language? And even if he had lived, as we know he did, for some time in Cologne, would he have known German and Dutch well enough to be able to make such a translation himself? Besides, why, with his evident ambitions to be appointed official historiographer, would he publish a book in which, to quote Vermaseren, ‘the words were literally identical’ to those in an earlier unpretentious booklet by somebody else?²² And finally, another interesting point: how could he report so extensively on events in the northern provinces of the Netherlands, particularly in Friesland? For these passages are far more numerous and detailed than one might expect in a chronicle written by a Frenchman in Antwerp.²³ The author added an appendix to the first book which includes additional descriptions of events in Groningen and Friesland, but it is above all in the third book, which he himself compiled, that we find numerous reports about towns in the northern Netherlands.²⁴ Their nature and content suggest that they originated directly from these areas, as a single example shows. ‘On 9 October 1578 Julius Dekema’s garden outside St James’ gate in Leeuwarden was destroyed since he had chosen to support the Spaniards. The garden was large enough to graze seven cows and filled with every sort of tree imaginable’.²⁵ So precise a report can only have come from an inhabitant of the town. The same applies to the extensive account of the siege of

reports about events in the following spring. The last date mentioned is 8 March 1580. The text of the title also rightly adds: ‘... tot desen Jare 1580.’

²² Vermaseren, art. cit. (n. 2), p. 94.

²³ Blok, art. cit. (n. 11), pp. 202 f.

²⁴ *Chronyc Historie* ..., f. 58 (Appendix). In the third part: f. 107r: ‘Invasie van Crijcsvoic [sic] in Vrieslant’; f. 107v: ‘T’casteel tot Staveren wert ontset, ende Staveren in brant gesteken’; f. 224: ‘Prelaten ende Edelyden gevanghen tot Groningen’; while on f. 243 we have a report which shows the extent to which the author was concerned with events in the north: ‘Oopenbare Predicatie in gants Nederlandt’: ‘After the publication of this religious peace the Reformed religion was publicly practised in many different towns of the Netherlands, especially in Leeuwarden in Friesland where the first public sermon was preached on 13 August 1578 in the Church of St James, with the consent and agreement of the very monks who owned the church.’ (‘Na de publicatie van dese Religioens Vrede, is voorts in veele diversche Steden vande Nederlanden oopenbaerlic geexerceert geworden de reformeerde Religie, bysonder te Leeuwarden in Vrieslandt is die eerste oopenbaere Predicatie geweest den 13. Augusti anno 78. inde Jacopijner Kercke, met bewillinge ende accoort vande Monnicken selve die de Kercke toebehoorde’).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 244: ‘Opten 9. Octobris anno 78. is Julii Dekema hof buyten S. Jacobs poorte te Leeuwarden gedestruert, omdat hy mette Spaingiaerts partie was houdende, welcke hof groot was 7 koe gras, ende van alle geboomten die men bedencken mochte, worde daer inne bevonden’.

the ‘blochuys’ (blockhouse), giving all sorts of details which could only have been provided by an eyewitness. It appears in the last eight pages of the work, which deal almost exclusively with events that occurred in the northern provinces in 1579 and early 1580.²⁶ As Blok observed, ‘this seems to indicate that the author had special connections with Friesland.’²⁷ But there is no evidence of such connections in the case of Dr Roy. The author of the *Chronyc*, on the other hand, does indeed seem to have had close contacts with Friesland, since he dedicates his book to the States and other authorities of that province.

It is curious that this significant fact should so far have escaped attention. For the dedication²⁸ is clearly addressed to: ‘Den hogen ende Eedelen Heren den Staten ende Gedeputeerden, Presidenten ende Raden, Borgmesteren, Schouteten, Grietmannen, ende allen anderen Officieren der geunieerder Landen van V.’ And the ‘V.’ can only stand for ‘Vriesland’, which was then, and for many years thereafter, the customary spelling. The form ‘Friesland’ was altogether exceptional in the sixteenth century. In the text of his dedication the author once more uses the spelling with a ‘V’: ‘geunieerde landen van V.’ Blok has reproduced the beginning with the list of the various authorities in full, but, oddly enough, he omitted the revealing ‘van V.’ Although he refers to the unusual fact that the ‘grietmannen’, the heads of the juridical districts, were mentioned separately, he also fails to notice that the term ‘geunieerde landen’ is used instead of ‘geunieerde provincien.’ Other scholars, too, have apparently overlooked this and have always regarded the dedication as being addressed to the States and other magistrates of the Netherlands *in toto*.²⁹

There is yet another element which points to the northern Netherlands: the manner in which the compiler reproduced some of the official publications. He based himself on editions printed on the orders, and at the expense, of the Court of Friesland for promulgation in those very areas. We thus find that the edict of 7 December 1577 in which Don Juan is declared an enemy of the people is here accompanied by an address to the Stadtholder, Rennenberg, and a signed authentication by his secretary, J. Hiddinga. The document only appeared in print in this form in Leeuwarden.³⁰ Any contemporary could, of course, have had access

²⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 259 ff.

²⁷ Blok, art. cit. (n. 11), p. 202, n. 5.

²⁸ *Chronyc Historie*, verso of title-page.

²⁹ Blok, art. cit. (n. 11), p. 202. – Vermaseren, op. cit. (n. 2) also agrees: see pp. 95 and 103 f.

³⁰ *Chronyc Historie*, ff. 224v.-227. Cf.: *Groot Placaat en Charter-boek van Vriesland ...*, collected by G.F. thoe Schwartzenberg en Hohenlansberg, vol. 3 (Leeuwarden 1778), pp. 1167-9. – As many as two editions were produced by Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, printed from different type matter. The first, for official use, is mentioned in W. Eekhoff, *De Stedelijke Bibliotheek van Leeuwarden, bevattende voornamelijk de werken van schrijvers uit deze hoofdstad ...* (Leeuwarden 1870), no. B 1K; the copy is once again in its

to it, but in view of the existence of no less than three editions in the southern Netherlands,³¹ it seems most improbable that a Frisian edition would have been used as a copy in Antwerp. Nor is this all: there are other similar examples. For the text of the Union of Utrecht the author used an edition containing the declarations of association up to 1 February 1580 in full accordance with the Leeuwarden edition.³² An even more significant example is the 'Religioensvrede'. This agreement was issued by the States General on 12 July 1578 – it was only published a year later in the southern Netherlands – and with that date two editions were published, one of which in Leeuwarden. The two versions display certain differences in the text, and it now emerges that the *Chronyc Historie* chooses the one produced by the printer to the Frisian court, Is(e)brandt ter Steghe.³³ That use should always have been made in these cases of Frisian editions can hardly be fortuitous.

All these circumstances argue against Dr Roy as the compiler of the *Chronyc Historie*. What makes his authorship even less likely is the fact that the writer of the book twice refers to himself as 'idiotia' – at the end, for example: 'I will not envy or slander Zoilus or try to do better than other scholars; I shall content myself with having done it according to the small capacity of my own, Theophilus *idiotia*, for the honour of God and love of my neighbours ...'.³⁴ Here the term 'idiotia' has

original place in the Leeuwarden Municipal Archives (Gemeente Archief): Tweede Plakkaatboek, no. 39. The reprint, for general distribution, appeared 'met octroye des Stadthouders'. For a description of the title, see *Vrede van Munster 1648-1948. Catalogus van de herdenkingstentoonstelling in het Stedelijk Museum 'Het Prinsenhof' te Delft* (Delft 1948), p. 85, no. 109. Copies: The Hague, Royal Library (KB), shelf-mark Q. 7, 8a, and Edinburgh, National Library, shelf-mark H.8.C.131. Dr D. Grosheide in Utrecht referred me to his review of Vermaseren, art. cit. (n. 2: 1958), in *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 14 (1959), pp. 144 f. This shows that he, too, was aware of the Frisian origin of the printed edict and the possible consequences for the authorship of the *Chronyc Historie*.

³¹ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. op de Beeck, vol. 1 (Nieuwkoop 1968), p. 223, nos. 2787-9.

³² *Chronyc Historie*, ff. 245v.-258. For the edition printed on the orders of the Court by Peter Hendricksz van Campen, see Knuttel, op. cit. (n. 6), no. 410. Besides the Royal Library in The Hague, the Provincial Library of Friesland also has a copy.

³³ *Chronyc Historie*, ff. 236-43. For the Leeuwarden edition of Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, see L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. 1, no. 274. Besides Leiden UL, the Leeuwarden Municipal Archive also has a copy, in the Tweede Plakkaatboek, no. 28 e. The opening of the text in the chronicle corresponds to the one in the edition mentioned: 'Elcken is ghenoech kennelyck, dat die tyrannische Placcaten ...'. The other edition is described in Knuttel, op. cit. (n. 6), no. 368. This one begins: 'In den Eersten is elc kenlic dat de Tijrannische placcaten ...'.

³⁴ *Chronyc Historie*, f. 262v.; 'Ic late toe den Zoilis te benijden ende te lasteren, ende andere Geleerden het beter te maken, het sy genoech na mijn cleyne verstant, van my Theophilo idiotia, gedaen ter Eeren Gods, ende liefde van mijnen Naesten ...'. The author also describes himself as such at the end

the significance of 'unlearned' in the sense of having no (higher) education.³⁵ The application of the term by the writer to himself virtually excludes Dr Roy, who prided himself on his title of doctor. Besides, he could hardly expect such excessive modesty to increase his chances of being appointed official historiographer.

Anticipating certain arguments that exclude Roy definitively as the author, we can assume that his relationship with Galle was different and that Philip Galle did not base his little chronicle on a manuscript of Gilbert Roy (which, according to Vermaseren, appeared a year later as the *Chronyc Historie*). Galle could, however, as he stated specifically in his foreword, make use of source material that Roy had placed at his disposal for the purpose. And this offers an entirely different picture of the true course of events. Galle did not copy anything from the *Chronyc Historie*. The compiler of that work, on the other hand, based himself on Galle's book and supplemented it with a large quantity of printed publications and news reports of important events. This is also indicated by the dates of publication of the two books. Galle's *Cort verhael* appeared, as we have seen, with an approbation granted in January 1579 after the text had already been printed in Latin in the previous year as the commentary to a map. The *Chronyc historie*, on the other hand, despite the date 1579 on the title-page, only appeared in the following spring, as can be seen from the fact that the last of a few reports which were included at the end, is dated 8 March 1580. According to this interpretation the role of Dr Roy would thus simply have been to supply Galle with the information necessary to furnish his map with a historical elucidation. Translated and published separately as a short chronicle, the *Cort verhael* seems to have been the basic text used by the justifiably modest historian calling himself Theophilus in his continuation of Henricpetri's historical account.

But how can we prove definitively that this Theophilus is not the same man as Dr Roy, or even as the earlier candidate Carel Rijckewaert? As long as we do not know whom the pseudonym concealed, there only appears to be a single effective approach, namely to establish where the book was printed. When we realise that the place of publication given on the title-page, Noortwitz, is not the English Norwich,

of his dedication: 'mijn Heren neme desen Epistel van my Theopilo [*sic*] idiota in danc ...' (*ibid.* f. 3v).

³⁵ Cf. the passage by the punchcutter and printer Ameet Tavernier in the foreword of his school book *Eenen gheestelycken ABC* (Antwerp 1560): 'many children [...] who, owing to misfortune, do not manage to go to school, whereby to their great damage and distress they remain sadly unlearned and uneducated' ('veel kinderen [...] die welcke (door tegenspoet der fortuynen) de macht niet en hebben ter scholen te ligghen, waer door sy tot haerder grooten schaden ende verdriet arme onghelerde ende idioten blijven'). See H. Carter & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité types* (Oxford 1966), fig. 12. — For this question, see also Blok, art. cit. (n. 11), p. 201, n.3, who saw in the term an expression of exaggerated humility towards the authorities, and Vermaseren, art. cit. (n. 2: 1958), pp. 95 ff., who translated it as 'inexpert; a layman in a particular — here historiographical — area' and then resorted to a far-fetched argument to explain why Dr Roy described himself as such.

the most important argument in favour of Rijckewaert as the author of the *Chronyc Historie* can be discarded. And when it can be demonstrated that the book was not printed by an Antwerp printer but in, or close to, Friesland – to which so many indications point – we can also dismiss Roy as the possible author. For we must accept the fact that, in the town in which he lived, he had so many possibilities of having his book printed that there is no logical reason to think that he might have applied to an unknown publisher so far from his home.

Much has been written about the identification of Noortwitz as Norwich. One of the first scholars to establish the connection was Charles Rahlenbeck, who, besides seeing Carel Rijckewaert as the author, also identified Antoine de Solemne as the printer.³⁶ De Solemne, the first and only sixteenth-century printer in Norwich, was a Flemish emigrant who produced various books in Dutch in that city between 1568 and 1573, including Dathenus' verse translation of the Psalms and a translation of the (second) Helvetic confession of faith. The attribution of the *Chronyc Historie* to De Solemne has been accepted by nearly everybody who has written about him from a bibliographical angle.³⁷ Yet certain Dutch scholars had their doubts about the assumed English origin of the book. On the basis of documents in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Vermaseren thought he could attribute the work to Willem Silvius, an Antwerp printer who was appointed printer to the States and the Academy in Leiden in 1577. According to Vermaseren he used the fake address Noortwitz because of his relationship with Johan van der Does, lord of Noordwijk (Latin Nordovic or Nordovix), a collection of whose poems he had previously published.³⁸ A bibliographical analysis shows, however, that this attribution is incorrect and points in an entirely different direction. A full account of the investigation would lead us too far afield, but the result is certain: Silvius had no part whatsoever in the edition, and De Solemne can also be excluded once and for all.³⁹ Certain indirect

³⁶ Rahlenbeck, art. cit. (n. 11), pp. 419 f. – Some time earlier an anonymous correspondent had already named Antoine de Solemne as the printer of the *Chronyc Historie* in *De Navorscher*, 1860 (p. 133).

³⁷ Moens, art. cit. (n. 3), pp. 205 f., 210 ff.

³⁸ Vermaseren, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 100 f.

³⁹ The attribution of the *Chronyc Historie* to Willem Silvius is based on the comparison of the book with just one of his publications, *Ordonnancien ende decreten van den heylighen Concilie generael ghehouden tot Threnten* (Thantwerpen, Willem Silvius, 1570) – cf. *Belgica Typographica*, op. cit. (n. 31), vol. 1, no. 2268. Vermaseren's attention was drawn to this work by Dr Leon Voet who, in a letter dated 9 Dec. 1955 which Dr Vermaseren kindly allowed me to consult, called it a book 'in which the typeface appears to be absolutely identical in shape and body to those of the *Chronyc*'. This identification is incorrect. There are, on the contrary, clear differences between the typefaces and initials used. But even if they were similar, the printer of the *Chronyc* would still not be Silvius, for he had this reprint made by someone else. On typographical grounds we can identify his Antwerp colleague

but clear indications of the true origin are given on the title-page. Forms of spelling such as ‘overgesedt’, ‘heft’ (rather than ‘heeft’), ‘mitzgaders’ and above all the use of ‘durch’ instead of ‘door’ point unequivocally to the eastern part of the northern Netherlands where, under the influence of the spoken dialect, German elements also appeared in the printed language at the time.⁴⁰ In the text of the book we also find a certain presence of ‘eastern’ Dutch. Although the compiler writes fairly good Dutch, a number of Low German words and word forms have crept in, showing that he was undoubtedly more familiar with them than with their Dutch equivalents.⁴¹ Besides the content of the chronicle, therefore, the language also gives us every reason to look towards the north-eastern provinces. Only a very few printers were working in that area around 1580, based in Leeuwarden, Kampen, Deventer and Steenwijk.⁴² An analysis of the typographical material with which the book is printed suggests that the *Chronyc Historie* was indeed of Frisian origin and was produced by the press of the Leeuwarden printer Peter Hendricksz van Campen. Previously he had only been known as printer to the Court and States of Friesland, a capacity in which, as far as we know, he produced a good forty publications, about half of which bear his imprint. No other editions have appeared with his name on them. Nor, amongst his signed publications, is there any comparative material in the same octavo format – the official publications are quartos or broadsheets – which justifies the attribution to him of the *Chronyc Historie*. The small initials which appear in the book, for example, are not used in any of the other books by him I have seen. Nevertheless the work can be ascribed to him with certainty. The blocks for these initials previously belonged to the inventory of Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, after having made a long journey from Haarlem to Sedan and then to Emden.⁴³ Ter Steghe purchased the initials in Emden

Hendrik Alsens as the printer of the book.

⁴⁰ For the so-called north-eastern (Middle) Dutch literary language, see J.A. vor der Hake, ‘Een zestiend’ eeuwse taal voor literair verkeer’, *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 5 (1911), pp. 225-45, and G.A.R. de Smet, ‘Hendrik Niclaes. Ein vergessener niederdeutscher Dichter. Die Sprache seiner Comoedia und die sogenannte ostniederländische Literatursprache’, *Festschrift für Gerhard Cordes zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Fr. Debus & J. Hartig, vol. 2 (Neumünster 1976), pp. 389-402.

⁴¹ Here is a small selection: schicken [=zenden], mandieren, weeraftig, beweget, tsambt, toesamen, heft [=heeft] verordiniert, stoltelick, gantzlick, yedt, gewachtet, ghesinnet, gewalt, van stunden aen, beschiet – etc.

⁴² Peter Hendricksz van Campen carried on in Leeuwarden Is(e)brandt ter Steghe’s press which he had taken over in 1579. The printers working in Kampen were Berend Petersz, recently returned from Emmerik, and Jan Willemsz of whom only very few publications are known. In Deventer the only surviving printer was Simon Steenberghe, while another New Testament appeared from the press of Herman ’t Zangers in Steenwijk in 1580 after years of inactivity. He died soon after and was succeeded by Antonis Ketel, who moved the press to Haarlem in 1581.

⁴³ The initials belonged to the material with which Jan van Zuren had started printing in Haarlem

when he settled in Leeuwarden and used several of them in the work he printed there. When Peter Hendricksz took over his firm in 1579 he, too, came into possession of the blocks. Even if the initials do not appear in any other work he printed, this earlier course of events, together with many other typographical similarities, proves that he was responsible for producing the *Chronyc Historie*.⁴⁴

In the years before he acquired Ter Steghe's press Peter Hendricksz had been active in Leeuwarden on a smaller scale. He had a permit from the magistracy to print songs and other minor publications, and also worked as a woodcutter for his predecessor.⁴⁵ Soon, however, he turned into a publisher of stature, and before long his firm was one of the four or five largest publishing houses in the areas which were liberated from Spanish rule. Besides his work for the authorities he managed to produce almost exclusively Anabaptist works, all, naturally, without his name and with a fake address. He rapidly became the leading printer of Mennonite texts in the Netherlands. In the eight years in which he was active, he produced at least 25, often voluminous books – a considerable achievement in such difficult times. These included two complete Bibles 'gedrukt na de Copie van Nicolaes Biestkens', three New Testaments with the same copy-imprint, two editions of Menno Simons' main work, the *Fondamentboeck*, and further reprints of the *Enchiridion* by Dirk Philips, the popular collection of edifying songs, *Veelderhande Liedekens*, and the first Mennonite martyrology, *Het Offer des Heeren*. Most of these works appeared without an imprint, but some, including the editions of the Bible, gave 'Harlingen' as a (fictitious) address and the pseudonyms Peter van Putte or Gerrit Andrieszoon as publisher.⁴⁶ This last pseudonym is on a work by Menno Simons, the posthumous edition of which is dated 20 May 1587.⁴⁷

in 1561. They are described and reproduced in H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* (s-Gravenhage 1951), p. 156 (initial i) and p. 388, illus. 19. Of the two initials reproduced there, the V is used in the *Chronyc Historie* on f. 228.

⁴⁴ An account of this analysis will soon appear in an article on Is(e)brandt ter Steghe and Peter Hendricksz van Campen, and on the material they used.

⁴⁵ For the (scarce) archival information concerning him, see Ph.H. Breuker, 'Eekhoffs Geschiedenis van de Leeuwarder drukkers en uitgevers tot 1870', in C.P. Hoekema, *Eekhoff en zijn werk; leven en werken van Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880)* (Leeuwarden 1980), p. 177.

⁴⁶ J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus. Typographi & bibliopolae Neerlandici usque ad annum MDCC. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers tot 1700, met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid* (Nieuwkoop 1980), p. 136, mention four addresses in sixteenth-century Harlingen. Two of them are thus pseudonyms, and this very probably also applies to Peter Sebastiaensz. Whether the name of the fourth, Peter Janszen, was that of a printer, can also be doubted. The chances are high that nothing was printed in Harlingen before 1600.

⁴⁷ Menno Simons, *Een seer grontlijcke antwoort [...] over onse gront ende leere [...] belangende den ban [...] ende mijdinghe* (Harlingen, Gherit Andrieszoon [=Leeuwarden, Peter Hendricksz van Campen], 20 Mei 1587) – Menno's second book on the ban. See I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch Reformer. With a Census of Known Copies* (Nieuwkoop 1962), p. 113, no. 82. For a

It was apparently Peter Hendricksz' last publication. He seems to have died shortly afterwards, for we find material from his press in 1590, or possibly earlier, being used by Gillis van den Rade in Franeker, a fact from which we can conclude that his firm had been liquidated in the meantime. Although the nature of his list prevented him from openly placing his name on the books, it is remarkable that, with the exception of his activities as printer to the States, he should have been entirely forgotten. As the first printer-publisher of more than regional importance in the northern provinces he deserved a better lot.

The *Chronyc Historie* is one of the first books which he published at his own cost. We can conclude that he financed the publication himself from a request by the author at the end of his dedication: 'and if my Lords wish to show some appreciation from the public funds they can assist the printer in the expenses of this laudable work' ('en willen mijn Heren enige benevolentiam toonen ex publico aerario, dat moghen sy den Drucker bewijzen tot onkosten deses loflicken wercx').⁴⁸ At a time in which royalties did not exist this is an unusual request. It is odd that the author himself should have been prepared to waive in advance the sometimes considerable gratifications accorded in similar cases. For this reason we may even assume that the author was the same man as the publisher, and that Peter Hendricksz van Campen not only printed the book but also compiled it. But perhaps the disinterested attitude of the writer argues for Blok's view that the nature of the foreword suggests he was a minister.⁴⁹ In this case Wilhelm Alberti Steenwijck or Hendrik Stuur could be taken into consideration where Leeuwarden is concerned,⁵⁰ but in fact there is no pressing reason to search for the author in Leeuwarden itself, and now that the Frisian origin of the *Chronyc Historie* has been established a new area unfolds in which to seek his identity.

The Dr Gilbert Roy living in Antwerp can no longer be taken into consideration as the compiler. That the book should come from an area so far further north is a more important counterargument than the weak indications in Galle's foreword. And it is unlikely that the French edition of two years later, once ascribed to Roy,

full description of the title, see M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips 1504-1568. A Catalogue of his printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1975), p. 136, no. 47.

⁴⁸ *Chronyc Historie*, f. 3v.

⁴⁹ Blok, art. cit. (n. 11), p. 203: 'That the author was a preacher emerges clearly from the nature of the foreword ...'. Like much similar work, the piece does indeed have a religious slant, but whether this is sufficiently marked to justify such a statement seems to me doubtful.

⁵⁰ The other ministers in Leeuwarden at the time were Gellius Snecanus, invited from Emden in 1578, and Sixtus Ripperti, who only remained there briefly. Their authorship can almost certainly be excluded. It seems more plausible to think of the new town secretary, Lourens de Veen, who, as an elder, was a member of the Emden consistory in 1575, or the recently appointed substitute clerk of the Court, Tjaerd Heeres – but would they have referred to themselves as 'idiota'?

can have had any connection with him, even as a translator. For although the book did appear in Antwerp, the anonymous publisher turns out to have been Gillis van den Rade, the same man whom we met earlier in Franeker. He had previously lived in Antwerp until after the fall of the city in 1585, and printed many publications there, some of which were in French, for the Reformed Church as well as for the party of William of Orange and men such as Marnix van Sint Aldegonde.⁵¹ In view of this close connection it is quite possible that the French edition was produced as a means of political propaganda amongst the French-speaking section of the population. There is no indication that Roy was involved in campaigns of this nature, and the fact that the book appeared in Antwerp is not a sufficient reason for thinking he had a hand in it.

Matters are different where Roy's possible authorship of the *Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas, 1565-1580* (as the title of the text edition runs)⁵² is concerned. In that extensive manuscript the reports from Antwerp after May 1578 are recounted in such detail that we are almost certainly dealing with an author living in the city in whose immediate surroundings many of the events described took place. Galle's statements about Roy, who probably settled in the city in the spring of that year, and about his activities as a historian (used by Vermaseren in order to attribute to him the *Chronyc Historie*) had already led the Antwerp archivist F. Prims to identify him as the author of the *Mémoires* covering the same period.⁵³ He discovered that the content of the manuscript corresponded to Galle's description of the work in which Roy was engaged in Antwerp and that it was fully consonant with the result one might expect. Prims, moreover, published his attribution as a hypothesis for which he could find no supporting evidence. Vermaseren rejected it, mainly because there was too little similarity between the *Mémoires* and the *Chronyc Historie*. Had both chronicles been by the same author there would have been more points of community. But now that we see that the second work was not by Dr Roy, this argument is no longer valid, and Prims' hypothesis about the authorship of the *Mémoires* cannot be rejected on these grounds.

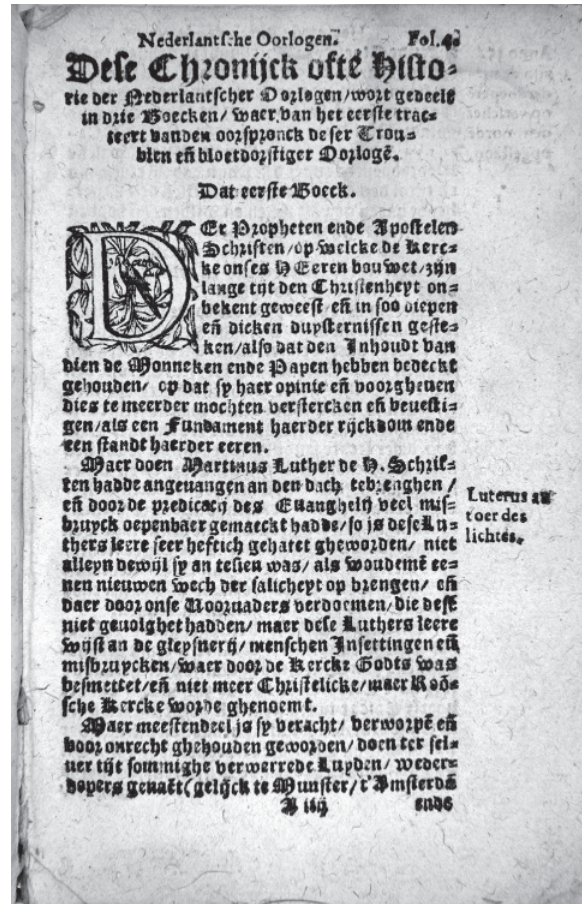
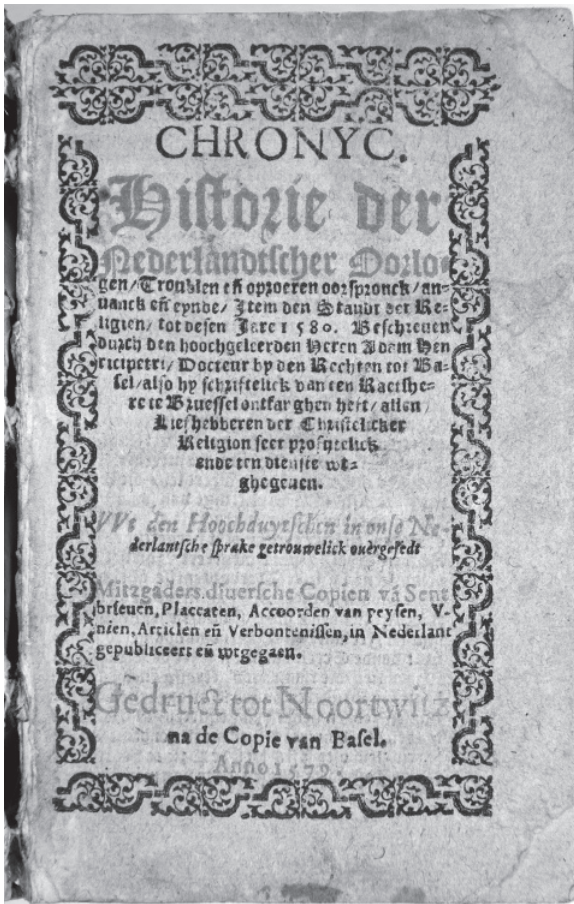
⁵¹ For biographical information and a bibliography, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 182 f. — For his Franeker period: J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 393 f. For his publications there: J.J. Kalma, *Het fonds van academiedrukker Aegidius Radaeus, Franeker 1586-1613*, a card index preserved at the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden. Various libraries have photocopies of this important collection of material.

⁵² *Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas, 1565-1580*, introd. & annot. J.B. Blaes & A. Renne, 5 vols. (Bruxelles/La Haye 1859-66). — For a survey of the history and the content of the manuscript, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'Rond het auteurschap der Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, II (1956), pp. 200-34.

⁵³ Prims, art. cit. (n. 9), *passim*.

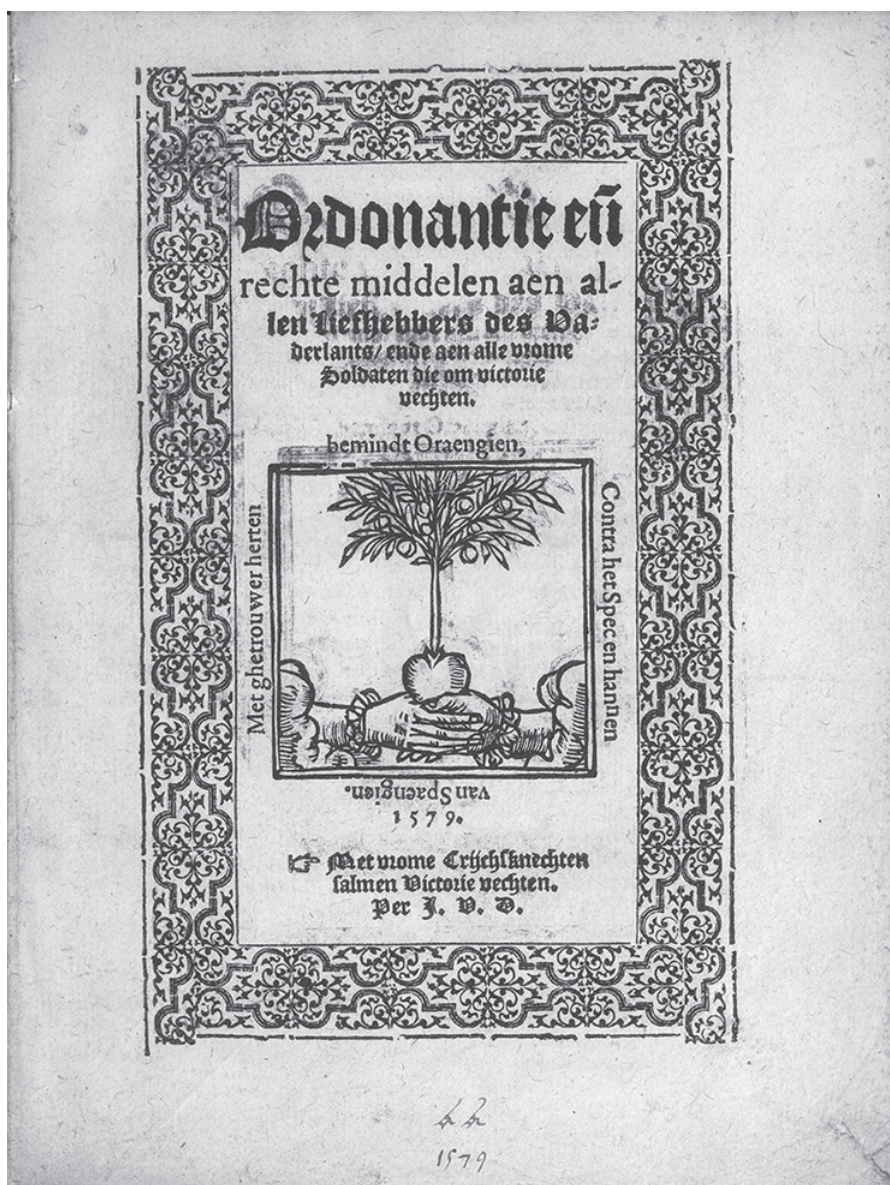
The preceding study is a relatively incidental result of a more extensive investigation into the activities of the Frisian printers in the sixteenth century with the object of establishing their stock lists as publishers.⁵⁴ It shows that bibliographical analysis can lead to results which range well beyond its original objective: the history of the book as a printed text and as the object of the book trade. Bibliography was long regarded as a mainly descriptive auxiliary science, and in later years also as a discipline of particular use for textual investigation. But it contains other possibilities. Bibliographical analysis as a method of historical research can, in itself and with its own means, produce results which are not limited to the history of the book but are also of interest in a broader context. It can serve as the point of departure for further research or, as in this case, for the solution of a historical problem. Where other means fail it can sometimes be the only method which promises success. It seems to me of some importance that this possibility should be more widely appreciated.

⁵⁴ See n. 44. – The research in question is, in its turn, part of a far wider project the object of which is to record everything that appeared in print within the present boundaries of the Netherlands in the period from 1541 to 1600, and anything printed in Dutch elsewhere (except for Belgium). The initiative for producing this inventory was taken in about 1960 by Prof. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey. See his article 'De Nederlandse bibliografie 1541-1600', *Bibliotheekleven*, 49 (1964), pp. 1-9. In the early years the plan was generously subsidized by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO)). For this first phase, the collection of bibliographical title material from the existing literature, see B. & M.E. de Graaf, 'De Noord-Nederlandse Bibliografie 1541-1600', *Het Boek*, 35 (1962), pp. 174-96. Since then the ground was expanded to a *de visu* investigation in libraries and archives, and the plan was finally concentrated on the identification and localization of the great many printed works which appeared without an imprint or with a fake address. The research project, which I have led since 1968, is based in the University Library of Amsterdam. The publication of a repertory is in progress. [The repertory in question was finally published in two voluminous quartos (662 + 636 pp.) in 1998: Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541-1600. In ordinem digessit A.C. Schuytlot* [...], 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1998). Eds.]



I

Adam Henricpetri. *Chronyc. Historie der Nederlandtscher oorlogen* [...] tot desen jare 1580
 ([Leeuwarden, P.H. van Campen], 1579 [=1580])
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 63-1600)



2

Ordonantie en(de) rechte middelen aen allen liefhebbers des vaderlants, ende aen alle vrome soldaten die om victorie vechten ([Leeuwarden, P.H. van Campen], 1579)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. C5b)

AUGUSTIJN VAN HASSELT AS A PRINTER IN VIANEN AND WESEL



What knowledge do we have about the printers and publishers in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century? Apart from a variety of details connected with their civil status we know little more than what emerges from the nature and the physical appearance of their publications. There are exceptions, of course: certain important figures like Willem Silvius in Antwerp and later in Leiden, and above all Christopher Plantin, assume a far more definite identity. So much of Plantin's administration and correspondence has survived that we have a clear enough idea of him as a businessman and as a personality for us to be acquainted with all his many qualities without having to rely on outside information. No such material, or hardly any, has survived where other contemporary protagonists in the book trade of the Low Countries are concerned. The choice and the composition of their stock and the external aspects of their printed works allow us to give them a particular place as publishers and printers, but as individuals they remain evasive.

Curiously enough the contrary is true of Augustijn van Hasselt. We know more about his personal circumstances than about those of most of his colleagues, but until recently our knowledge of his work as a printer was limited to a few pamphlets attributed to him.¹ He seems to have been one of those rare publishers who never put their name on a title-page or mentioned it in a colophon and who always worked in secret. It was perfectly normal for books which attacked the prevailing ideas of the Church or the State to appear without an imprint or with a fake address, but their publishers nearly always also issued uncontroversial works in which they could place their names without running any risk and thus bring their firm to public notice – and it was apparent at an early stage that a wide reputation implied professional good will. Augustijn van Hasselt, however, was never known

¹ The first bibliographer to study Augustijn van Hasselt was P.A. Tiele, in his 'Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Hendrik Niclaes', *Le bibliophile belge*, 3 (1868), pp. 121-9. This was followed by M. Rooses in *Biographie nationale, publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-arts de Belgique*, vol. 8 (Bruxelles 1884-5), cols. 751 ff., P. Bergmans, *Les imprimeurs belges à l'étranger* ([Bruxelles] 1922), pp. 68 f., and F. van Ortrooy, 'Contribution à l'histoire des imprimeurs et des libraires belges établis à l'étranger', *Revue des bibliothèques*, 34 (1924), pp. 381-410; 35 (1925), pp. 111-26, 282-97, 369-418; 36 (1926), pp. 225-337 (also published as an offprint (Paris 1924[-6]); s.v. 'Kampen': 35 (1925), pp. 123 ff. [in the offprint pp. 43 ff.]). Later authors are mentioned separately.

to the outside world. His publications were obviously so perilous that anonymity was inevitable. But although there is not a single book that bears his name, it has long been known from the chronicles of the Family of Love that he worked in no less than four different towns. Hitherto hardly any of his products could be identified, but it has recently been possible to establish what he printed in at least one of these towns – Kampen. His output consisted of fifteen works by Hendrik Niclaes, the leader of the sect, produced by a press which the latter had founded in order to print the unpublished part of his writings, and which also produced a book of a completely different nature commissioned by Plantin.² Earlier still, some political publications had been attributed to Augustijn as a result of his brief activity in Vianen, but what he printed in Wesel remained entirely unknown.

Augustijn van Hasselt appears to have been mentioned first in *Der Monsterschen ketter bichtbok*, a satirical poem written in 1534 about the events in Münster in that year, the rise to power of the Anabaptists and the first period of their rule which was to end so dramatically a little later. The account in verse mentions an Augustinus Brabender living ‘up de bergstraden’ who ‘... heff oick alltied en oprorsche ketzerische lun, he drecht steds ketzersche boecke in siner Mowen, in uprorsche handel sall ehm tho siner tiedt, wull roüwen ...’.³ This Augustinus is thus depicted as an active purveyor of heretical writings which he carried in the sleeves of his coat – an activity, says the poet, which he will come to regret. The prediction seems to have come true for, although he evidently survived the catastrophes of the ill-starred year 1535, he obviously had to flee: in the following year Augustinus van Hasselt’s lodgings in the Bergstrasse were impounded.⁴ The well-known printer and publisher Dietrich Tzwivel also lived in the same street and since only one Augustinus can be documented at the time there is a high chance that the two references concern the same person. The qualification ‘Brabender’ does not tally with the birthplace given in the *Chronika*⁵ of the Family of Love – Hasselt in the

² P. Valkema Blouw, ‘Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt’, *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247–72.

³ Quoted from I. Simon, ‘Hendrik Niclaes und das Huys der Liefde. Ein Ueberblick’, *Gedenkschrift für William Foerste* (Köln 1970), pp. 432–53 (p. 437). This is taken from a defective transcription (Staatsarchiv Münster, MS VII 1603) of 1754 by Adam Scheffer. For an attempt to reconstruct the original text, see ‘Das Beichtbuch der Wiedertäufer in Münster’, ed. Hermann Bitter, *Heimatkalendar der Herrlichkeit Lembeck*, 21–2 (1963–4). – Sleeves were a favourite place for hiding prohibited books. On 2 June 1543 a certain Jan Schats confessed to having sold a book published by the Antwerp printer Mattheus Crom, ‘he cannot tell for certain whether for viij or ix stivers, but knows that he delivered that same book [...] in Louvain, having pulled the same out of his sleeve’; cf. F. de Enzinas, *Mémoires*, ed. C.-A. Campan, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Bruxelles 1862), p. 362.

⁴ Simon, art. cit. (n. 3), p. 437.

⁵ *Cronica. Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Liefden [...] dorch Daniel, ein Mede-older [...] am dach gegeben*. Library of

bishopric of Liège⁶ – but this is no reason for rejecting the identification since such a qualification merely denotes his birthplace in the southern Netherlands, just as many artists from both the southern and the northern Netherlands were known as ‘Fiamminghi’ in Italy. Brabant, with the towns of Antwerp, Brussels and Louvain as centres of trade, government and learning, was simply the area of the southern Netherlands best known abroad. Augustijn must still have been a very young man when he trod the streets of Münster, a *bockforer* in search of clients for his forbidden wares, for he was still alive in 1592. There is evidence that this form of clandestine book trade was practised by a number of boys at the time, maybe because their youth meant that there was less danger of their being punished severely or because they could make a faster getaway than grown men.⁷ Augustijn’s presence in Münster, so far from his birthplace, may be explained by the fact that a much older man from Hasselt, Arnold Cock, or Kock, was married there to a widow Vrythoff and

the Society for Dutch Literature (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in Leiden UL, under shelf-mark LTK 620; quoted as *Chronika*. For the full title and further details see Fr. Nippold, ‘Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe. Ein monographischer Versuch aus der Secten-Geschichte der Reformationszeit ...’, *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 32 (1862), pp. 323–402, 473–563 (pp. 326 ff.). A much needed edition of this and other manuscripts about the Family of Love in the Leiden library will soon appear, edited by Alastair Hamilton, in the series Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica. [*Cronica, Ordo sacerdotis, Acta HN: three texts on the Family of Love*, ed. with an introd. and summaries in English by Alastair Hamilton (D.A.N., 6; Leiden, Brill, 1988). *Eds.*] The most recent standard study on the subject is Alastair Hamilton’s *The Family of Love* (Cambridge 1981). At about the same time there appeared: J. Dietz Moss, ‘Goddied with God’: *Hendrik Niclaes and His Family of Love* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 71, pt. 8; Philadelphia 1981). Historical information about the life of Hendrik Niclaes is collected in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘The Family of Love’, *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), pp. 219–71, which includes a survey of earlier literature. In Dutch much of this is to be found in *id.*, *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 1: *Humanisten, dweppers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1975), pp. 85–111: ‘Het Huis der Liefde’. Further biographical information from the Emden archives was published by Irmgard Simon in her ‘Hendrik Niclaes, Biographische und bibliographische Notizen, Emden (1540–60)’, *Niederdeutsches Wort*, 13 (1973), pp. 63–77.

⁶ *Chronika*, xv, 12: ‘... Augustijn, unde was ute Lande van Lu[e]cke, unde syn wyf hiete Gertrudt, unde was uth de Twente.’

⁷ A typical example is the seventeen-year-old Cornelis Pietersz from Bolsward who was imprisoned in Leeuwarden late in 1567 for singing and selling forbidden songs. He said that he had started doing it two years earlier and had the texts printed himself, see J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, ‘Vervolg van boekdrukkers te Kampen wegens het drukken van fameuse libellen en geuzenliederen, 1566–67’, *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, NS, 8 (1875), pp. 192–203, and S. Elte, ‘De rechtzaak tegen Peter Warners, boekdrukker te Kampen (1566–1567)’, *Kamper Almanak 1951/1952* (Kampen 1951), pp. 148–73. In August 1566 the Antwerp printer Severijn Gymnick was charged for printing a political song, ordered by ‘a certain boy called Lucas, being a bookseller’s lad’, see L. van den Branden, ‘De Antwerpse boekverkoper-drukker Severijn Gymnicus, c. 1529–1567’, *Liber alumnorum Prof. Dr. E. Rombauts* (Leuven 1968), pp. 145–59. For the documents, see also *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2 ([1865]), p. 387, and 9 ([1872]), p. 304.

dealt in books under that name.⁸ Perhaps the boy was a nephew of his or related in some other way.

Augustijn then disappears from sight for a considerable time and we next encounter his name, when he entered the service of the head of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes. According to the *Chronika* the latter found him in 'pitiful' circumstances, provided for him and for his wife Gertrudt (who came from the eastern part of the northern Netherlands), and employed him as his secretary ('scriver').⁹ For about a year Augustijn copied the works of his master, probably making transcriptions in that (north-)eastern Dutch, tinged with Low German, in which they were printed shortly after – a language which Augustijn was obviously accustomed to write since his days in Münster.¹⁰ After this, according to the same source, Hendrik Niclaes had him trained as a printer, and everything suggests that he learned his trade with Plantin when HN's main work, *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*, was printed in about 1556/7.¹¹ The *Chronika* says that when the work was being printed in Antwerp, Hendrik Niclaes had at his disposal two men of his own whom he sent to Cologne at his personal expense to buy supplementary type.¹² It seems likely that one of them was Hendrik Jansen (Barrevelt), a trusted collaborator of HN's who had already supervised the printing of his master's works by Dirck (II) van den Borne in Deventer,¹³ and the

8 Cf. J. Prinz, 'Der Verleger und Buchdrucker Laurentius Borneman in Münster, 1498 (?) bis 1511', *Ex officina literaria. Beiträge zur Geschichte des westfälischen Buchwesens*, ed. J. Prinz (Münster 1968), pp. 9-34 (pp. 14 f.). Arnold Vrythoff declared at the end of 1531 that he was 65 or 66 years old and was born 'to Luicke van Hasselt' (*ibid.*, p. 15).

⁹ *Chronika*, xv, 29: 'Unde Augustyn, die sick seer ermelick behelpen mo[e]ste, wart oick van HN. in dem Denste upgehopen, um mede in de Druckerie tho helpen, tor beteren vorth-ganck, welcken Augustijn oick vohr-hen tom Hüse van HN. umtrent ein Jaer edder mehr, de Boecker overschreven hadde, unde dath oick allent, up de Kosten van HN.'; published by Max Rooses in his *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversoïs* (Anvers 1882), p. 394. – *Chronika*, L, 3: '... Augustyn van Hasselt, van HN (gelijck also Barrevelt) uth dem Drecke syner Elende unde uth syner Ermmoede upgenomen; unde den sick HN to synem Schriver, unde to ein overste Factor in des Denstes Druckerie vorordent hadde.'

¹⁰ As emerges from the letter he wrote to Plantin in March 1567 – his only surviving letter – which I shall be discussing at greater length below.

¹¹ L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle. 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), quoted as Voet PP, no. 1732 = 1733. For the printing history, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 252 ff.

¹² *Chronika*, xv, 28: 'HN sende oick van Antwerpen two menner (up syn eigen Costen) te Collen, um mehr andere Schriften, die men daerthoe bedarf was, tho kopen ...'; published in H.F. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied', *De Gulden Passer*, 18 (1940), pp. 87-141 (p. 135), and in *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durme (Anvers 1955), p. 283.

¹³ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes. Prolegomena eener biblio-

other, Augustijn van Hasselt. As we see from his later work he turned into a first-rate typographer under the supervision of Plantin and formed a friendship with him which was to be of great significance for his further career.

IN THE SERVICE OF PLANTIN

I have written in an earlier issue of *Quaerendo* about Augustijn's activities four years later as the manager of HN's printing-press in Kampen, so this part of his career can here be passed over.¹⁴ More was printed there than the works described in my article, but these activities took place under a different name and are consequently of no direct relevance to this study.¹⁵ In his Kampen period, Augustijn again came into contact with Plantin when the Antwerp printer stayed in his lodgings in the course of a rather lengthy visit to Hendrik Niclaes.¹⁶ After the completion of his activities there and the sale of the printing-office he travelled to Antwerp no later than towards the end of April 1564, and entered Plantin's service – a professional change which was to bind him to the printing trade for the rest of his life. For the time being this was not so obvious, however. In the 'Livre des ouvriers' in which Plantin noted the work performed by, and the wages paid to, his staff he is the only man mentioned by his Christian name alone and without any specific function. He was also given a place in the register before the others, a separate unnumbered leaf being used for him right at the beginning. In addition to this, his wages were calculated on a different basis, per working day, and he earned more, on average, than the compositors, who were paid according to the number of formes delivered.¹⁷

These differences show that he had a special position in the firm and was not employed exclusively, or even primarily, as a typographer, but as a collaborator who could be used for various purposes. This also appears from a couple of notes in the 'Livre des ouvriers' about the sort of work that he was doing. The first pay entry is described as 'for revision of the Dictionnaire flameng', while about a month later a payment to him is entered with the statement that he had composed a life of

graphie', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. 161-221; also published as an offprint dated 1942 (pp. 165 ff.).

¹⁴ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 256 ff., 266 ff., 271.

¹⁵ I hope to return to this in a future article.

¹⁶ *Chronika*, XXI, 20, 21; published in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 137; and in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 12), pp. 285 f. The statement '... ginge HN dus dagelickes mit Plantyn umme, unde hadden dus van alles, vele Rede met einanderen ...' suggests that his stay lasted for some time.

¹⁷ Plantin-Moretus Museum, Arch. no. 31 ('Livre des ouvriers'), f. [O]v. = unnumbered leaf before f. 1. On the salaries of Plantin's compositors, see L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), vol. 2, pp. 311 ff.

Jesus Christ in the week in question. After this all that is stated is how many days or weeks he worked, without any mention of the nature of his activities. These few entries are sufficient to suggest, however, that he was a man of more than average capacity and intelligence, and it is consequently hardly surprising that Plantin should have involved him in the editing of his *Thesaurus theutonicae linguae*, the Dutch dictionary which Plantin had personally supervised for years and which now had to be arranged, completed, and concluded. Together with Augustijn two correctors worked on the job, Cornelis Kiel (Kilianus) and Andreas Madoets, and a fourth collaborator, Quentin Steenhals. In 1566/7 twelve sheets were printed, after which the work was held up for another five years and was only completed in January 1573.¹⁸ Augustijn's involvement in the enterprise had already come to an end by 1566, however. After an interruption of more than a year in which his name does not appear in the account books he obtained another employment in September 1566, when Plantin put him in charge of a printing-press which started to work in November on a profit sharing basis in the northern Netherlands. It was a reputable and responsible post which proves Plantin's confidence in Augustijn's skill and reliability. The press was based in Vianen.

As we might expect, the details about this undertaking are extremely scarce. The *Chronika* of the Family of Love describes the episode as a rash adventure which Plantin embarked on against Hendrik Niclaes' advice to keep away from the political troubles. One cannot help feeling, however, that this warning did not specifically apply to this particular matter but was meant in a more general sense: we read that the venture was undertaken 'without having consulted HN'.¹⁹ This would

¹⁸ Voet PP 2310. On the printing history of this work, see F. Claes, 'Plantin als uitgever van woordenboeken', *Liber Amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer*, 61-3; Antwerpen 1985), pp. 49-65, and the earlier studies by the same author listed there. On Augustijn's share in the editorial work Claes writes: 'Quentin Steenhart and Augustijn van Hasselt were also paid for their work on this dictionary, but apparently only checked Madoets' text afterwards' (art. cit., p. 58).

¹⁹ *Chronika*, XXIV, 3: 'In dessem middelen tyde overst, vorliete Augustyn idt Drucken unde Schri-ven to Kampen, unde begaf sick also wederumme mit Plantyn tho wercken; idt welcke nicht lange bestendich bleve, sunder sloten eren einen Raedt [...] dat Christophel den gemelten Augustyn ein gantze Druckery solde undergeven, unde desolve in Hollandt to Vyanen up-tho-rechten, unde also aldaer, under de Here van Brederoe [...] up gelycke winste, sodane partydische Bo[e]cker, unde mehr andere, Latynssche unde Dudesche, tho drucken. Idt welcke se met ere beiden, buten den Raedt HN. anheven unde also ansloegen ...'; cf. Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 140, and *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 12), p. 288. – As a businessman Plantin was so perfectly capable of taking his own management decisions that the general view that he asked Hendrik Niclaes' advice about the matter seems unconvincing. Besides, the question was superfluous since the answer was obvious in advance: Plantin had certainly long been aware of HN's aversion to anything that could bring him into conflict with the established order. The policy of outward conformity which HN himself pursued and also recommended to his supporters was characteristic of his attitude not only in religious but also in secular matters.

suggest that the prophet did not know about the plans and only heard about them later. At all events it seems unlikely that he was financially involved (as he was on some other occasions). The only place where further details can be found is a letter which Augustijn wrote to his master from Vianen on 10 March 1567.²⁰ The document is of interest for various reasons and is therefore given here, in translation:

‘... Know Christopher, good friend, that I have received two different letters from you in which you resent the fact that I should have settled in Vianen and say that I have wronged you in that I let it be understood that I was going to Kampen. I was indeed planning to do so, but in the course of the journey I was advised against it because this was nearer and I was also assured that everything I should print will be bought. So you must not resent my place of residence as long as you obtain your payments, as you have been assured verbally by the corrector Cornelis Kiel whom you sent to me around Shrove Tuesday to upbraid me for this and rightly to urge me to pay without too much delay what I owe you. I therefore beg you to trust me on this point and to be patient with me since I propose to come to you at Easter and to honour my agreement with you. May the Lord be with you ...’

Besides the striking fact that Augustijn, who was born in Hasselt in the southern Low Countries, is writing to Plantin in a (north-)eastern Dutch dialect,²¹ the letter

²⁰ Allent wat ick vermach thovoren. Weeth Christopher, gude frundt, dath ick van iuw twe diversche brieven ontfangen hebbe, daer inne gy qualick tho vreden zyt, dath ick my tot Vianen nedergheslagen hebbe, und segt, dath ick mit geveinstheit met u gehandelt hebbe, umme dath ick my geliet, dath ick tot Campen trecken soude, het welcke ick oick sins was; dan int reysen wart het mij ontraden umme dath dit naerder was, und oick warde my belovet, dath men allent werck, dath ick drucken solde, my afgenomen sal werden, daromme behoorde gy dat niet qualick tho nemen waer ick wone, als gy tot uwe betalinge komen, gelyck oick mundelick iuw wal gesecht heft Cornelis Kiel correcteur, den welcken gy ontrent vastelavont tot my sonden umme my mundelicke darvan tho straffen, und mit rechte sonder lange verdrach tho eysschen dath ick u schuldich bin. Bidde daromme wilt my sulckes ten besten holden und mit my wat patientie hebben, want ick dencke tho paeschen tho Juw tho komen um tho vernoegen na unsen vordrach. Hyrmit blyvet den Heer bevolen.

Datum tot Vianen den 10 Martii 1567.
by my Augustin van Hasselt u dienaer.

The letter is published in *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 part in 8 vols, ed. M. Rooses & J. Denucé (Anvers 1883-1920), vol. 1, pp. 72 f., no. 26; reprinted in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 112, with a reproduction of the document on the plate opposite. Rooses' transcription is inaccurate in more than ten places: the most worrying mistakes are (line 4) 'werken' instead of 'trecken', and (line 9) 'onmidelick' instead of 'mundelick'.

²¹ On this dialect affected by Low German influences and its use as a written language notably in the Anabaptist movement of Menno Simons and kindred circles, see J.A. Vor der Hake, 'Een zestiend' eeuwse taal voor literair verkeer', *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 5 (1911), pp. 225-45. For the language in Hendrik Niclaes' writings, see note 42 of my above-mentioned article (n. 2). To the studies listed there can be added G.A.R. de Smet, 'Hendrik Niclaes. Ein vergessener niederdeutscher Dichter.

is an interesting testimony to the personal relations between the two men. It shows that Augustijn was not the 'workman' whom later authors considered him to be, but, at a time when hierarchical relationships also found expression in conventional forms of address, called his master by his Christian name and could address him as 'good friend'. After that the writer confirms the receipt of two letters in which Plantin had expressed his indignation at his settling in Vianen and even accused him of bad faith for not going to Kampen as they had agreed. In reply to this charge Augustijn says that he had changed his plan since Vianen was nearer and because he had obtained a guarantee that his entire production would be sold. So Plantin must not mind his settling in Vianen since his financial interests were safe, as the corrector Kiel, who came to ask for satisfaction around Shrove Tuesday, must have told him. Augustijn simply asks for some respite and patience from his master since he was planning to be in Antwerp by Easter and to honour the terms of the agreement.

What is curious is that Augustijn should deal exclusively with business matters in his letter and make no mention of other consequences which his settling in Vianen could have for Plantin. As far as illegal printing was concerned, the town arguably had an even worse reputation in government circles than the hated Emden. The authorities knew all too well what was going on in this domain, for in January 1566 a spy had provided an extensive report.²² Later the situation deteriorated still further, from their point of view: in the course of the year one dangerous political pamphlet after the other was produced by the press of the printer Albert Christiaensz,²³ protected, and mainly commissioned, by the lord of Vianen, Hendrik van Brederode. The latter acted as sovereign ruler in the lands which his forefathers had held in fee from the counts of Holland, whose rights had been transferred to Charles V and were thus now in the possession of Philip II. Yet Hendrik van Brederode did not acknowledge this authority any more than his father, and refused to accept any interference from the court in Brussels in what he regarded as his autonomous territory. His confident attitude, which is also evident in the leading part he played

Die Sprache seiner Comoedia und die sogenannte ostniederländische Literatursprache', *Festschrift für Gerhard Cordes zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. F. Debus & J. Hartig, vol. 2 (Neumünster 1976), pp. 389-402; *id.*, 'Zum Catechismus von H. Niclaes', *Niederdeutsche Beiträge. Festschrift für Felix Wortmann ...* (Köln/Wien 1976), pp. 244-50 (kindly pointed out to me by Alastair Hamilton). It is worth noting that these studies are on the language of the Cologne editions where the German influence is stronger than in the original editions printed in the Low Countries.

²² Rijks Archief (State Archives) Brussel, Audience 30, ff. 32-7. The reports of the agent are printed in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41 (Appendix, pp. 38-41). They had previously been published by A. van Hulzen, *Utrecht in 1566 en 1567* (Groningen 1932; thesis Utrecht), pp. 129-33.

²³ On Albert Christiaensz' press, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 22), pp. 13 ff. The list of the publications he printed has since been considerably extended.

in the Dutch Revolt, caused Governess Margaret of Parma considerable difficulties and annoyance. This was a further instance. Although she was under constant pressure from Spain she could not intervene directly in order to put an end to the printing activity but had to content herself with the dispatch of warnings to her 'dear cousin', which received diplomatic replies but obviously had no effect.²⁴ In 1566 Vianen was a centre of political agitation and antigovernment propaganda.²⁵

It is thus hardly surprising that Plantin should have been particularly unhappy about the arbitrary actions of Augustijn. If the name of the true owner of the printing-press in Vianen were ever to come to light, the consequences would be extremely serious, for the authorities would certainly then apply the law with the utmost severity. Such a line of thought has given rise to the view that the letter had a function completely different from what the content might suggest, and was really intended to cover Plantin. The apparent subject of the letter – the settlement of financial matters – was simply a pretext to disguise the true purpose: Augustijn's acknowledgement of his own responsibility for settling in Vianen against Plantin's orders to take the press to Kampen. If it were ever to be necessary, this acknowledgement would acquit Plantin and this was why this letter alone, of their entire correspondence, was carefully preserved.²⁶

Various objections can be made to such an interpretation. To start with it is odd (but this has not hitherto been remarked upon) that Augustijn thought he could wait a month before sending the declaration. His letter is dated 10 March and in it he refers to the visit of Plantin's envoy, Cornelis Kiel, 'around Shrove Tuesday', i.e. around 11 February. A good four weeks elapsed between the two dates, in which time he failed to dispatch a document which (according to this theory) could be of vital importance for his master. This is strange, as is the fact that Kiliaan obviously did not get Augustijn to sign such a declaration when he travelled all the way from Antwerp to discuss the matter with him. But there is a further, far more valid objection: we may rightly wonder whether a document of that nature would have been a good way of averting danger and saving Plantin's head if his involvement actually came to light. If the government in Brussels were to discover that he was the man behind the printing-press, the letter would probably be worthless: it was far

²⁴ The correspondence between Margaret of Parma and Hendrik van Brederode on the subject, collected by C. de Chênedollé from L.P. Gachard's *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, prince d'Orange*, is printed in *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 7 (1850), pp. 285-94.

²⁵ See also, especially on the reprint of the so-called Wittenberg Concordance as a political weapon, H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "Voorspel"', *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann ter gelegenheid van zijn vijf en zestigste verjaardag en van zijn afscheid als Bibliothecaris der Gemeente Rotterdam* ('s-Gravenhage 1958), pp. 20-34.

²⁶ For a more extensive discussion cf. Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), pp. 113 ff.

too easy and simple a 'proof' of his innocence to be credible. Officials like Viglius and Hopperus had enough experience of this sort of affair to be acquainted with the subterfuges which printers resorted to in order to escape condemnation.²⁷ If he were discovered, Plantin could do only one thing: he should persistently deny any connection with the press, claim to know nothing of its existence,²⁸ and hope that his persecutors had no decisive evidence and were prepared to allow him the benefit of the doubt.

THE 'FAKE LETTER'

Other scholars have gone considerably further in their interpretation of the letter. Following H.F. Bouchery, they subscribed to the alibi theory about the document and added that it was not only the result of a precaution but that it was really a fake letter, a document which is deliberately misleading in all respects. The plan of going to Kampen had in fact never existed: the object had been to set up a press in Vianen right from the start. Kampen was simply a later device intended to emphasize Plantin's innocence still further, but in fact the true destination had always been Vianen. Plantin wanted to set up a centre of production there, under the protection of Hendrik van Brederode, for books which were too dangerous in content and character to be printed in Antwerp. Speculating on the successful outcome of the Revolt, he wanted a timely assurance of a favourable position within the new order which he expected to be established.

At first sight this seems an attractive theory. It is perfectly suited to the image which we have of Plantin as a highly ambitious businessman, forever in search of chances of expanding his firm and determined never to miss an opportunity of increasing his marketing possibilities and area of activity – a man, moreover, with a vision of the future and bold enough to take risks. But if we look closer we see other qualities which argue against Bouchery's ingenious hypothesis: Plantin was never rash in his approach to anything new, but acted in uncertain situations with a circumspection which contributed in no small manner to the success of what he

²⁷ As we see, for example, from an autograph report by Joachim Hopperus, published in transcription and facsimile in C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes plantiniens', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 33 (Mainz 1958), pp. 155-63. The author, councillor of the Grote Raad at Malines, gives instructions for questioning printers with an eye to such things as the identification of typefaces and even of a binding 'which appears to be from Antwerp'.

²⁸ That Plantin was well aware of this emerges from the ignorance which he conveys in a letter to Cardinal Granvelle's secretary Stephanus Pighius. He there complains that his men have abandoned him in order to print forbidden books 'Viennam aut nescio quo'. He wrote this on 16 January 1567, when his press was already in full swing there! – *Correspondance*, op. cit. (n. 20), vol. 3 (Anvers 1911), p. 15, no. 339.

undertook. Bouchery missed the mark in judging this side of Plantin's character. His interpretation implies that, when he planned the Vianen venture, Plantin not only gravely miscalculated the risks involved, but only became aware of them when it was almost too late.²⁹

We know that the press in Vianen only worked for a brief period and was not set up there before November 1566, since Augustijn was still in Antwerp on the second day of that month.³⁰ This means that the plans were conceived in October, or perhaps already in September, and Plantin consequently decided to embark on this hazardous venture during the uncertain and unruly weeks after the iconoclastic riots. And this again implies that he was so mistaken about the future political developments that he soon found himself in a situation out of which he could only be rescued by an emergency solution like a fake letter.

It is difficult to reconcile such a misjudgement of the circumstances with what we know about Plantin. For one thing, considerations of a purely commercial nature, with a view to consequences for trade, transport and finance, obliged him to follow political developments with care. At all times businessmen of his stature endeavoured to acquire as much current information as possible, and Plantin, moreover, was in the privileged position of having close connections with various authorities. We must therefore assume that he was well informed about what was going on around him and what could ensue from it, and there is evidence to suggest that he was extremely worried about these consequences at that very time. He thus wrote in a confidential letter, dated 8 August 1566, to his friend Andreas Masius that the prevailing controversies would lead the country to disaster unless a speedy settlement was reached. His words show how clearly he saw the situation for, in fact, a few days later popular fury was discharged against the churches.³¹

Although this outburst induced the Margaret of Parma, the governess of the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain, to agree provisionally to a certain religious

²⁹ Another argument in Bouchery's theory also loses its value: the assumed absurdity of Augustijn's return to Kampen, the town which he had left a few years earlier because, it was thought, his business had not been a success there. We now know the true reasons for his departure: the closing down of Hendrik Niclaes' printing shop of which he was the technical manager. Cf. Valkema Blouw, *art. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 258 f., 265 ff.

³⁰ On this date Augustijn received the last payment of his wages from Plantin. Judging from the 'Livre des ouvriers' (n. 17) he worked there in two separate periods: from early May (first payment on 14 May) 1564 to 7 July 1565, and then from 15 September to 2 November 1566. We have no information about what he did in the intervening period.

³¹ *Correspondance*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), vol. 3, pp. 8 f., no. 336. How capable Plantin usually was of judging political situations emerges from a statement by Voet: 'Plantin was very well aware of what could be politically dangerous. During his long career he was never rebuked for having submitted a work that could not pass the government standards' (*op. cit.* (n. 17), vol. 2, p. 269).

freedom, and although the tension diminished after that September agreement, the situation remained uncertain and menacing. What, then, could have driven Plantin into such a hornet's nest? Certainly not the hope of immediate financial advantages, for the printing of political propaganda could scarcely have been of very great economic importance for the largest printing firm in the Low Countries. In the immediate future, at least, the profits from orders connected with the Revolt could hardly be measured against the risks involved. But even in the long run a foothold in Vianen was by no means attractive from a commercial point of view: it was a small, quiet town with only a very few streets, far from all the centres of trade. The few printers who had tried to earn a living there soon left again, despite the support and commissions of Brederode.³²

In this light Plantin's motives for setting up a second firm in Vianen seem quite incomprehensible, and this has led other scholars, after Bouchery, to look for a more precise explanation for his choice on the basis of Bouchery's interpretation. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey pointed to the almost simultaneous appointment of Jean Dessers as Plantin's agent in London and suggested a plan to print books for the English market which had no chance of being printed in England itself.³³ The appointment certainly corresponded to Plantin's ambition to increase his sales potential – but probably not in this sector. The time in which large quantities of English books were printed on the European continent was temporarily over. With the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth I in 1558 not only did the impediments to the distribution of Protestant works disappear, but the monopoly of London as a centre of publishers and printers was more inviolable than ever. Besides, the geographical position of Vianen was ill-suited to this purpose: the town did indeed stand on the banks of a large river, but it was far from the sea. Leon Voet searched in another direction: he presumed that Plantin, actually against his own inclinations, had to give in to the demands of his partners, the Calvinist Van Bomberghens.³⁴ Even if we assume that they knew through their partnership about the foundation of a second printing-press and supported the plan, it is still not clear what interests they could have had in a branch in Vianen in view of all the ensuing liabilities.

Besides these considerations there is what I believe to be a decisive argument against Bouchery's hypothesis. Plantin always and under all circumstances proved

³² Where the first printer, Dirk Buyter, is concerned, we only know of publications with the year 1563 and 1564. He probably returned to Antwerp in May 1565. Albert Christiaensz came to Vianen towards the end of the same year, but left the town in the course of 1566.

³³ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 237 f. For Plantin's relations with England, see C. Clair, 'Plantin's trade connections with England and Scotland', *The Library*, 5th S., 14 (1959), pp. 28–45.

³⁴ Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. 1, pp. 52 f.

loyal to whatever government was in power in the Low Countries. Whatever his own political preferences – and sometimes we can only guess at them – he was ready throughout his career to serve those who had the real power in their hands. This did his reputation no good in later times and, indeed, we can hardly deny a certain opportunism in his behaviour.³⁵ But at a time when the political developments followed one another at such a pace and the future was so uncertain we must regard this line of conduct as understandable at the very least. Plantin's position was just as realistic and adapted to the actual situation as that of so many men who had not emigrated for commercial or religious reasons and had to run their businesses in rapidly changing and unpredictable circumstances. They all tried to survive by keeping far from all controversies and to appear as neutral as possible to the outside world. Such an attitude does not suggest that Plantin would have entered into close association with a party which opposed the lawful government ever more emphatically and openly. Nor does anything indicate a hidden sympathy on his part for the militant policy of the Revolt. No contacts have come to light with Hendrik van Brederode and other leaders of the Revolt like Louis of Nassau in these years and his correspondence contains no evidence of any.

Yet we shall see that Plantin sent at least three of his men to the north with a printing-press in order to operate independently – a well-considered decision based on a clearly defined plan. In Leon Voet's words, Plantin was no commercial adventurer.³⁶ He was ready to take financial risks within acceptable limits but, good businessman that he was, only when profits could be expected which might justify them. Since the dangers involved in such a venture were by no means negligible and were difficult to predict, the possible advantages would have to be considerable. We can therefore assume that greater interests were at stake in the enterprise than the printing of subversive books and pamphlets of a political nature. A first indication of this is contained in Augustijn's letter, a carefully formulated but sincere document in which, contrary to what has hitherto been suspected, every word tallies with reality. If we are to take his account literally Kampen was indeed the destination he had set out for and the fact that he ended up in Vianen was no more than a coincidence. If we read the letter in this way we must not only abandon the assumption that he had orders to go and print in Vianen but we must also take a different view of what he was to print. He was not explicit about this point and

³⁵ Plantin's behaviour in the political disturbances of his time and his attitude to the secular authorities has been sharply condemned above all by F. Schneider, *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'* ('s-Gravenhage 1939; thesis Leiden), pp. 21 ff. For more recent and differentiated views, see Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. I, pp. 123 ff., and C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), pp. 32 ff. See also L. Voet, 'The personality of Plantin', *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955* (Antwerpen 1956), pp. 199-213, also published in *De Gulden Passer*, 34 (1956), pp. 73-87.

³⁶ Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 51.

simply says that sales were ensured in advance. As we shall see below, the nature of these publications was very different from what has been thought: they had nothing to do with propaganda for the opponents of the government, but fell into a far more profitable category from a publisher's point of view.

A DIFFERENT VIEW OF AUGUSTIJN'S MISSION

In the course of 1565/6 an explosive demand for Psalm books and Bibles in the vernacular burst out quite suddenly – the sign of an increased religious consciousness in large sections of the population. Uncertainty about the political situation, fear of the future, the influence of advancing Calvinism were all causes of this widespread demand. And the market also probably increased because of a drop in prices. By using smaller typefaces the printers could reduce their consumption of paper by half and thus in principle put their editions up for sale at about three quarters of the former price. As a result of these developments printers living in towns where the political and religious situation made it possible to publish such works sold their editions faster than they could reprint them. It was not in Plantin's nature to yield so important a sector of the market to others. On the contrary: he must have been determined to preserve his position as one of the leading publishers in this field.³⁷ And besides, he had an immediate financial interest in participating: this vast and expanding market gave him a chance of compensating for diminishing home sales at a time of recession.³⁸

³⁷ C. de Clercq, 'Les éditions bibliques, liturgiques et canoniques de Plantin', *Gedenkboek*, op. cit. (n. 35), pp. 283–318; also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34 (1956), pp. 157–92; Clair, op. cit. (n. 35), pp. 59 ff. Between 1559 and 1567 Plantin printed seven editions of the Vulgate in Jean Henten's Louvain version (Voet PP 679, 681–4, 705 and 715), and in 1566 he printed the Dutch translation of this work by Nicolaes van Winghe (Voet PP 709) in addition to three Hebrew Bibles. He also produced the Psalms in Latin (Voet PP 694, 696), Greek (Voet PP 669) and French (Voet PP 722) and various editions of the Apocrypha. In 1567 there followed a French translation of the New Testament with notes by René Benoist (Voet PP 724), which was condemned by the Sorbonne.

³⁸ Plantin's business worries at the time are illustrated in the description he himself gives of them in his letter to Stephanus Pighius of 12 January 1567 (*Correspondance*, op. cit. (n. 28), vol. 3, pp. 12 f., no. 338). The problems which he faced were not due primarily, as far as we can see, to a shortage of profitable possibilities but of the means with which to achieve them. Voet had the felicitous idea of composing Plantin's balance sheet for 1566, cf. his 'Production and sales figures of the Plantin Press in 1566', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [1968]), pp. 418–36; reprinted in *id.*, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. 2, pp. 467–81 = Appendices I and II (and see pp. 390 ff.). The figures show that in that year he sold over 16,000 guilders worth of books, maps, etc. (about half of which went to customers outside the Netherlands!), but he only managed to collect 5,500 guilders, partly for deliveries made in previous years. As against this large amount of accounts receivable (several millions in present-day currency) his own obligations for purchases were far lower. On balance his annual account showed a cash deficit of about 3,800 guilders, a considerable sum for which he

As Plantin had recently discovered to his cost government measures made it impossible to print not only Bibles in Antwerp (with the exception of the Vulgate), but also Psalm books – a new favourite on the market.³⁹ It was therefore necessary to turn elsewhere – across the borders or to a town where the decrees were applied with less severity. For this purpose Kampen, in the northern Low Countries, was ideally suited: an important port with a tolerant magistracy where printers had hitherto been free to produce publications which were taboo elsewhere. But it was an obvious choice for other reasons too: Plantin knew the town from personal experience and Augustijn had even been accorded citizenship in 1561 when he managed Hendrik Niclaes' printing-office.⁴⁰ Because of his previous experience there his master now put him in charge of a well-equipped printing shop in order to produce books on joint account. Shortly after Augustijn's departure from Antwerp, however, the plan fell through owing to a quite unexpected change in the attitude of the magistracy which made it impossible to settle in Kampen for the original purpose. Following the discovery of anti-Spanish libels at the establishments of two printers in the town, the magistrates were forced by superior powers to take drastic measures. One of the culprits, Peter Warnersen, a distinguished citizen who had even been admitted as a notary, only just saved his skin by escaping and spent the rest of his life in exile. The publication of books was put under such restraint that it soon became virtually impossible, and one printer after another was obliged to lay down his tools, thus putting an abrupt end to the rise of Kampen as a centre of book production.⁴¹

These dramatic events took place on 28 November 1566 and the days following. We do not know if Augustijn had already reached Kampen or was still on his way. Friends of his may have sent him reports about the alterations in the town before his arrival there. His route ran along the Schelde, the Rhine and the IJssel. Vianen was on the Lek, the name of a part of the lower course of the Rhine. He thus passed by this town both on his way out and on his way back, and since Brederode found himself without a printing-office after the departure of Albert Christiaensz he ob-

had to borrow credit – an expensive business in a time of economic stagnation.

³⁹ In 1564 Plantin printed the *Psaumes de David* in the translation of Beza and Marot (Voet PP 722), with an approbation from a Brussels priest and a privilege from the Court of Brabant. Nevertheless the book was prohibited after Margaret's intervention and the remaining copies were actually burnt. See H. Slenk, 'Christophe Plantin and the Genevan Psalter', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1967, pp. 226-48, an extensive study, most interesting also from a bibliographical point of view.

⁴⁰ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 256 ff.

⁴¹ On these events see, besides the articles by Nanninga Uitterdijk and Elte mentioned in n. 7, G.H.A. Krans, 'Peter Warnersen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 147-69.

viously had reasons to keep Augustijn with him. These circumstances provided the printer with a solution to the acute problem of where he should go with his press now that Kampen was no longer suitable. This would account for the sentence in the letter: ‘... in the course of the journey I was advised against it [going to Kampen] because [Vianen] was nearer, and I was also assured that everything I printed would be purchased’. Augustijn could not mention the real reasons for his change of route (hence the basically true but barely relevant argument that Vianen was nearer). Nothing could, of course, be said about the failure of the plan to print Bibles, and there was also little point in writing about it since Plantin had already received an extensive verbal account of the events from Cornelis Kiel.

If we stop to think about it there is thus no reason to suspect Plantin of an over-hasty and ill-considered plan of going to print for Hendrik van Brederode. That Augustijn did end up in Vianen was the result of a personal decision following the unforeseen circumstances which crossed the original plans. Plantin was particularly displeased with the decision and had let Augustijn know – hence the term ‘straffen’ [‘punish’ or ‘reprimand’] in his letter. In this respect too, the letter makes an impression of honesty.

The only source which informs us about the later developments is again the *Chronika*, although its information is based on reports provided by third parties (directly or indirectly by Augustijn himself?) as interpreted by the chronicler. We thus discover that Augustijn could leave Vianen well before the town was occupied, and sought refuge in Wesel, just over the German border, where he continued to print.⁴² In his letter to Plantin he had announced that he would be in Antwerp by Easter – what is certain is that when the troops of the Count of Megen entered Vianen on 5 May with Margaret’s emphatic orders to impound the printing-presses there was nobody to arrest. She could at last report to Spain that this cause of permanent annoyance had now been put out of action.⁴³

This is all the information that has survived concerning Augustijn’s abortive mission and his equally unfortunate stay in Vianen. What his press produced there

⁴² *Chronika*, XXIV, 3. Printed in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 140, and in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 12), p. 288.

⁴³ Instructions to arrest the printers after the capture of the town are given in a letter dated 4 May 1567 from Margaret to Megen and Noircarmes: ‘... l’on s’assure des imprimeurs, que s’y trouveront y avoir imprimé tous ces meschants et malheureulx livres et aultres choses scandaleuses, que l’on a veu porter par le pays, pour en estre faict le chastoy exemplaire qu’il convient.’ Cf. *Briefwisseling tusschen Margaretha van Parma en Charles de Brimeu, graaf van Megen, stadhouder van Gelderland, 1560-1567*, ed. J.S. van Veen (Werken uitgegeven door Gelre, II; Arnhem 1914), p. 527, no. 482. No answer to this letter has survived. The two commanders were further involved in the pursuit of Hendrik van Brederode’s Beggar forces; Vianen was occupied by troops under the command of Duke Erich of Brunswick.

is never specifically mentioned: the *Chronika* speaks of 'partisan works and other books in Latin and Dutch' but does not give a single title, and besides, the output seems somewhat excessive for a production lasting no more than a few months. It must have included what he was later to print in Wesel for, as I said, these reports are all at second hand and consequently less reliable in their details than where the chronicler himself witnessed what he describes. Hitherto no edition printed by Augustijn in Wesel had come to light. All that was known is that he obtained permission from the magistracy in 1568 to print Psalm books, and a year later was granted the right to publish a New Testament.⁴⁴

In investigating the production of the press in the two towns we cannot, therefore, base ourselves on books which bear Augustijn's name or which can be documented as his work. Nor can the various anonymously published New Testaments and Psalm books produced in these years help us, because there are too many of them to give any clue.⁴⁵ So what possibility remains of establishing what he printed? There is only a single means and this stems from a premise which has yet to be proved. It is obvious to suppose that Plantin equipped the press with material which he owned and that the printed works thus contain the same typefaces he used himself. At this stage we cannot be certain about the matter, but this hypothesis constitutes the only possibility we have of identifying Augustijn's production.

Fortunately we possess enough information about the types in Plantin's collection in this period since he himself drew up a detailed list of them in his inventory of punches and matrices of 1566.⁴⁶ Most of them are also included in his *Index characterum* of 1567, which consists of a series of type specimens providing so much material for comparison that the faces can usually be easily recognized in other printed works.⁴⁷ It thus seems relatively easy to trace Augustijn's editions: we sim-

⁴⁴ Cf. J.G. Sardemann, 'Ueber einige im XVI. Jahrhundert in Wesel gedruckte Schriften', *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 2 (1865), pp. 358-66 (p. 365); C. Rahlenbeck, 'Notes sur les auteurs, les imprimeurs et les distributeurs des pamphlets politiques et religieux du XVIIe siècle, 19: Les imprimeurs clandestins de Wesel', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 18 (1862), pp. 421-2.

⁴⁵ Hitherto eight editions without an imprint of the New Testament and sixteen of the Psalms are known from the years 1566-9, in addition to some mentioned in early auction catalogues but which have not yet come to light.

⁴⁶ Published by M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 (pp. 24 ff.). Quoted hereafter as: 'Early Inventories'.

⁴⁷ *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II (16-18). *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), no. 16: *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini (1567)* – quoted hereafter as: *Index*. Information about the first appearance of types in Plantin's publications is mainly taken from this source. See also Voet, op. cit. (n. 11), no. 2075.

ply use the fact that they were printed with material which we also find in work by Plantin. Yet we must also keep two possible complications in mind. The first is that the Garamont, Granjon and Haultin types used were also possessed by other printers, especially in France. Thus they alone can never be decisive for attributing a work to Plantin or, eventually, to his factor. Fortunately, however, we are here assisted by the circumstance that most of these Roman and Italic types (in contrast to the Texturas used in the books) were owned in the Netherlands exclusively by Plantin. And to this we can add the well founded fact that Dutch was hardly ever printed in France.

This brings us to a second complication. When two printers have the same types which, furthermore, may be cast from the same matrices (as in this case), the impressions of each letter in their books are so completely identical that it is impossible to tell who printed what. An attribution based exclusively on the typographical appearance of their work is thus impracticable and we have to fall back on secondary factors like the manner and habits characterizing the work of the compositors concerned or on external indications derived from the text published, the person of the author, the circle in which it was produced, and so on. If these data do not provide the necessary information, attribution becomes impossible.

VIANEN OR WESEL?

The important position briefly held by Vianen in the domain of political and religious publications in the Low Countries from 1563 to the beginning of 1567 is due less to the quantity of these publications than to their nature and historical significance – always directed, as they were, against the doctrines of Rome or the authority of the government. In two studies Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, a pioneer in this virtually uncharted territory, has given a fascinating picture of the history of Vianen in this period, of the printers and publishers there and of the role of Hendrik van Brederode as their patron and protector – as well as of the attempts from Brussels to put an end to it all.⁴⁸ At the time the author was unable to attribute any work to Augustijn, but he later did so:⁴⁹ by interpreting a somewhat cryptic passage in the only surviving letter from Plantin to Hendrik Niclaes⁵⁰ he managed to

⁴⁸ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (1949, n. 22), *passim*; *id.*, art. cit. (1958, n. 25), *passim*.

⁴⁹ *Id.*, 'Le siège de Valenciennes et l'imprimerie clandestine de Plantin à Vianen en 1566-67', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, I (1971), pp. 3-19.

⁵⁰ *Correspondance*, op. cit. (n. 20), vol. I, pp. 157 ff., no. 74. The document has survived as an undated minute written by one of Plantin's daughters. That the letter was written on 2 August 1567 can be deduced from the fact that both the previous and the following minute in the manuscript bear those dates. The letter, written in French and strictly about business, contains a passage in which

attribute the notorious *Recueil des choses advenues en Anvers, touchant le fait de la Religion, en l'an 1566* (W 7)⁵¹ to Augustijn, together with one of Marnix van Sint Aldegonde's best known writings of the time, *Vraye narration et Apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas* (V 2).⁵² On the basis of external similarities there could then be added *Remonstrance et Supplication de ceus de l'Eglise reformée de la ville de Valencenes* (V 1),⁵³ the defence of the Calvinists in that town composed by their preacher Guy de Brès, and finally, a further earlier address by the same author, *Déclaration sommaire du faict de ceux de la ville de Vallencienne*.⁵⁴

On the basis of what has been said above these publications could indeed be the work of Augustijn: they contain exclusively typefaces of which Plantin possessed matrices and partly even the punches.⁵⁵ As far as the Romans are concerned they

Plantin expresses his concern at not hearing anything from Augustijn. He has given him materials like paper, leather (for ink balls?) and ink to the value of 500 guilders and advanced travel costs and other expenses, but has received in return no more than a number of copies of 'Apoc. et Rec.' to the value of some 40 guilders. De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (1971, n. 49), p. 9, suggested that 'Rec.' referred to *Recueil* – and indeed, no other explanation seems possible – and that for 'Apoc.' we should read *Apol[ogie]*. The reference would thus be to *Vraye narration et Apologie*.

⁵¹ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno M DXLI ad annum M DC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, vol. 1, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege & G. Glorieux (Nieuwkoop 1968), hereafter quoted as *BT*, no. 4110. An extensive list of contents of this important collection of documents, which go as far as 27 October 1566, can be found in *Catalogue de la bibliothèque précieuse [...] formant la quatrième partie des collections de M. A.J. Nijland à Utrecht, Vente 13-16 mai 1913* (Amsterdam/La Haye 1913), p. 30, no. 262. – For the sigla, W 1 etc. and V 1 etc., see the Appendix at the end of this article.

⁵² *BT*, op. cit., vol. 1 (n. 51), no. 2054. Reprinted in Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, *Godsdienstige en kerkelijke geschriften*, ed. J.J. van Toorenenbergen, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage 1871), pp. 35-134, and see pp. xxii ff. The attribution was by Robert Fruin, see 'Een anoniem pamflet van 1567 toegekend aan Marnix van St. Aldegonde', reprinted in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, 10 vols. with Index ('s-Gravenhage 1900-5), vol. 7, pp. 99-110.

⁵³ *BT*, op. cit., vol. 1 (n. 51), no. 4132; E.M. Braekman & J.-F. Gilmont, 'Les écrits de Guy de Brès. Éditions des xve [sic] et xviiie siècles', *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du protestantisme belge*, 5th S., 8 (1971), pp. 265-75, no. 31; E.M. Braekman, *Guy de Brès, Première partie: Sa Vie* (Bruxelles 1960), pp. 249 ff. The apology has been reprinted in L.A. van Langeraad, *Guido de Bray, Zijn leven en werken* (Zierikzee 1884; thesis Leiden), pp. xcvi-cviii. There is a full-size reproduction of the title-page in De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 49), Pl. 2.

⁵⁴ *BT*, op. cit., vol. 1 (n. 51), no. 825; Braekman & Gilmont, art. cit. (n. 53), no. 23; Langeraad, op. cit. (n. 53), pp. cxi-cxiv: reprint of the text; De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 49), Pl. 1: full-size reproduction of the title-page. The document can be dated a few days before 14 December 1566, the day on which the town was accused of rebellion; see Braekman, op. cit. (n. 53), pp. 242 ff.

⁵⁵ H.D.L. Vervliet, 'The Garamond Types of Christopher Plantin', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1 (1965), pp. 14-20; H. Carter, 'Plantin's Types and their Makers', *De Gulden Passer*, 37 (1956), pp. 121-43; *id.*, 'The Types of Christopher Plantin', *The Library*, 5th S., 11 (1956), pp. 170-9.

do, however, display mutual differences. *Recueil des choses* has, besides Garamont's 'Vraye Mediane romaine' (82 mm; *Index* 26) as text letter, Granjon's 'Petit Canon romain' (190 mm; *Index* 17) and Garamont's 'Gros Romain romain' (116 mm; *Index* 22) on the title-page. On the other hand, besides this same text letter, *Vraye narration* and *Remonstrance* – which are so strikingly similar in all respects that they certainly come from the same press⁵⁶ – have Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne romaine' (130 mm; *Index* 20) and his 'Petit Romain romain' (67 mm; *Index* 31). The fourth publication, *Déclaration sommaire*, finally, is largely made up of different types – but to this I shall be returning later.

Besides, an Italic appears in *Remonstrance* and *Recueil* which provides us with an important clue by the manner in which it is used. It is Granjon's 'Garamonde Cursive première', a Long Primer Italic (68 mm; *Index* 32), also known as 'La Granjonne' after the punchcutter who designed it.⁵⁷ In *Remonstrance* this typeface is used as an Italic with Garamont's larger 'Mediane' (Pica Roman, 82 mm). In order to make the Italic fit it was necessary to lead lines in part to compensate for the smaller body. The result of this procedure is hardly attractive since it makes the page look rather untidy. It is therefore an emergency solution to which a compositor would only resort in the absence of type on the same body. What is here important is that the use in *Remonstrance* shows that the edition cannot have been by Plantin himself since his own press did indeed possess an Italic on Pica. He even had three: both Granjon's 'Première Italique' or 'Mediane Cursive première maigre' (MA 133, not in *Index*),⁵⁸ and his 'Mediane Cursive pendante' (*Index* 27) and 'Mediane Cursive droite' (*Index* 28).⁵⁹ It is inconceivable that a compositor with such a wide choice

⁵⁶ The first mention of this common origin, probably noticed by P.A. Tiele, is in L.D. Petit, *Bibliothèque van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. 1, p. 19, no. 122 note.

⁵⁷ A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308, no. 2 and fig. 1; also *id.*, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, ed. P. H. Muir (Amsterdam 1970), pp. 260-71, no 2 and fig. 1. It is the first small Italic of Granjon which Plantin used – the 'Petitte Italique Grand Jonc' in his earliest inventory of matrices; see 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 46), pp. 7 f. Plantin used the type since 1558. The same applies to all the typefaces mentioned in this same inventory, and this makes one doubt the accuracy of the date [1556] there given to the document. Plantin paid Ameet Tavernier 'pour fondre la lectre petite romain' in May 1558 (PMM, Arch. 38, ff. 105v., 106r.). In *Recueil* and *Remonstrance* upright capitals are used instead of the sloping ones which Plantin also possessed.

⁵⁸ Johnson, art. and op. cit. (n. 57), no. 4 and fig. 3. The first of Granjon's Italics on Pica and also the first one used by Plantin. He bought the type at about the same time as the 'Granjonne' mentioned in the previous note and the matrices are described in the same inventory. Before 1558 he had a typeface of Ameet Tavernier on the same body (Vervliet IT 8).

⁵⁹ Johnson, art. and op. cit. (n. 57), nos. 7 and 12, figs. 6 and 11. Plantin used these second and third Pica Italics of Granjon since 1562 and 1565 respectively.

should resort to the tiring and thankless use of a fount which does not fit – and this excludes Antwerp as the city of origin of the publication. Because of the great similarity with *Remonstrance* (the same types, the same layout) this must also apply to *Vraye narration*.

The argument of the misfitting Italic obviously applies not only to Plantin but speaks against every printer who used to work with types of Garamont and Granjon and therefore against every press of any stature in France itself. To this we should add that, as far as we know, the Dutch rebels never employed French printers. It is thus particularly unlikely that *Vraye narration* – ascribed to Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, one of the leaders of the Revolt – should have been printed in that country. The exceptionally small number of types used in this publication and in *Remonstrance* (only three Romans besides the Italic) certainly do not point to a press equipped to print Romance languages. It did not even contain a capital large enough to serve as an initial, but had to fall back on a ‘Parangonne’ capital placed in an open space in order to appear more striking. So limited an amount of material would indeed tally with Augustijn since, as I indicated above, he had been dispatched for a purpose entirely different to this incidental commission and his material was accordingly of a very different nature. The Romans and the Italic in the printer’s possession in Vianen presumably were only intended for use as a distinguishing letter or in marginalia.

These considerations suggest that Augustijn was indeed the printer. Judging from the date of De Brès’ *Remonstrance*, shortly after 15 January 1567, this publication, and thus also *Vraye narration*, came from Vianen, as De la Fontaine Verwey has already suggested. The question is whether this also applies to *Recueil*, which is slightly later, and to the translation, *Geschiedenisse aengaende t’ feyt der Religien* (W 6) which has not yet been considered.⁶⁰ The Dutch version of this collection of pieces about the Revolt would seem to be a parallel edition to the French one and they both differ in their typography from the Vianen publications. So we

⁶⁰ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 49), pp. 9 ff. gives Vianen as the place of publication, but this does not emerge from Plantin’s letter of 2 August 1567. At that time Augustijn had been away from Vianen for at least three, and probably four, months. The town was occupied on 5 May but had been virtually isolated from the outside world since the end of March. We shall soon see that he presumably did not return to Vianen after the visit he announced by Easter (30 March), but later went from Antwerp to Wesel. The *Recueil* was printed shortly before 31 May, as we see from a warrant signed by Margaret bearing that date and published in R. van Roosbroeck, *Het wonderjaar te Antwerpen (1566-1567)* (Antwerpen/Louvain 1930), pp. 504-8 (= Appendix H); for the accompanying letter, see *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 12 (1856), p. 258. As a result of the recently published book the Governess gave orders that a thorough investigation should be made into the events described and the activities of those responsible. Because of the short time of production (six quires) and the speed with which the government managed to lay its hands on such publications the date of publication can be placed around 15 May.

may well wonder whether this work was not produced during a later phase of the press' activity, in other words after the press had been removed from the town and, as we read in the *Chronika*, had been established in Wesel.

In order to solve this problem it is essential to have a full survey of all the material used in this second phase, which means unearthing as many publications of the press as can be found. We are here dealing with work printed with the same types as those used in the *Officina* and we must thus search for anonymous editions produced in 1567 and the years following in which French types appear. Because of their exclusive character in the Low Countries they are obviously particularly striking in books and pamphlets in Dutch. According to the *Chronika*, however, works were also printed in French and Latin in Wesel, so we must also look out for editions in these languages. In so doing we should pay special attention to publications concerning the political and religious situation in these parts.

With the help of these criteria it appears possible to assemble a group of typographically similar books from the years 1567-9 which came from this press. So far sixteen have come to light besides the two ascribed to Vianen – a fairly large quantity in view of the brief existence of the press and the limited chances of survival of many of these texts. Perhaps other editions belonging to this group will be discovered in libraries which have not yet been investigated, but what has so far been found probably gives a complete picture of the typographical material owned by the press. It includes nearly all the Roman typefaces of Garamont and Granjon which we find at Plantin's, from the 'Gros Canon romain' (280 mm) to the 'Bible romain' (54 mm), with as a single exception Garamont's 'Augustine romaine' on English.⁶¹ The only Italic I have been able to find is the aforesaid 'Granjonne', in the two French editions of this group. Plantin's Texturas are all there, however, with both the originally French Small Pica (71 mm; *Index* 43, Vervliet T 41),⁶² and the ditto Parisian Bourgeois (62 mm; *Index* 44, T. 43)⁶³ and Tavernier's Nonpareil

⁶¹ The series of Roman types used in Wesel consists of: 'Gros Canon romain' (280 mm; *Index* 16), 'Parangonne romaine' (130 mm; *Index* 20), 'Gros Romain romain' (116 mm; *Index* 22), 'Mediane romaine' (82 mm; *Index* 26), 'Petit Romain romain' (67 mm; *Index* 31), and 'Bible (or Breviaire) romain' (54 mm; *Index* 35), all of Garamont, together with Granjon's 'Petit Canon romain' (190 mm; *Index* 17).

⁶² H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), pp. 158 f. The typeface is not recorded in any of Plantin's inventories and we can thus be sure that he never owned matrices. He bought the fount on 10 April 1565 from François Guyot. For the payment of this 'Philosophie Flamande', see M. Parker & K. Melis, *Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices* (Antwerpen 1960), p. 89, No. 144, where there is also a list of books printed by Plantin in 1566 in which the face appears. In 1570 it was replaced by the 'Duytsche Descendiane' (T 40) of Hendrik (II) van den Keere.

⁶³ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 62), pp. 162 f. Plantin had no matrices for this typeface either. He purchased the type from François Guyot on 25 June 1565 as 'Bourgeoise lectre flamande', with a special pay-

(40 mm; *Index* 45, T. 51).⁶⁴ The presence of this last typeface, the smallest Textura then available, is most significant since it was especially designed to print Bibles in a very small format.⁶⁵

This enumeration shows clearly that we are not here dealing with a combination of faces used by just any printer, but with Plantin's stock of these types – no other printer in the Netherlands owned such a collection. These, therefore, are editions produced by Plantin or by a press equipped by him. If they came from Plantin himself they would form an unknown part of his output which is not recorded in his administration and which has never been ascribed to him. As publications of Augustijn – for nobody else can be taken into consideration for this Dutch production – they show us which types this printer used after his escape from Vianen. According to the *Chronika* this was in Wesel, and so far the factual information about Hendrik Niclaes' printers in that work has proved reliable.⁶⁶

ment of 5 guilders for use of the matrices. See Parker & Melis, op. cit. (n. 62), p. 89, no. 146, where we also find a list of the books printed by Plantin with the type in 1566. He used it until 1576.

⁶⁴ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 62), pp. 174 f. See also D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellingsa Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225–31. Plantin had no matrices of this typeface either. On 8 December 1565 he entered a payment of 84 guilders to Girard d'Embe 'pour la petite nonpareille flamande d' Amy fondue' (PMM, Arch. 3, f. 39), quoted in [Parker & Melis], op. cit. (n. 62), p. 93, no. 157. The entry in his 'Journal' (Arch. 4, f. 10v.) mentions 'un marchand d'Embe', but does not give his name. Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. 2, p. 106 n. 4, thinks that this dealer is a (fictitious?) intermediary in a sale by Ameet Tavernier himself. If this is so Tavernier was taking a liberty to which he was not entitled. For the typeface was not his own property – although he may, as was customary, have had a set of matrices at his disposal for his own use – but he had cut it on order for a publisher who printed a *Dat Nieuwe Testament* with it in 1563 and a Bible in Dutch in 1564, both without an imprint (see following note). According to Vervliet Tavernier himself used the typeface for the first time in 1564 in a *Hortulus animae*.

⁶⁵ This purpose was explicitly stated in the above-mentioned *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of 1563 (n. 64), described by P.H. Vogel, 'Der niederländische Bibeldruck in Emden, 1556–1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), pp. 162–71, no. 12. I. le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduytsche Bybels* (Amsterdam 1732; reissue Hoorn 1764), p. 689, already remarked on the very fine and small Dutch typeface ('een seer fraay Duytsch Lettertje') and quoted the publisher's foreword in which he says he had the face designed for the purpose. See also Grosheide, art. cit. (n. 64), p. 228. The Nonpareil was thus the exclusive property of this man. In addition to various Bible editions he also printed Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion* and Menno Simons' *Fundamentum* with it in 1564/5 – fundamental works by the leaders of the Dutch Anabaptists. This may have been a reason for Plantin to cede the use of this easily recognizable type almost entirely to Augustijn. In his own publications it only appears in one of the surviving copies of his *Index sive Specimen characterum* (n. 47) and then in a few words on the title-page of P. Canisius, *Waerachtighe ende oprechte onderwijsinghe* (1568; Voet PP 885). Plantin subsequently replaced the type at the earliest opportunity by the 'Nonpareille Flamande' of Hendrik (II) van den Keere (Vervliet T 50), for which see n. 97.

⁶⁶ On the reliability of the *Chronika*, cf. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 249 ff. and the literature mentioned there.

It is not possible to distinguish exclusively on the basis of external evidence between the group in question and work from the Plantin press (with a single exception: the misfitting Italic). The manner in which the identical types are set is hardly enough to go by. Plantin employed compositors of various nationalities who tended, in certain minor details, to follow their national habits. We thus find books produced by Plantin in the same period with obvious differences in the manner of pagination or foliation, or the use of quire signatures, catchwords and other elements. The books of the present group, however, show a remarkable consistency in such matters. This suggests the work of a single man with recognizable practises as a compositor, although we cannot say that any one of his ways⁶⁷ excludes the *Officina* as the place of origin of the books. Nor is there any difference in quality from a technical point of view: the presswork and layout are excellent, and this reminds us that Augustijn had already proved himself a first-rate printer in Kampen.

In the Dutch-language editions in this group the printer distinguishes himself by the felicitous results which he achieved by way of the combination of Romans and Texturas, and despite the difficulties of achieving a harmonious unity with two such different faces. He could not avoid the combination since he apparently had no larger Textura than a Small Pica at his disposal, but he got round the problem brilliantly. Another, most striking difference between his work and that of Plantin is the almost complete lack of decorative elements. He only had a single title vignette, very much resembling one that had been used previously by Plantin but which is actually different, and one ornamental initial, a capital W – was it a mere coincidence that this was the first letter of William of Orange's Christian name? The letter almost certainly belonged to an alphabet cut by Arnoldus Nicolai, all the letters of which appear in works printed in the *Officina* – with the single exception of this one.⁶⁸ These are the only differences of some

⁶⁷ Such as the placing of the page or folio number in the upper corner of the page, the use of quire signatures without points, and the placing of catchwords also on the recto side of the leaf. If he had to use Roman types on the title-page of a book printed in Textura he always set the principal line in lower case, as was the custom with Texturas in the Low Countries. Only one of Plantin's compositors, Lenaert der Kinderen, also did that in the brief period in which he worked about this time for Plantin, from early January to 16 October 1566; see Voet PP 1140, 2091 and 2424. In those months he was the principal compositor of Dutch texts, as we see from the account of the work he performed in the 'Livre des ouvriers' (n. 17), f. 48. After his departure we only find capitals in the principal line in all books in Dutch produced in the *Officina* in the years 1567-8. Cf. Voet PP 710, 885, 1117, 1328, 1482, 2186, 2416. Not until 1569 do we again find a title with the principal line set in lower case (Voet PP 1272).

⁶⁸ S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials. The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin: A Complete Catalogue* (New York 1974), no. 12, where W is the only letter that is missing. The alphabet is partly reproduced from printed material and partly from the original blocks, seven of which have survived. One is the Q which bears the date 1563. – For other initial letters the printer resorted to the 'Grosses

significance I have been able to find between the work of our printer and that of his colleagues at Antwerp.

[Part 2]

In the first part of this article we have seen that it would seem impossible to establish whether the editions discussed are produced by Plantin himself or by Augustijn van Hasselt on the sole basis of external features of the printed work. Neither the types nor the details of the type-setting process provide sufficient evidence to reach a definite conclusion, even if Augustijn's chances seem a little higher. The contents of the books, their nature and purpose, now seem to confirm an attribution to him, since we are dealing with the stock of a decidedly Protestant publisher. Religious works prevail, including two different editions of the New Testament in Dutch (W 10 and W 16) and one of the Psalms in Petrus Dathenus' rhyming version, followed by the Heidelberg Catechism (W 11).⁶⁹ This latter work is a pocket edition with the tunes in musical notes showing that the press could also print music. Augustijn needed an authorization from the town magistrates to print these works, and in the magistracy Lutheranism was visibly yielding to Calvinist influence.⁷⁰ The transition is reflected in the choice of publications. In 1567 a reprint of Urbanus Rhegius' *Catechismus* in Dutch appeared together with two consolatory epistles ('troostbrieven') for the persecuted Lutherans in Antwerp. One of these (W

Capitales romaines' (*Index 1*), a set Garamont left unfinished at his death. Plantin had them completed by Jacques Sabon and they are to be found in his printed works after 1567. For a specimen of the type, see M. Parker, 'Punches and Matrices of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *Printing & Graphic Arts*, 6 (1958), pp. 53-66 (p. 56). For smaller initial letters Granjon's 'Petit Canon romain' is used.

⁶⁹ Cf. Sardemann, art. cit. (n. 44), p. 365; C. Rahlenbeck, 'Les imprimeurs clandestins de Wesel', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 18 (1862), pp. 421-2, speaks of 'un privilège obtenu en 1568 qui lui permettait d'imprimer et d'exposer en vente des livres de cantiques et des Nouveaux Testaments dans l'une et l'autre langue', but gives no reference. — My thanks are due to Dr Willem Heijting, who was so kind as to draw my attention to this unrecorded edition and to furnish me with photostats and bibliographical data. Recently the book has been described in C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985), p. 26, 'Dath 1568 b'.

⁷⁰ Cf. M. Reu-Dubucque, 'Luthers Katechismus am Niederrhein', *Das Erbe Martin Luthers und die gegenwärtige theologische Forschung. Theologische Abhandlungen D. Ludwig Ihmels [...] dargebracht* (Leipzig 1928), pp. 116-34 (pp. 129 ff.). For the history of the Dutch emigrants in Wesel, see W. Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung der niederländischen Religionsflüchtlinge im 16. Jahrhundert in Wesel und ihre Bedeutung für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung dieser Stadt* (Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte von Wesel, 4; Wesel 1913) and R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten, Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Leuven 1968), *passim*. — The most extensive information about the ecclesiastical history of Wesel in the sixteenth century is to be found in A. Wolters, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Wesel* (Bonn 1868), where, however, unlike certain other printers, Augustijn van Hasselt is not mentioned.

1) was written by the preacher François Alaers (Alardts), who had himself escaped from the town,⁷¹ the other (W 8) by an unknown author concealed behind the initials C.D.W. and who also seems to have lived in Antwerp since he addresses the municipality of that city.

No further Lutheran writings appeared and the texts published become either Protestant without any particular confessional tendency or emphatically anti-Catholic. This latter category includes *Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen [...] uut de Misse* (W 2), an erudite and savagely anti-Catholic book written by a Leiden vice-rector, Petrus Bloccius, who had fled to Wesel and now lived nearby in the vicinity of Rees.⁷² He assumed an independent attitude towards the various Protestant currents and belonged to the small group of Dutch authors who pursued a course of their own in matters of faith. Equally anti-Catholic but also directed against sectarians like the 'Libertijnen' (adherents of Sebastian Franck's ideas) and the followers of Menno Simons is *Een schoone Christelijcke waerschouwinghe* (W 12) by a certain L.P., whose identity is just as obscure as that of the author of the foreword to Urbanus Rhegius' *Catechismus, dat is die Kinder-leere* (W 3), a remarkable addition to this reprint in which the writer makes a stirring appeal for Christian unity.⁷³ This same tendency is characteristic of the publisher's attitude towards all confessional conflicts and is expressed in various publications. First of all it appears in Erasmus' *Van de eendrachticheyt der Kercken* (W 5), a reprint of a translation of *De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia* (1533), which had ap-

⁷¹ François Alaers, or Alardts (b. Brussels, early 16th century, d. Wilster 1578) came to Antwerp in May 1566 from Kellinghausen in Hollstein. He had been a preacher there since 1564, after having acted in the same capacity in Norden in East Frisia. He was arrested after his arrival in Antwerp but was released soon after and preached in the abbey of St Michael and other places. He left the town on 10 April 1567 before Alva's arrival and, like so many Lutherans, probably first went to Wesel. He did not remain there, however, but returned to northern Germany, where he stayed in Itzehoe until Easter 1568 and then became preacher in Wilster, where he died in 1578. On him, see *Biographie nationale [...] de Belgique* (n. 1), vol. 1 (Bruxelles 1866), cols. 151-4.

⁷² Petrus Bloccius was of Brabantine origin (the dates of his birth and death are unknown). He studied in Louvain and Bologna. In 1561, probably for religious reasons, he was dismissed as vice-rector of the Latin school in Leiden. In 1564 he had a dispute in Wesel with the Lutheran preacher Tileman Heshusius. Two years later he worked as a tutor for Diederick van Bronckhorst en Batenburg in Neder Mörmpter in Cleves. He acted as preacher in the nearby Obermörmpter from about 1567 to 1570. Cf. *Biografisch Woordenboek van Protestantsche Godgeleerden in Nederland*, eds. J.B. de Bie & J. Loosjes, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage [1903]), pp. 453-6. On his religious views, see L. Knappert, 'De theologie van Petrus Bloccius', *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 38 (1904), pp. 309-48, with references to earlier studies.

⁷³ For a description of the book, with a summary of the preface, cf. J.M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*. Band 3: *Ost-, nord- und westdeutsche Katechismen*. Teil I: *Historisch-bibliographische Einleitung*, 2. Hälfte (Gütersloh 1935), pp. 694 f. and, on the original edition of this translation, or rather adaptation (Antwerpen, Nicolaes van Oldenborch [= Mattheus Crom], 1538), *ibid.*, pp. 686 ff.

peared some time earlier.⁷⁴ Another work by Erasmus was *Een Christelijcke noodtwendige Clage des Vreedts* (W 4), a translation, never published before, of *Querela Pacis* (1517).⁷⁵ The choice of these two texts – the first an attempt at reconciling Rome and the Reformation, the second a lamentation about the incapacity of secular and ecclesiastical authorities to preserve peace – testifies to an irenical mentality which we encounter repeatedly in Plantin's letters of the time. And these same views were shared by the translator of Erasmus' *Clage*, who wrote a foreword which he signed with his initials M.T. and in which he advanced a convincing argument in favour of moderation and toleration in religion and politics.

The undenominational policy of the publisher also emerges from a new version of *Het Nieuwe Testament* (W 15) which appeared in a pocket format in 1569. The text is based on the Low German Luther translation printed by Melchior Lotter in Magdeburg and is revised on the basis of Robert Estienne's Greek Testament, giving variants from other translations such as the Zurich one, the Liesveldt one and the one by Castellion. Le Long has pointed out that the work does not mention Luther's name and keeps its distance from the Reformed Emden Bible, thus assuming an independent position suited to general use. Such an objective, which also seems to apply to *De Somme van de leere der Sacramenten, ghelyck sy inde gereformeerde kercken van Neder-landt gheleert wert* (W 9),⁷⁶ is so perfectly in keeping with William of Orange's ambition to persuade the various confessions to work together in the fight against oppression that it would be interesting to know to what extent the anonymous editors were involved in this policy.

I doubt whether anyone would attribute a stock of this description to Plantin even if it does contain certain editions – such as those by Erasmus – which would probably have enjoyed his sympathy. One edition in particular argues against any direct involvement on his part. Nearly all the publications produced by the firm were religious and in Dutch, but two political tracts were also issued in French for the benefit of the bilingual southern Low Countries: besides the aforesaid *Recueil*

⁷⁴ W. de Vreese, 'De Nederlandsche vertalingen van Desiderius Erasmus', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 71-100, no. 33.4 (p. 86); S.W. Bijl, *Erasmus in het Nederlands tot 1617* (Nieuwkoop 1978; thesis Leiden), p. 145, mentions this edition only incidentally and without giving any bibliographical details. It is a reprint of the Antwerp edition, Weduwe Jacob van Liesveldt, 1554 (De Vreese, no. 33.3), for which, see Bijl, pp. 137 ff.

⁷⁵ De Vreese, art. cit. (n. 74), no. 55.1 (p. 92); *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger (Bruxelles 1964-75), 7 vols., no. E 1310 (vol. 2, pp. 1003 f.); Bijl, op. cit. (n. 74), pp. 259 ff., gives the text of the foreword.

⁷⁶ Le Long, op. cit. (n. 65), pp. 839 f.; BT, op. cit. (n. 51), vol. 1, no. 4439: 'also attributed to J. a Lasco'. Dr Willem Heijting (Amsterdam), who specialises in early Dutch catechisms, kindly informed me that the book is not a translation of a Lasco's *Brevis et dilucida de sacramentis ecclesiae Christi tractatio* (1552) and that it has an undenominational rather than a Calvinistic character.

of 1567 there appeared, bearing the date 28 April 1568, *La justification du Prince d'Oranges* (W 14) at the same time as the Dutch edition, *De verantwoordinge* (W 13). The fact that this justification of William of Orange against his Spanish sovereign should have been published by this particular press gives an indication of the place of printing. It is hard to believe that Jacob van Wesembeke,⁷⁷ Orange's 'publicity agent', applied to a printer in Antwerp – a town from which he had actually been banished – and thus ran the risk of confiscation by the authorities. Still less convincing is the assumption that Plantin risked losing the support of the Spanish king which he had obtained with such difficulty for his immense and costly enterprise, the publication of the Polyglot Bible, by printing a work by King Philip II's greatest opponent – quite apart from the personal danger involved.⁷⁸ This seems a decisive reason – even if the previous ones are insufficient – for ascribing these editions not to Plantin but to Augustijn and for giving Wesel, the temporary residence of Jacob van Wesembeke, as the town where the press was operating.

EVIDENCE FROM THE 1567 NEW TESTAMENT

For the time being, however, this attribution is only valid for editions issued in 1568/9, for we have seen that in 1567 books were not only printed in Wesel but also in Vianen. The ten publications of that year, out of the total of sixteen, could thus have been produced in either of these two towns. In contrast to the Wesel material we seem only to know part of what there was in Vianen. The question is therefore what types were to be found there? Fortunately, for a part of them, the *Texturas*, one of the editions can give an answer. *Het Nieuwe Testament* of 1567 (W. 10) displays an irregular composition which shows that the book was produced in two phases

⁷⁷ Jacob van Wesembeke (b. Antwerpen 1524, d. Holland? c.1574) had been Pensionary of the city of Antwerp since 1556. He left the country in April 1567 before the arrival of Alva and was condemned to lifelong banishment by the Council of Troubles in his absence in 1568. William of Orange made him one of his principal collaborators and put him in charge of the publicity of the Revolt, for which purpose he wrote a number of propaganda pamphlets and compiled certain political-historical works which are among the most important sources for the history of these years. He also performed other duties as the Prince's agent. On his various activities in this period see above all R. Fruin, *Verspreide Geschriften*, op. cit. (n. 52), vols. 2, pp. 11 ff. and 7, pp. 113 ff. For further biographical details cf. also P.J. Blok in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Leiden 1921), cols. 1112-15.

⁷⁸ On this, the largest and most expensive of Plantin's enterprises and his difficult but ultimately successful efforts to interest Philip II in it, so much has been written that I need only refer to Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. I, pp. 60 ff. and the literature there listed. Plantin received the good news of the king's decision on his return from the Spring Fair in Frankfurt in April 1568. William of Orange's *Verantwoordinge* is dated 28 April 1568 and consequently cannot have been printed before the beginning of May.

and that different types were used in it. One of the two compositors employed started his share in the work with the familiar Lettersnijder Pica Textura (Vervliet T 30) for the text and a smaller Textura on Brevier (T 47) for the marginalia. For the headings of the Biblical books he employed the 'Moyen Canon Flamand' (T 3) and a Great Primer Textura (T 12), both of French origin but also widely used in the Netherlands. He set up the first 24 quires of the book (A-Z⁸ followed by a⁸) and then had to interrupt his work. His colleague produced 23 quires (f-z⁸ and Aa-Ee⁸) with the same fount at the same time. The division shows that each one was to set up half, 28 quires each, for b-e⁸ and Ff-Kk⁸ were still missing and were added later in completely different faces: a Small Pica Textura (T 41) for the text, Tavernier's Nonpareil (T 51) for the marginalia, and a French Textura on Long Primer (T 43) for the list of contents in the margin at the head of each chapter. The large Texturas T 3 and T 12 were replaced by Roman types: Granjon's 'Petit Canon' and Garamont's 'Gros Romain romain'. The new material also appears in the preliminaries and the index.⁷⁹

We encountered all these types at Augustijn's press in Wesel and it does not require much imagination to see the history of the book's genesis reflected in its composition. The production started in Vianen, but the printers had to leave the town in a hurry before the book was completed and so work came to a standstill. They did indeed manage to save the printed sheets and take them to Wesel, where the part that was missing could be printed with the help of the new founts which had been provided in the meantime, but since these were quite different to what had been used in Vianen, Augustijn was obliged to replace all the original types by other faces. Ably though he did so, the final product is so unsatisfactory from a typographical point of view that Plantin himself would have hesitated to launch it on the market.

This remarkable episode and the visible consequences give us an answer to various hitherto unsolved problems. First of all the manner in which the book was produced confirms the existence of two quite separate periods of activity on the part of the press, so that we can regard it as certain that printing was indeed done in Vianen. In addition to this the course of events makes it clear what the primary purpose of the enterprise, and Augustijn's principal task, was: to print editions of the Bible. He started doing so immediately after his arrival. *Remonstrance* and *Vraye narration*, some five sheets in all, were small incidental orders carried out on the side. The setting and printing of 24 quires in 8vo size with marginalia entailed at

⁷⁹ Apart from the preliminaries printed later, the book is thus divided bibliographically into four parts, set two by two in the same combination of faces. The change of types occurs between sign. [a8] and b[1] = ff. 192v. and 193; between sign. [e8] and f[1] = ff. 224v. and 225; and between sign. [Ee8] and Ff[1] = ff. 408v. and 409.

least ten weeks work.⁸⁰ If we add the time necessary for the transport and setting up of the press, perhaps with an interruption due to the change of destination, very little time would remain for other activities in Vianen in the period from December to March.

The printing of *Het Nieuwe Testament* thus took precedence and this priority shows what Plantin's purpose was in founding his second press. But the typography of the book also elucidates other facts. The first is that there were two compositors at work and that Augustijn, himself one of them, did not depart alone but in the company of certain assistants.⁸¹ As Plantin's factor, therefore, he was in charge of the daily management of a printing-office of some size and with a corresponding production capacity; the agreed share must probably also be seen in this light. And finally we know now that different types were used in the two phases of the press' activity – or this, at least, applies to the Texturas, all of which were replaced. For this reason we must reckon with the possibility that Augustijn did not succeed in conveying his complete printing material to Wesel, as has always been supposed,

⁸⁰ Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. 2, pp. 314 ff., terminates his useful account of the duties and wages of the compositors of the *Officina Plantiniana* with the conclusion (p. 318): '... it would seem that with a text of average difficulty a compositor could complete one forme per day.' For *Het Nieuwe Testament* of 1567 this would amount to approximately 12,000 ens per day. That average is certainly too high for a book like this with extensive marginalia. D.F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices', *Studies in Bibliography*, 22 (1969), pp. 1-75 (pp. 8 ff.), comes to figures which are often far lower. On the basis of the data supplied by this author a daily capacity of 9,000 ens for a work like the New Testament seems to have been the maximum over a longer period. For the part of the book printed in Vianen this would have meant a production period lasting about 64 working days. In support of this estimate Professor Johan Gerritsen (University of Groningen) has remarked: 'It is interesting to note that from July 1564 to January 1565 Goossen Goebens (Goeberi) had been employed on [Plantin's] octavo Bible, setting it at a rate of 10-15 pages a week; average over the whole period 13 pages weekly, about 9,000 ens per day.'

⁸¹ Professor Gerritsen has provided me with the following information: 'It is possible, on the basis of the Antwerp records, to find collateral evidence for the suggested course of the Vianen venture. Augustijn's record closes on 2 November 1566, and the Workmen's Book shows that his was not the only record to do so. On this same date Plantin records the departure of two pressmen, a first and a second. Georges van Spangeberch, Imprimeur, is paid on 2 November 1566 for work done and fully specified (which shows that he was a governor of a press), and the entry is followed by 'Il sen est ale par congé et contentement'. Similarly Bastian Guenerts, Imprimeur, is paid on 2 November for his work 'auec Smesman' (showing he is a second pressman) and here, too, there follows a note, running 'Il sen est ale par conge et bon gré'. Even more significantly in this context, on 10 May 1567 Georges is again on record 'pour 2 iournees' and continues regularly thereafter, and on 17 May 1567 Bastian is on record 'auec Louis Hallin 5. Iournees' and continues similarly thereafter. The dates are too precise to be accidental; the fall of Vianen was on 5 May. There is no such compelling evidence for a second compositor. Frederick Batman and Nicolas Calabers left towards the end of October, but in complete silence so far as Plantin was concerned. They returned in October 1569 and July 1568 respectively.'

but that, after his escape from Vianen, Plantin had to put new type at his disposal. The books in Dutch published in 1567 are printed with the second series of *Texturas* (T 41, T 43 and T 51), and therefore all come from the Wesel period of the press.

For our knowledge of the Roman types used in Vianen, however, we have to fall back on the two printed books from that town we have already discussed, since no other material lends itself to comparison. This point is relevant for our judgment of another attribution given to the town: the above-mentioned *Déclaration sommaire du faict de ceux de la ville de Vallencienne* (BT 825), the first justification of the city, written by Guy de Brès in December 1566. In outward appearance the piece very much resembles the two Vianen publications and it even contains the same Garamont Romans used there. Next to these faces, however, two Romans cut by Pierre Haultin are employed, his 'Philosophie' (71 mm; *Index* 29) as text letter and his 'Coronelle romaine' (44 mm; *Index* 37) - the smaller type in a few lines on the title-page.⁸² We cannot establish whether Haultin's types were part of the typographical material at Vianen, but in *Remonstrance* Garamont's 'Petit Romain romain' is used, a Long Primer (67 mm), and it seems most unlikely that Plantin should have provided the press with two types on almost exactly the same body: the difference only amounts to 4 mm in 20 lines.

There are other arguments one could advance against an ascription of *Déclaration sommaire* to Vianen. As far as the quality is concerned (layout, press-work) this work is in no way inferior to anything by Augustijn, and yet I cannot see his hand in it. The little book contains quire signatures with points behind the letters as well as the figures; it has a pagination in the centre above the text, and catchwords only on the verso side of the leaves. These French habits were never practised by Augustijn and thus argue against an attribution to him.⁸³ This also applies to the difference in spelling of 'ceux' and 'Vallencienne' in the title and the same words in *Remonstrance*, where we find 'ceus' and 'Valencenes'.

All this suggests that we should search elsewhere for the printer of *Déclaration sommaire*, and the most obvious candidate would appear to be Plantin himself. His

⁸² Until c.1580 Haultin's 'Philosophie' was the only Roman type which Plantin owned on this body. He used it from 1561 on; see 'Early Inventories', op. cit. (n. 46), p. 13. The 'Coronelle romaine' was a recent acquisition which does not appear in any of his books before 1566. According to *Index*, op. cit. (n. 47), p. 5, this face is different to one of about the same size used by Pierre Haultin himself in Paris in 1567. This excludes the slim possibility that Haultin was the printer of *Déclaration sommaire*; for his types used by Plantin see also Carter, art. cit. (n. 55), pp. 175 f.

⁸³ See R.A. Sayce, 'Compositorial Practices and the Localization of Printed Books, 1530-1800', *The Library*, 5th S., 21 (1966), pp. 1-45 (repr. with Addenda and Corrigenda, Oxford 1979); esp. pp. 26 ff. and 32. - One exception should be mentioned: in both editions of the *Justification* of William of Orange the pages are numbered not in the corners but in the centre above the text.

involvement would explain why, so soon afterwards, barely a month later, a second justification by De Brès could be printed in Vianen, far from Valenciennes. The combined use of types of Garamont and Haultin could also point to Plantin. As far as I can see from a limited investigation – the typographical material of the French printers in this period has not yet been systematically studied – he is the only printer worth considering who possessed the combination of types used. Besides, the particularly good technical and compositorial quality of the typography fits the image of what his presses produced in these years. Nor is it surprising that De Brès should have sent him the copy to be printed: he was in a hurry to have it published (actually the publication was too late) and for this appeal to the authorities and the public Antwerp was a better centre of distribution than any other place where it might have found a printer, like Rouen or the town where De Brès had been living until shortly before, Sedan.⁸⁴ Then there is a further consideration – De Brès may have known Plantin personally, for it is almost certain that in 1555, the first year of his career as a printer, Plantin produced *Le baston de la foy Chrestienne* for one of his business relations (with Lyons as a false address), the first work of the then still unknown author.⁸⁵ Reprints of this Calvinist work, and other writings of his,

⁸⁴ De Brès lived from 1563 to 1566 in Sedan where he was court preacher and adviser to the young Prince, the Protestant Henri Robert de La Marck, Duke of Bouillon. On his relations with the prototypographer of the town, Goswinus Goeberi, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'La première imprimerie à Sedan et le poète Charles de Navières', *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain* (Paris 1968), pp. 215–22. For typographical reasons *Rémonstrance* cannot have been printed by this press – it only worked with types from the Netherlands – and this also applies to Abel Clémence in Rouen, who had produced De Brès' second great work in 1565: *La racine, source et fondement des anabaptistes*. See G. Clutton, 'Abel Clémence of "Rouen": A Sixteenth-Century Secret Press', *The Library*, 4th S., 20 (1940), pp. 136–53; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Une presse secrète du XVI^e siècle: Abel Clémence, imprimeur à Rouen', *Mélanges Frantz Calot* (Paris 1960), pp. 81–9. A third printer in northern France, Barthélemy Berton in La Rochelle, the scope of whose output makes him a potential candidate for the edition, is not the right man either. On him, see E. Droz, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle*, vol. 1: *Barthélemy Berton, 1563–1573* (Genève 1960), *passim*.

⁸⁵ Cf. E. Droz, 'Christoffle Plantin, imprimeur de Guy de Brès, 1555', in *Het Boek*, 37 (1965–6), pp. 57–72. Apart from some inconclusive arguments her attribution (pp. 67 f.) rests on the undeniable fact that the book contains the very same typefaces as the first book to which Plantin put his name, G.M. Bruto, *La institutione [...] L'institution d'une fille de noble maison* (Voet PP 842), of the same year. In his 'Additional Notes to Volume I' Voet, *op. cit.* (n. 17), vol. 2, pp. 562 f. (= Appendix 9), rejects this attribution, arguing that the types in question were too widely used to justify it. This concerns three faces of the Antwerp punchcutter Ameet Tavernier: his two-line Pica Roman (Vervliet R 16), Pica Roman (R 26) and Pica Italic (IT 8). As far as I can make out only two printers used this combination in 1555: Hans de Laet and Plantin. Tavernier only began to print himself in 1557. Thereafter the number of printers in possession of these types increased and their use did indeed become widespread. Against De Laet as printer of De Brès' book we can argue not only that he never printed a French work of any size apart from a music book, but above all that on one page (verso of the title-page) no less than six capitals are replaced by another sort of letter,

had in the meantime been published by other printers, but in view of the urgency of the matter Plantin was obviously prepared to print this particular piece himself despite the risks it entailed. Because of Augustijn's establishment in Vianen a little later the *Remonstrance* could have been printed in that town, but I would attribute the *Déclaration* tentatively to his master.

AUGUSTIJN AS PLANTIN'S FACTOR

We can now sketch the history of Augustijn and his press as follows. Forced by the unexpected events in Kampen to seek a different place where he could work he settled in Vianen at the insistence of Hendrik van Brederode – there was hardly any alternative – and started to carry out the programme which had been agreed upon, the printing of a New Testament. After he had been at work for some time he found himself faced with an incensed and highly alarmed employer. As soon as Plantin discovered that the original plan had been altered and understood how dangerous the situation could become – this appears to have been only in early February, for Augustijn was a slow correspondent – he hastily dispatched his trusted agent Cornelis Kiel to his all too independent factor in order to discuss the matter and to beg him to be particularly cautious. After that he wrote to him on two occasions urging him to honour the financial conditions on which they had agreed. Augustijn replied with apologies for not having done so and promised to come and settle the financial side by Easter – not suspecting how menacing the situation in Vianen would become within a few weeks. Whether he actually waited until 30 March before going to Antwerp cannot be ascertained. He may well have gone there, but the rapid military developments would have made it impossible for him to return. At all events the production of *Het Nieuwe Testament* shows that there was an interruption but that the printed sheets could be rescued. It appears, however, that at least a part of the printing shop, with the *Texturas* originally used, had to remain behind.

This might all have something to do with a detail mentioned by Bouchery. In 1566 Plantin, together with his partner Cornelis van Bomberghen, stood bail for a nobleman from the southern Netherlands, Claude de Withem, seigneur de Ris-

apparently because not enough type of the right fount was available. Such a shortage of cast type is most unlikely in the case of a long established printing shop like that of De Laet, and in a book which he printed slightly earlier in the same typeface, Fr. Tarapha, *De origine [...] regum Hispaniae liber* of 1553 (BT 1, 4465), where dozens of the same capitals appear on every page, there is no sign of this. In the same reproduction we can also see a large capital D (obviously a woodcut as damages in a later stage show) which is also used by Willem Silvius in L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione [...] di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567) – BT 1, 1360), sign. F2 and Dd[1]. Nowhere does it appear that this printer ever worked with material once belonging to Hans de Laet, but it is certain that he entered into possession of various lots at the auction of Plantin's printing shop in April 1562. The fact that we find the woodblock in question used by Silvius thus argues in favour of Plantin as De Brès' printer.

bourg. The latter did not meet his obligations, with the result that Plantin had to pay the considerable sum of 2,630 guilders – in present-day currency about half a million guilders. [The equivalent of 227,000 euro *Eds.*] He never saw this money again: despite urgent requests, the debtor refused to pay. Yet Plantin did not proceed against him legally and the tone of his letters remained strikingly moderate. Bouchery thought this surprising attitude could be attributed to the fact that Claude de Withem was second-in-command of the troops of the Count of Megen, who occupied Vianen on 5 May 1567.⁸⁶ If we assume that Augustijn's printing shop had remained behind entirely or, at any rate, largely intact and that De Withem discovered its provenance (and possibly personally made sure that Plantin retrieved the material some time later), this explanation does indeed seem likely.⁸⁷

It thus appears that Augustijn did not manage to transfer the whole of his press, but that, after his escape from Vianen, Plantin had to supply him with new material. In Wesel, the new location of the printing shop, he replaced the Texturas which had remained behind or been lost by three other typefaces which he had recently acquired. The town is situated just over the border in Cleves, an area where various printers had already found a field of activity for their prohibited practices some time earlier. Apparently the press of one of them, Derick van der Straten, remained, at least partly, intact after his death,⁸⁸ and Augustijn may well have found the equipment there which enabled him to begin again at short notice. He must first have completed *Het Nieuwe Testament* and then succeeded in sustaining a regular flow of publications for a few years: his was one of the most active of the secret presses.

Then the situation changed radically: with the arrival of the Duke of Alva and his Spanish troops in the Low Countries the cause of Dutch independence seemed to have no future. After the large-scale emigration for religious reasons, followed by Louis of Nassau's shattering defeat at Jemgum in eastern Frisia and the failure of William of Orange's campaign in Brabant, the prospects of the Revolt looked bleak. In deciding whether he should continue in Wesel in these circumstances Plantin

⁸⁶ Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), pp. 116 ff. See also Voet, op. cit. (n. 17), vol. I, p. 54: 'At no point did [Plantin] adopt the peremptory tone he normally employed in such cases and which he even dared to use to Philip II.'

⁸⁷ This may be connected with Plantin's gratitude, expressed in a letter to De Withem dated 1 August 1568 (*Correspondance*, op. cit. (n. 9), vol. I, p. 315 ff., no. 151), for 'l'advertissement donné'.

⁸⁸ Derick (Dirk) van der Straten (Theodorus Plateanus) worked in Wesel from 1546(?) to 1556 – not 1565 as Benzing says (J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod* (Baden-Baden 1966), p. 450). On 5 February 1557 he is mentioned as having died; see J. Trapman, *De Summa der Godliker Schrifturen* (1523) (Leiden 1978; thesis Leiden), p. 48 and p. 139, note 79. He also printed for English patrons like John Bale. On his initials, see H. McCusker, 'Some Ornamental Initials used by Plateanus of Wesel', *The Library*, 4th S., 16 (1936), pp. 452-4.

must have been influenced also by a commercial consideration: in the course of 1568/9 the market for Bibles and Psalters collapsed. The offer of tens of thousands of copies – Plantin was by no means the only man in the field – led to a glut which, together with a certain drop in demand, was to last for years to come. The number of editions declined from several dozens in the years 1565–8 to a very few in 1569 (including one or two by Augustijn) and to a single Bible and a single New Testament in the entire period from 1570 to 1575. With such a gloomy outlook for the printing of Bibles Plantin's branch in Wesel lost the main reasons for its existence and he consequently welcomed the opportunity offered when, at about this time, Hendrik Niclaes expressed an interest in taking over the press. The *Chronika* even suggests that Plantin was extremely grateful for Hendrik Niclaes' help, but this seems to be a projection of the feelings cherished by the chronicler himself.⁸⁹

The leader of the Family of Love had conceived a plan of submitting his writings to a fundamental revision and of then republishing his entire work. For this purpose it was essential, as it had previously been in Kampen, to have a press of his own, with a printer at its head to whom the work could safely be entrusted. Augustijn was naturally an ideal choice for such a plan since he had already spent years working for HN both in Emden and in Kampen, first as secretary and editor of his works and later as printer. He had proved his dedication and his qualities in these same functions which he could now resume for his former master. After negotiations for which Hendrik Niclaes dispatched 'his servant' (Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt?) to Antwerp, an agreement was reached whereby Plantin transferred to HN 'all that remained of the printing shop under Augustijn'.⁹⁰ From this clause we see that the inventory was not included in the sale in its entirety: besides the printing-press and other technical equipment the transaction only included a limited amount of types. Hendrik Niclaes had previously purchased types himself, including the three Fracturas with which his main work, *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*, had been printed by Plantin, and a fourth which was only used in Kampen. These were still in his possession, and since he also wanted the re-

⁸⁹ The only source for the sale of the press and further details of the transaction is *Chronika*, XXXVII, 9–12; in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), pp. 140 f., and in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 12), pp. 289 f. According to these reports Plantin had two reasons for getting rid of the printing shop: the heavy losses ('schaden') which the business suffered and his fear about his involvement in the enterprise being discovered. If the report is correct his motives should be seen in the context of the deteriorating situation at the time. But is it correct? Plantin was too good a businessman to provide Hendrik Niclaes, in this respect a colleague, with arguments which could only influence the sale of the press unfavourably. We should believe, rather, that the considerations ascribed to Plantin were not so much his own as suggested by the other party.

⁹⁰ *Chronika*, XXXVII, 10: '... dath gy [i.e. Plantin] idt-sulve allent dat by Augustinus van de Druckerie over gebleven is, HN unsen Oldesten, tor vorfo[e]rderinge synes Denstes, overdragen solen ...'. For the reference, see n. 93.

prints to appear in these same typefaces he had no need of new material for the time being at least.⁹¹ It is hard to imagine, moreover, that Plantin wanted to see his Garamont and Granjon types, some of which were his own exclusive property, in the hands of a sectarian whose works were in the *Librorum prohibitorum Index* which he himself was printing in that very year. In any case it is possible to establish that he took back most, if not all, of the matrices: for the translations of HN's writings which appeared later in Cologne substitute Roman founts were bought. We can assume, however, that the press remained in possession of some amount of cast type, so it is hardly surprising that Augustijn could provisionally still work for restricted purposes with the original types. We know nothing of the sum which changed hands – the amount must have been paid in cash or was kept out of Plantin's account books for security reasons – but the *Chronika* states that, in view of the circumstances, Plantin ought to have been pleased to get rid of his branch in that manner.⁹²

LAST FIELD OF ACTION: COLOGNE

Augustijn thus returned to his former master, with a fixed salary and duties which consisted of three sorts of activity: writing, printing and travelling. One has the impression that the negotiations took place mainly behind his back and that he was actually faced with a *fait accompli*.⁹³ It is also very doubtful whether he welcomed the change in his situation. He lost a largely independent post as the manager of a printing and publishing business, the owner of which, however expert himself, could only take a marginal part in the proceedings. Furthermore Augustijn was entitled to half the profits and, in view of the number and quality of the publications,

⁹¹ *Chronika*, XXXVII, 12: '... noch etliche dudiesche unde latynische Letteren, die HN van overlangen tydt, vor den Denst alles bekostiget hadde ...'. For the reference, see n. 93.

⁹² Here too we perceive the hagiographical tendency of the chronicle to embellish the role of HN. That his primary object in purchasing the printing shop was to free Plantin of all burdens and dangers ('alle lasten unde perickelen') connected with it seems a somewhat one-sided version of his motives in view of the great interest which he had in possessing a press of his own.

⁹³ *Chronika*, XXXVII, II, 12: '[Plantin] schreve oick an Augustyn, dat he idt allent solde laten volgen, synen Wille daer-medē tho doen. Ditsulve wart Augustyn angegeven, unde dath he to Collen by HN. komen solde; unde also to Collen, overdroege HN. mit Augustyn, dat he vor eine Belo[e]ninge des Jaers, HN unde synen Denst bedenē solde, idt ware dan to wat Denste dath em HN bederf ware, also to drucken, to schriven, to reisen, edder to ichtes anders, unde altydt wonen solde, daer idt vor HN to des Denstes orber, best solde gelegen zyn; unde quam also wonen to Collen, unde brachte de gantze Druckerie mit em[...] unde begaf sick am-eersten to idt schriven, um perfecte Exemplaren tho hebben, um to syner tydt daer-uth tho mogen drucken.' The above passages are taken from *Chronika*, XXXVII, 10-12, as published in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 141, and also in *Supplément*, op. cit. (n. 12), pp. 289-90.

the business was certainly profitable. Instead of these advantages he now probably had a well-paid but subordinate field of activity, mainly of an editorial and administrative nature, with a future prospect of resuming his career as a printer, but no longer as an autonomous publisher. He obviously lacked either the means or the relations to set himself up on his own, and perhaps the book trade was too hazardous just then for him to dare to take such a step. His new job also entailed a move for himself and his wife, because HN wanted to settle in Cologne – he always chose to reside in trading towns – and the printing shop had to be transferred there. And indeed, Augustijn is reported to have been in Cologne by March 1570.⁹⁴

The sale probably took place in the first months of 1569. In that year Augustijn printed the *Historie vande Spaensche Inquisitie* (W 16) by the fictitious author Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, whose true identity is unknown. This dangerous book, a violent attack on Rome and Spain, became particularly popular. In the same year there also appeared in different towns two translations from Latin, but the version printed by Augustijn is based on the recent French edition and translated by a certain I.D.R., presumably Joris de Raedt. The book contains a foreword by the Calvinist preacher and Psalm translator Petrus Dathenus dated 16 December 1568. In this publication we now encounter a Small Pica Textura different from the French one used hitherto (Vervliet T 41), viz. the equally large T 39.⁹⁵ This typeface by Tavernier was never employed by Plantin and we can thus regard the substitution as a sign that he had in the meantime taken back the original type on this body.

⁹⁴ In a letter of 22 March 1570 the Dutch emigrant Dirk Cater wrote from Cologne to Jacob van Wesembeke (n. 77), that he had met 'Augustijn' two days previously and that he had spoken to him about the printer 'God.', which undoubtedly refers to the Cologne printer Godert Hirtzhorn (Hertshoren). If that was the subject of the discussion Cater's interlocutor must almost certainly be our Augustijn. Cf. J.F. van Someren, 'Wesembeke of Marnix?', *Oud-Holland*, 10 (1892), pp. 66-96 (p. 86); De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 241.

⁹⁵ E. Boehmer, *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of two Centuries from 1520*, 3 vols. (Strassburg/London 1874-1904), vol. 2, no. 287; E. van der Vekene, *Bibliotheca bibliographica historiae sanctae inquisitionis*, 2 vols. (Vaduz 1982-3), vol. 1, no. 1081. Recently C. Gilly, *Spanien und der Basler Buchdruck bis 1600. Ein Querschnitt durch die spanische Geistesgeschichte aus der Sicht einer europäischen Buchdruckerstadt* (Basel/Frankfurt am Main 1985), pp. 378 ff., revived the attribution of the Latin original to Cassiodoro de Reyna (Regina Reginaldus); other ascriptions are discussed *ibid.* pp. 373 ff. About the same time B.A. Vermaseren, 'Who was Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus?', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance. Travaux et documents*, 47 (1985), pp. 47-77, decided in favour of another Spaniard, the apostate Antonio del Corro (Corranus). For the probable translator Joris de Raedt, see A.A. van Schelven in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 4 (Leiden 1918), cols. 1107-9. – For Tavernier's Small Pica Textura, see Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 62), pp. 154 f. The typeface has been used before 1563, the date given there. It appears in a *Nieuw Testament* published in 1557 by Hans de Laet in Antwerp (not in Le Long, op. cit. (n. 65); a copy in Amsterdam UL) and in *Een vreemde [...] Prophetie*, issued there in [1559] with the address of Hans van Liesveldt (Petit, op. cit. (n. 56), vol. 1, no. 93). In both cases the printer was probably Tavernier himself.

Garamont's 'Gros Romain', 'Mediane' and 'Petit Romain' (with a characteristic lower case w composed from two v's linked together) used, for example, on the title-page, apparently cast type which had remained behind, reveal the provenance from Augustijn's press before he left Wesel.

The account of Augustijn's activities in this town could end here were it not for the appearance in that same year of 1569 of a *Nieuw Testament* (W 17) with annotations by Aug. Marlorati,⁹⁶ in which the same T 39 is used as a text letter and the marginalia are set in the 'Minion Textura' (Vervliet T 50) of Hendrik (II) van den Keere. This attractive small typeface (43 mm), which had only just been cut and which was at once also purchased by Plantin,⁹⁷ here replaces the Nonpareil (T 51) which Plantin had taken back. The book contains a few initials from the printing shop of the above-mentioned publisher at Wesel, Derick van der Straten, which had obviously remained intact after his death. On the title-page a very good replica of the 'Alle boom' device already used for several New Testaments, is printed⁹⁸ in an ornamental cartouche-like border, which differs from the original. The same woodcut was later used as a device by a son of the printer Derick Wylicx van Santen, Rein-der Wylicx, who worked briefly in Emmerich before settling in Utrecht in 1593;⁹⁹ Rees and Emmerich are both situated in the immediate vicinity of Wesel. What is significant in the book is the composition of the Parisian Textura on Bourgeois (Vervliet T43), which is used as a text letter. In all details the type corresponds entirely to what Augustijn used in Wesel, so that the question arises whether this

⁹⁶ Le Long, op. cit. (n. 65), p. 773. This is a reprint of the first Dutch edition to contain Marlorat's annotations, originally published in Geneva in 1565. They were translated by a certain J.A., and when the book appeared in October 1567, without an imprint (but in Emden), it was in special demand in Calvinist circles.

⁹⁷ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 62), pp. 172 f. There we also have the text, with translation, of Plantin's agreement with Van den Keere dated 16 June 1569, whereby the price of the sale of the latter's 'Nonpareille Flamande' and the costs of the adjustment of the matrices were established. See also *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II (16-18), op. cit. (n. 47), no. 17: Plantin's *Folio specimen of ca. 1585*, no. 76 (p. II). Plantin used the types from 1570 on. After Van den Keere's death the Officina also obtained the punches.

⁹⁸ For the original woodcut, see P.H. Vogel, 'Die Druckermarken in den Emdener niederländischen Bibeldrucken 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 37 (Mainz 1962), pp. 456-8, fig. 3, where the device (reduced) is reproduced on the title-page of a *Nieuw Testament* of 1567 printed [in Sedan] by Lenaert der Kinderen. Other reproductions of the same in D. Stoker, 'Anthony de Solempne: attributions to his press', *The Library*, 6th S., 3 (1981), pp. 17-32 (reduced: Plate I B, and slightly enlarged: fig. I).

⁹⁹ Benzing, op. cit. (n. 88), p. 101. Besides the *Spongia ebriosorum* of Petrus Bacherius of 1592 (*inter alia* in Amsterdam UL) mentioned there, he printed *Prophecien van twaelf Sybillen* in Emmerich in 1593 (Royal Library Brussels). In the same year there appeared, as far as we know, three editions with his new address in Utrecht.

New Testament is a work produced after the sale of the press and the substitution of most of the types he had had previously.¹⁰⁰

There is thus some uncertainty about the last phase of Augustijn's activity as a printer in Wesel. This is hardly surprising since almost the whole of his later life is unknown after the three years during which he worked for Hendrik Niclaes. In 1573 a final rift took place when he and a number of others left the Family of Love with Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt. The accounts of this episode in the *Chronika* are understandably coloured by the author's disappointment at what he could only regard as a betrayal of the good cause.¹⁰¹ It is consequently impossible to obtain an unprejudiced idea of the controversy and its background from his report.¹⁰² Everything points to the fact that, despite their long loyalty to the prophet, the two men could not accept the more recent developments in the sect. When, after a process of enlightenment of which an extensive allegorical description is given notably in *Acta HN*,¹⁰³ the prophet settled in Cologne,¹⁰⁴ he proceeded to insti-

¹⁰⁰ For this type see n. 62. The face displays François Guyot's long-tailed f and long s, his characteristic slanting st ligature and a Fractura W. It differs here from other founts of the type by containing two different lower case w's – besides the Bastarda form normal for this face also a w without upward projection, together with the particular feature that the capitals S and T stand well below the line.

¹⁰¹ *Chronika*, XLI-LIII. These largely unpublished texts were published in the edition of Familist manuscripts edited by Alastair Hamilton and mentioned in n. 5.

¹⁰² On this split, whereby HN lost various supporters who had been members of the Family of Love for years, see above all A. Hamilton, 'Hiël and the Hiëlists: The Doctrine and Followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 243-86 (pp. 251 ff.); Nippold, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 379 ff.

¹⁰³ *Acta HN*, cap. XXI and XXII. For an extensive summary, see Nippold, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 373 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Cologne was one of the towns which had opened its gates to fugitives from the Netherlands. For 1570 a number of about a thousand is mentioned (see Reu-Dubuque, art. cit. (n. 70), p. 125). In the summer of that year, however, a change in this tolerant attitude came about under pressure from the archbishop, Salentin von Isenburg, who had been elected in 1567, and the university. In July the magistracy issued an edict by which all foreigners were ordered to leave the town within a month unless they had lived there for over four years and could show that they had always fulfilled their obligations as Catholics. The order was repeated a year later. Because of these proscriptions hundreds of refugees went elsewhere, but the total number is unknown; see L.J.F. Janssen, 'Iets over de Nederlandche Hervormde vluchtelingen te Keulen, in 1570-1572', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis* (1848), pp. 265-72, and H.H.T. Stiasny, *Die strafrechtliche Verfolgung der Täufer in der Freien Reichsstadt Köln, 1529 bis 1618* (Münster 1962), pp. 66 ff. Severe measures were never taken, however, partly because of the insistence of the Protestant princes in the neighbouring territories and partly because the Council did not want to lose the often highly prosperous immigrants so important to the town's economy. As A.A. van Schelven says in *De Nederduitse vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland* ('s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 267 ff., it was possible to remain provided one was unobtrusive. This cannot have been much of a problem for Hendrik Niclaes,

tutionalize the Family of Love, which had hitherto been a symbolical name for his movement. While he had lived in Emden with his family and, after the death of his wife in 1560, had first lodged for a few years with a friend in Kampen and had then stayed with one of his sons in Rotterdam, he now founded a colony of followers under his own leadership and that of a few ‘mede-olders’ or fellow elders, mainly men of an advanced age – he himself was then almost seventy years old. After a time a stricter form of organization seemed necessary and this led to more stringent regulations for the community and a greater interference in the personal life of its members. As HN grew older he became increasingly fanciful and devised a hierarchical form of administration which seems more suited to a Church with many thousands of devotees than to his own small group of followers.¹⁰⁵ Besides the tensions caused by his diminishing sense of reality and by the problems which such social situations nearly always produce, a series of ensuing religious differences induced a number of his supporters to turn against him and leave the sect. This loss of faith in the infallibility of the leader, which coincided with a decline of his intellectual and physical faculties and the diminution of his charismatic powers of persuasion, can only be read between the lines in the *Chronika*, but the account contains various unintentional hints to this effect which hardly admit any other interpretation. This, however, is not the place in which to go into the matter more deeply.

To quit HN’s employment must have been a difficult decision for Augustijn: he even travelled to Antwerp in order to discuss the step with Plantin – an intermediary on the occasion of his previous return to Hendrik Niclaes – and to ask his advice. As the cause of his departure the *Chronika* mentions a feeling of resentment both about his work and about his income and this is interpreted as a sign of his excessive ambition.¹⁰⁶ Such an attitude on the part of the chronicler may be understandable, but the

since it corresponded to his own attitude towards the outside world.

¹⁰⁵ The system of the organization is described in *Ordo Sacerdotis. De Ordeningen des priesterlicken States in dem Hu[e]sgesinne der Liefsten, also H. N. [...] geschreven [...]*. This manuscript precedes *Acta HN. De Gescheften HN.*, composed by Zacharias, one of the ‘mede-olders’, now preserved in the Library of the Society for Dutch Literature (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in Leiden UL, under shelf-mark LTK 621. For the full title and further data see Nippold, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 327 ff., and for surveys of the system *ibid.*, pp. 549 ff., and Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 5), pp. 57 ff. (‘probably written in the last years of the prophet’s life’). How few members the colony had emerges from some representations coming from the Family of Love itself: illustrations to *Exhortatio. De eerste Vormaninge HN to syne Kinderen* (s.l. [Cologne], 1573); De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 13), p. 195, no. 31. For reproductions of the woodcuts see *idem*, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 264, and *idem*, ‘Une œuvre de jeunesse de Hendrick Goltzius? Den doolhof van de dwalende gheesten’, *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena* (Amsterdam 1969), pp. 70–3, illus. 2–4 (on p. 286).

¹⁰⁶ Or, as Nippold puts it: ‘Beide [Barrefelt and Augustijn] wollen nicht hinreichend geachtet – und bezahlt worden sein; deshalb erklären sie die im Hause der Liebe eingerichteten Ordnun-

information is not altogether correct, for, besides the general complaints mentioned, Augustijn's dissatisfaction was due to valid personal reasons. In the long course of the revision of HN's works no actual printing was performed. Only one small book by the prophet, *De spro[e]ken* HN, a collection of his sayings probably collected by his followers, was issued in these years as the latest of his writings.¹⁰⁷ But that was in 1570, and since then Augustijn had had to devote himself to a series of secretarial activities which, for a man with his love of printing, could not have afforded him the satisfaction of the typographical work he had been promised. That probably also entailed a financial cut, but this was neither his nor Barrefelt's primary concern. Despite generous concessions on this point – HN was even prepared to double Augustijn's wages – they both decided, at an advanced age, to give up a presumably secure livelihood in the Family of Love. After his departure, Augustijn soon managed to earn his living in another way: when various kindred spirits came from Holland in an endeavour to repair the rift, his wife told them that her husband had become a needle manufacturer and was selling his wares abroad. He had still not returned a week later. The report is less implausible than it might seem for, as a typographer, Augustijn may have learned to cast type and thus probably had some experience as a metal worker.

After this it is almost twenty years before we hear about Augustijn again. Then, at the end of 1591, Barrefelt, who had been treading in HN's footsteps since the prophet's death and some of whose books, signed with the name of Hiël, had been printed by Plantin, wrote to Plantin's son-in-law and successor, Jan Mourentorff (Moretus), to say that Augustijn had secretly set up a small printing shop with a single press and was in the process of printing a few of his works.¹⁰⁸ Augustijn thus

gen für verderblich', art. cit. (n. 5), p. 385. For a discussion of the split as a schism on ideological grounds, see Hamilton, art. cit. (n. 102), pp. 243–86 (pp. 251 ff.).

¹⁰⁷ *De Spro[e]ken* HN, die he, in de dagen syner oldtheit [...] am dach gegeven heft (s.l. [Cologne, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1570); De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 13), p. 196, no. 40; C. Borchling & B. Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, vols. 1–3 (Neumünster 1931–57; repr. 1976), no. 2018*. This collection of 'proverbes which hee, in the dayes of his olde-age, hath set-fourth', as the title of the English translation runs (De la Fontaine Verwey, no. 42), is the only work by Hendrik Niclaes, apart from the reprints, to appear after 1561/2. The nature of this collection of brief utterances and the reference to his great age on the title-page make one suppose that the book was compiled by others.

¹⁰⁸ In a letter of 2 December 1591, published by A. Hamilton, 'Seventeen letters from Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt (Hiël) to Jan Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 57 (1979), pp. 62–127, Letter VII (pp. 99 f.): '... nu int secret tegen u l geseijt so is den varuwer geweest de u I seer wel kent augustijn genamt de dus in stilheit ein cleinne varuwerij heeft van ein kup. desen sulve laat u I vragen ofte u I dus niet wat te varuwen en hadt voer hem dat gij toch in de mis tot franckevoert sendet [...] augustijn de meint idt solde u I beeter koop wesen int geenne dat gij up franckevoert wilt senden, ofte gij idt bij u laet varuwen ...' The writer prudently transposes his terminology into that of the textile industry, so that 'varuwer' – a dyer of cloth – must be taken to mean 'printer' and 'kup'

lived to a ripe old age, but we know nothing about his career in the intervening years.

In his letters Barrefelt talks about three books being completed and says that some others have yet to be printed. Only one of these works has actually come to light: Hiël's *Van de verborghen eewicheit Christi*, which, together with two smaller tracts added at the end, covers 18 quires. Barrefelt wrote about an edition of this size on 5 April 1592.¹⁰⁹ At about this time Augustijn may also have printed Hiël's *Een geestelike reyse eens jongelincks, na het landt van Vreden*, apparently the original edition of one of his better known works.¹¹⁰ Both books appeared without any date or address and are printed with identical typefaces too widely used for any conclusions about their provenance to be drawn. What is certain is that the works are not printed with material from the Bohmbargen press which in 1573–80 issued the reprints of HN's works. No copies are known of two other publications mentioned by Barrefelt: his interpretation of the Apocalypse and the second part of his *Sendt-brieven*.¹¹¹

to mean 'printer's press'. Augustijn was thus still, or again, active as a printer and even wanted to know whether the *Officina* had any printing orders for him for books which had to be issued for the Frankfurt Fair.

¹⁰⁹ [Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)], *Van de verborghen Eewicheit Christi [...] Oock: Een eeuwich Testament dat de Siel (tot Over-ghevinghe van heur-selven) mettet Wesen Godts maecket [...] Ende: Een klaer Onderscheidt tuschen de Leeringe ende Vruchten van dem wesentlicken Gheest Christi ...* (s.l. [Cologne, Augustijn van Hasselt, 1592], 8°); cf. Hamilton, art. cit. (n. 108), Letter IX, pp. 104 ff.; M. Sabbe, 'Les rapports entre B. Arias Montanus et H. Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)', *De Gulden Passer*, 4 (1926), pp. 19–43 (pp. 26 f., with 3 reproductions); the same in Dutch in *id.*, *De Moretussen en hun kring* (Antwerpen 1928), pp. 27–51.

¹¹⁰ [Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël)], *Een geestelike reyse eens jongelincks, na het landt van Vreden, om daer wesentlijck in Godt inne te leven [...] Met sommighe Spreucken [...] Oock een gheestelijcke Twee-spraec* ... (s.l. [Cologne, Augustijn van Hasselt, c.1592?], 8vo) – BT, op. cit. (n. 51), vol. 2 (Nieuwkoop 1977–80), no. 5162. The Mennonite Library (on loan to Amsterdam UL) contains a further edition with the title *Een geestelyke reyse eens jonghelincks, nae het landt van Vreden ...*, which ends with an extensive poem, seven pages long, entitled 'Een onderwysinge, hoe dat een Christelycke pilgerim alhier syne pilgrimacie op den wech Christi wandelen sal'. This reprint probably dates from the early seventeenth century. A third edition, this time in 12mo, was offered for sale in G. van Rijn's *Catalogus eener belangrijke verzameling kinderboeken, kinderspelen en kinderprenten* (Utrecht 1883), no. 572: *Een geestelike reijse eens jonghelincks, na het landt van Vreden ...* The present location of this copy is unknown, so it is impossible to establish whether the suggested date (c.1600) is correct. If we are to judge by the format (12mo) it seems too early. For the French translation published by Plantin almost ten years earlier, *Voyage spirituel d'un iouvenceau, vers la terre de Paix*, see J.-F. Maillard, 'Christophe Plantin et la Famille de la Charité en France: Documents et hypothèses', *Mélanges sur la littérature de la Renaissance, à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier* (Genève 1984), pp. 235–53 (pp. 240 ff., with reprod.).

¹¹¹ In his letter of 5 April 1592 Barrefelt announced the imminent publication of 'den apoca' (in a later letter 'apo'), which refers to his (Hiël's) *Verklaringe der Openbaringe Johannes in het ware wezen Jesu Christi* (to quote the title of the 3rd edn. of 1703). A French translation of this tract had already been published by Plantin; see Maillard, art. cit. (n. 110), pp. 240 ff. (with reprod.): *Declaration de la Revelation de S. Jean*. In the same letter Barrefelt mentions the publication of a 'stuck' of '46 bogen

CONCLUSION

Augustijn's activity as a printer for Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes remains the only period of his existence which can be studied in some detail. As a printer and publisher he produced considerably more in those years than has hitherto been suspected. In those publications he proves himself a typographer whose work from a technical and typographical point of view is superior to that of most of his contemporaries in the Low Countries. To what extent he should be regarded primarily as a member of the Family of Love, as he has been hitherto, seems open to discussion. He served Hendrik Niclaes in various capacities and obviously felt at home in that circle for many years – but he also abandoned the prophet on more than one occasion. The list of his publications does not display any preference for authors who were part of the 'Radical Reformation', for what he printed for Hendrik Niclaes in Kampen was commissioned by HN from a press which had been especially set up for the purpose. When working independently in Wesel he first published a few Lutheran books, followed by more generally Protestant ones which did not represent a specific confessional line but did indeed, on the whole, display an irenical or unionistic tendency.

We may well wonder, however, whether and to what extent the choice of these works as objects of publication entails any consequences concerning his personal religious convictions, and we should not forget that his publications include a book which is emphatically directed against sects and their supporters. Augustijn's place in the spiritual world of the Family of Love is therefore not entirely clear. To what extent was he, as a salaried collaborator of HN, also a convinced follower of his doctrine? The question must remain open, but we now know that it was not only Hendrik Niclaes who played an important part in his life, but that the relationship with Plantin also had a strong influence on his career. What is uncertain is whether he had a hand in the later Cologne editions of HN's works, which appeared under the name of the presumably fictitious Niclaes Bohmbargen. Their strikingly good layout and press-work compared with other books produced in Cologne at the time make it at least possible that he had some share in producing them. But quite apart from this, Augustijn van Hasselt deserves to be regarded as one of the finest printers of his time in the Low Countries. Even if this acknowledgement has come a little late our knowledge of his work contributes to a better idea of the clandestine activities of our printers in the turbulent years in which the Dutch started their war of independence.

unde ein halve, unde is idt anderde deel van sent brijven'. This would seem to refer to a sequel to the *Sendt-brieven* published by Plantin in Leiden in 1583 (Voet *PP* 629). We only know the text in the German translation which appeared in Amsterdam in 1687. See Hamilton, art. cit. (n. 108), p. 105.

A LIST OF EDITIONS PRINTED BY AUGUSTIJN VAN HASSELT

Roman types:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | Canon, | Garamont, Gros Canon romain | (280 mm; <i>Index</i> 16) |
| 2 | Two-line Great
Primer, | Granjon, Petit Canon romain | (190 mm; <i>Index</i> 17) |
| 3 . | Double Pica, | Garamont, Vraye Parangonne romaine | (130 mm; <i>Index</i> 20) |
| 4. | Great Primer, | Garamont, Gros Romain romain | (116 mm; <i>Index</i> 22) |
| 5. | Pica, | Garamont, Mediane romaine | (82 mm; <i>Index</i> 26) |
| 6. | Long Primer, | Garamont, Petit Romain romain | (67 mm; <i>Index</i> 31) |
| 7. | Brevier, | Garamont, Bible (Breviaire) romaine | (54 mm; <i>Index</i> 35). |

Italic:

- | | | | |
|----|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 8. | Long Primer, | Granjon, Garamonde cursive première | (67 mm; <i>Index</i> 32) |
|----|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|

Textura:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 9. | Two-line Great
Primer, | Vostre, Canon, Vervliet T 3 | (220 mm; not in <i>Index</i>) |
| 10. | Great Primer, | (French), T 12, | (115 mm; not in <i>Index</i>) |
| 11. | Pica, | Lettersnijder, Mediaen T 30 | (78 mm; not in <i>Index</i>) |
| 12. | Small Pica, | (‘Parisian’) T 41 | (70 mm; <i>Index</i> 43) |
| 13. | Bourgeois, | <i>idem</i> T 43 | (62 mm; <i>Index</i> 44) |
| 14. | Nonpareil, | Ameet Tavernier T 51 | (40 mm; <i>Index</i> 45) |

Capitals:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---------------------------|
| 15. | ‘Grosses capitales romaines extraordinaires’, Garamont | (14.5 mm; <i>Index</i> 1) |
|-----|--|---------------------------|

(V 1) (Guy de Brès], *Remonstrance et supplication* ([Vianen, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

REMONSTRANCE | ET SUPPLICATION DE CEVS DE | l’Eglise reformée de la Ville de
| Valencenes, | SUR LE MANDEMENT DE | son Altesse, fait contre eus le 14. jour | de
Decembre, 1566. | A Messeigneurs les Cheualiers de | l’Ordre. IMPRIME EN L’AN |
M.D.LXVII. – a[1] with heading: REQUESTE DE CEVS | DE L’EGLISE REFORMEE DE |
Valencenes, aus Seigneurs & Gentilshom | mes confederez, pour presenter leur Re
| monstrance & Supplication à Messeigneurs | les Cheualiers de l’ordre du Conseil
d’estat.

8vo. 14 unnumbered leaves. *Collation:* A⁸, B⁴, a². Size: 116:65 mm.

Types: 3, 5, 6.

Copies: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM); Brussels, Royal Library (KBR) (2x);
Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL; Paris, Bibl. de la Société d’histoire du protestantisme; Valenci-

ennes, Bibl. de l'Eglise reformée.

(V 2) [Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde], *Vraye narration* ([Vianen, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

VRAYE | NARRATION ET APOLOGIE DES CHOSES passées au Pays-bas, touchant le
| Fait de la Religion, en l'An, | M.D.LXVI. | PAR CEUS QUI FONT PRO | fession de la
Religion reformée au | dit Pays. | IMPRIME EN L' AN, | M.D.LXVII.

8vo. 72 unnumbered leaves, last two blank. *Collation*: A-I⁸. Size: 120:65 mm.

Types: 3, 5, 6.

Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Antwerp, PMM; Brussels, KBR (2x); Ghent, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB) (Knuttel 150); Leiden, UL; London, British Library (BL); Oxford, Bibl. Bodleiana.

(W 1) François Alardts, *Een heerlicke troostbrief* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt, 1567])
EEN HEERLICKE | Troostbrief, van des Menschen | Leuen ende VVesen: | Waer
wt een yeghelyck Mensche ende | Christen hem leeren kennen mach | wat | hy Is
| ende wat hy Vermach: ende | wat Christus Is | Wat wy door Hem | hebben ende
vermoghén: Ende waer | door dat Cruys her compt | ende ons | op gheleyt wordt:
ende hoe hem hier in | een Christen troosten sal. | Door François Alardts. | Rom.
3. | [6 lines]. — At end: Den Eersten Octob. Anno 1567. François Alardt.

8vo. 48 unnumbered leaves, last blank. *Collation*: A-F⁸. Size: 105:64 mm.

Types: 3, 5, 12.

Copies: Antwerp, Stadsarchief; Brussels, KBR; London, BL.

(W 2) Petrus Bloccius, *Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

Meer dan | Tvvee hondert ketteryen, blasphemien, en[de] nieuwe | leeringen, vvel-
ck vvt de Misse zyn | ghecomen: | Eerst van Petro Bloccio School-meester te | Ley-
den in Latyn ghemaect, daer nae in | Duytsch voor slechte menschen ouerghe |
sett, op datse moghen vveten dat de Paus | sche-kerck een fonteyn is van allen kette-
| ryen onder decksels van heylicheyt. | [2 lines] Marci 12. | M.D.LXVII.

8vo. 367 numbered pp. *Collation*: A-Z⁸. Size: 113:65 mm + marginalia.

Types: 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15.

Copies: Amsterdam, UL and Mennonite Library (on loan to UL); Ghent, UL (2x), Leiden, UL; The Hague, KB; Utrecht, UL. The name of the translator appears from the postscript 'Tot den Leser' (pp. 366-7) which is signed Jacob Pieters.

(W 3) [Urbanus Rhegius], *Catechismus* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

CATECHISMUS, | Dat is: | Die Kinder-Leere: | Vergadert wt de heylyghe Schrift |
ende wt de oude | Doctoren der heylicher Kercken: | Te weten: | Athanasius, Cypri-

anus, | Cyrillus, Chrysostomus, | Basilius Magnus, Augustinus, | Hieronymus, Ambrosius, | Theophilactus, Ireneus, | Ruffinus, Tertullianus, | Origenes, Eusebius. &c. | Marc. 10. | [2 lines] Coloss. 3. | [1 line] | Psalm. 119. | [2 lines] | M.D.LXVII.

4to. 4 unnumbered leaves, 53 numbered leaves, 1 unnumbered leaf. *Collation*: *⁴ A-M⁴ N⁶. Size: 157:95 mm + marginalia.

Types: 1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 15.

Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Ghent, UL; Hanover, Stadtbibliothek (in 1935).

(W 4) Erasmus, *Een Christelijcke noodtwendige Clage* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

Een | Christelijcke noodt | vwendige Clage des Vreedts, | die in allen Natien onder alle volc | ken verdreuen ende ver | vvorpen is: Eerst door Erasmum Roterodamum inden La | tijt beschreuen, ende nv neerstelijck in de | Neder-landtsche Tale ouergeset: allen men | schen heden-daechs nut ende profijtelijck. | 1. Cor. 3. 2. Cor. 6. Apoc. 21. | [3 lines] | Ioan. 15. | [4 lines] | M.D.LXVII.

4to. 4 unnumbered leaves (preface by M.T., dated 25 September 1567), 24 numbered leaves, last blank. *Collation*: †, A-F⁴. Size: 157:95 mm + marginalia.

Types: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15. Initial W on f. 1. Ornament on title.

Copies: Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL (Bibliotheca Thysiana).

(W 5) Erasmus, *Van de eendrachticheyt der Kercken* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

Van de Eendrachtic | heyt der Kercken, ende ghe | loouige Ghemeynschap te verkrijgen: | Ende | Van de Tvveedrachticheyt | der Opinien neder te leggen: | Met sommighe andere Materien, seer | schoone om lesen. | Ghemaect door den Eervveerdighen | Erasmum van Rotterdam. | M.D.LXVII. F. 38 ff.: Een Ghebet aen onsen Heere Jesum Christum, voor Vrede der Kercken.

4to. 40 numbered leaves. *Collation*: A-K⁴. Size: 157:95 mm + marginalia.

Types: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 15. Ornament on title.

Copies: Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL (Bibliotheca Thysiana).

(W 6) *Geschiedenisse aengaende t' feyt der religien* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

Geschiedenisse aengaende t' feyt der Religien, gebeurt t' Antwerpen | Int Iaer van | M.D.LXVI. | Ghedruckt int Iaer ons Heeren, | M.D.LXVII.

8vo. 52 unnumbered leaves. *Collation*: A-F⁸, G⁴. Size: 112:64 mm.

Types: 1, 2, 4, 5, 12.

Copies: Delft, Prinsenhof; Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL (title wanting).

(W 7) *Recueil des choses* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt, 1567])

RECVEIL | DES CHOSESAD | VENVES EN ANVERS, | TOVCHANT LE FAIT | DE LA RE-

LIGION, | EN L' AN | M.D.LXVI.

8vo. 48 unnumbered leaves. *Collation*: A-F⁸. Size: 112:64 mm.

Types: 2, 4, 5, 8.

Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek and PMM; Brussels, KBR; Dublin, Trinity College; The Hague, KB (Knuttel 142); London, BL; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).

(W 8) *Een troostelicke sendtbrief* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt, 1567])

EEN TROOSTELICKE | Sendtbrief aen de Christen Ghemeynte der | reynder Be-
kentenisse | vanden Edelen Wij | gaert [*sic*] onses Heeren Jesu Christi | doer syn
| Goddelijck Woordt gheplantet | binnen Antwerpen: | Doer | C.D.W. | 1. Tim. 4.
Heb. 3. | [7 lines]. – At end: Den 29. Nouembris | 1567. | By al uwen goetwillighen
| Dienaer | C.D.W.

8vo. 32 numbered leaves. *Collation*: A-D⁸. Size: 113:63 mm.

Types: 4, 5, 6, 12, 13.

Copies: Antwerp, Stadsarchief; Brussels, KBR.

(W 9) *De somme van de leere der Sacramenten* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

De Somme van | de leere der Sacramen- | ten, ghelyck sy inde gereformeerde |
Kercken van Neder-landt | gheleert wert: | Item, vvat de Oude-vaders ende de
Aus- | burgsche Confessie hier van gevoelen. | Item, vvat men van den Hemel ende
Rech- | ter handt Gods behoort te gevoelen na | de heylige Schrifture. | Ghedruckt
Int Iaer van | M.D.LXVII.

8vo. 56 numbered pp. *Collation*: A-C⁸, D⁴. Size: 113:65 mm. + marginalia.

Types: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15. Initial W on p. 3.

Copy: Utrecht, UL.

(W 10) *Het Nieuwe Testament* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

Het Nieuuwe | Testament. | Dat is: | Het Nieuuwe Ver- | bondt onses Heeren | IESV
CHRISTI. | In Neder-duytsch na de Grieksche waerheyt ouer-gesett. | Nu weder-
om ouer-sien ende verbeteret. | 2. Timoth. 3.16. | [5 lines] | M.D.LXVII.

8vo. 12 unnumbered leaves (Register), 448 numbered leaves, 8 unnumbered leaves
(Table). *Collation*: *⁸, **⁴, A-Z⁸, a-z⁸, Aa-Kk⁸, †⁸. Size: 123:58 mm + marginalia.

Types: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, (Vianen: 9, 10, 11), 12, 13, 14, 15.

Copy: Ghent, UL.

Printed in Vianen: A-Z⁸, a⁸, f-z⁸, Aa-Ee⁸; in Wesel: *⁸, **⁴, b-e⁸, Ff-Kk⁸, †⁸.

(W 11) *De Psalmen Davids* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1568)

DE PSALMEN | DAVIDS, | ENDE ANDER LOF- | SANGHEN: | Wt den Françoischen
Dichte, in Ne- | derlandtschen ouergesett, | Doer | PETRVM DATHENVM. | METS-

GADERS DEN | Christelicken Catechismo, Cere- | monien, ende Ghebeden. | Iacobi
5.b.13. | [3 lines] | Ghedruckt, Anno 1568.

12mo. 240 unnumbered and 72 numbered leaves. *Collation*: A-V¹², a-f¹². Size: 84:50 mm.
Types: 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, and music on 6,5 mm. The Catechismus part has a separate title-
page and foliation.

Copies: Brussels, KBR; Trier, Stadtbibliothek.

(W 12) *Een schoone Christelijcke waerschouwinghe, door L. P.* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Has-
selt], 1568)

EEN SCHOONE | Christelijcke Vvaerschou- | vvinghe, | Om alle grouwelicke ende
verdoemelicke | Dwalinghen | ofte Secten (waer door | in deser ghevaerlicker Tijdt
| veele een- | voudighe Christen Jam- merlicken ver- | voert worden) te schouwen:
| Gheschreuen tot Dienste aller eenvou- | digher Christen: | Door, | L.P. | Christus
seyt: | [4 lines.] Johan 8. d. 31. 32. | M.D.LXVIII.

8vo. 96 numbered leaves, last blank. *Collation*: A-M⁸. Size: 108:64 mm + marginalia.

Types: 3, 4, 5, 7, 12, 15.

Copies: Amsterdam, Mennonite Library (on loan to UL); The Hague, KB; London,
BL.

(W 13) William of Orange, *Verantwoordinge* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], April
1568)

DE VERANT | WOORDINGE DES | Princen van Oraengien, teghen de val | sche loge-
nen, daer mede sijn Weder | sprekers hem soecken t'on | rechte te beschul | dighen.
| Het begrijp der stucken daer in ghe | vuecht | ende de Tafel der Hooft | stucken
daer verhaelt | zijn | ghestelt op d'ander | zijde. | PSALM 37. | [5 lines] | Gheprint
in April, Anno 1568.

8vo. 4 unnumbered leaves, 215 numbered pp. *Collation*: §⁴, A-N⁸, O⁴. Size: 105:58 mm +
marginalia.

Types: 2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15.

Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); Antwerp, Stadsarchief; Brussels, KBR; Delft, Prinsenhof;
Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB (Knuttel 160); London, BL.

(W 14) William of Orange, *Justification* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], April 1568)

LA IVSTIFI- | CATION DV PRIN | ce d'Oranges, contre les faulx | blasmes, que ses
Calumniatcurs | taschent à luy imposer | à tort. | LE SOMMAIRE DES PIECES | y
contenues, ensemble la Table des princi- | pales matieres, sont mis à lautre costé. |
Psalm 37. | [3 lines] | Imprimé au moys d'Apuril, | Anno 1568.

8vo. 4 unnumbered leaves, 136 numbered pp. *Collation* §⁴, A-H⁸ I⁴. Size: 105:58 mm +
marginalia.

Types: 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 15.

Copies: Amsterdam, Library Free University (FrUL); Antwerp, Stadsarchief and PMM; Dublin, Trinity College Library; Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB (Knuttel 159) and Museum Meermanno; Leiden, UL; London, BL.

(W 15) *Dat Nieuwe Testament* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1569)

DAT NIEVWE | Testament onses Heeren | Iesu Christi. | Heb. 10.b.16. | [7 lines] | Ioan. 5.d.39 | [2 lines] | M.D.LXIX. At end: Ghedruckt int Jaer | Duysent | Vijf | hondert | Negenentsestich. | BEATIUS DARE QUAM ACCIPERE.

16mo. 304 numbered and 8 unnumbered leaves. *Collation:* A-Z⁸, Aa-Pp⁸, [*]⁸. Size: 80:48 mm + marginalia.

Types: 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14.

Copies: Amsterdam, Bijbelmuseum; Leiden, UL; London, BL.

(W 16) [Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus (pseud.)], *Historie van de Spaensche Inquisitie* ([Wesel, Augustyn van Hasselt], 1569)

HISTORIE | VANDE SPAENSCHER | INQUISITIE: | Wtgesteld door Exempelen | op datmen die te | beter in dese laetste tijden verstaen mach. | Wt het Françoys in onser Nederduytscher | Talen ouergesett, | Door | I.D.R. | PSALM 14. | [2 lines] | ESAIE, CAP. 59. VERS 6.7. | [9 lines] | M.D.LXIX.

8vo. 301 numbered pp., 5 unnumbered leaves. *Collation:* A-T⁸, V⁴. Size: 106:63 mm.

Types: 4, 5, 6 and Tavernier's Small Pica Textura (Vervliet T 39).

Copies: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; The Hague, Museum Meermanno; Leiden, UL (incomplete); New York, Hispanic Society; Utrecht, UL.

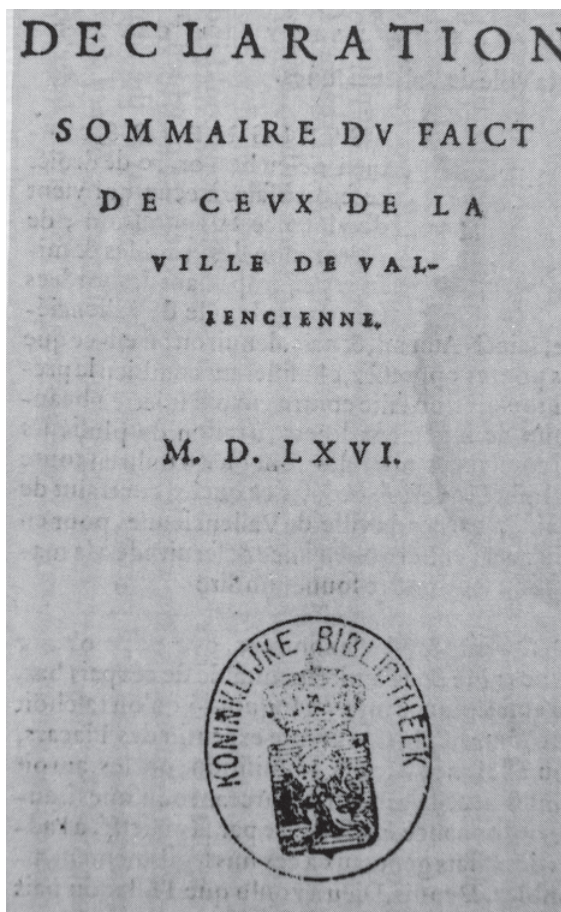
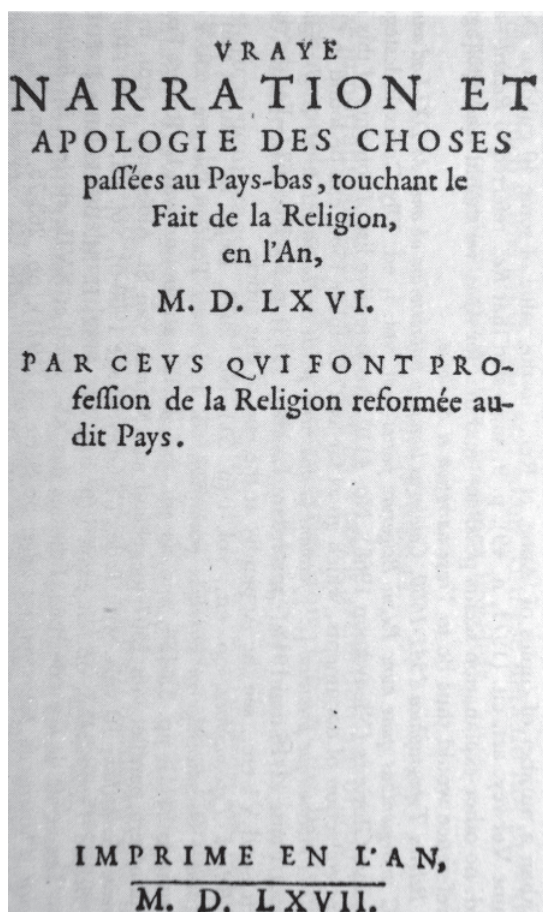
(W 17) *Het Nieuwe Testament* ([Wesel?, Augustijn van Hasselt?], 1569)

Het Nieuwe | Testament. | Dat is: | Het nieuwe Verbont onses Heeren Iesu Christi. | In Nederduytsche | na der Griecscher | waerheyt ouergeset. | Met de Annotatien August. Marlorati | aldereerst | ouergheset wt de Francschoysche [*sic*] inde Nederduytsche Sprake. | [device: Alle boom, etc.] | Ghedruckt int Jaer 1569.

8vo. 390 (*recte*: 391) numbered and 13 unnumbered leaves. *Collation:* A-Z⁸, Aa-Zz⁸, Aaa-Ccc⁸, *⁸, †⁸. Size: 130-4:55 mm + marginalia; Register: 76 mm.

Types: 9, 13, Tavernier's Small Pica Textura (T 39) and Van den Keere's Minion Textura (T 50).

Copy: Amsterdam, UL.



I

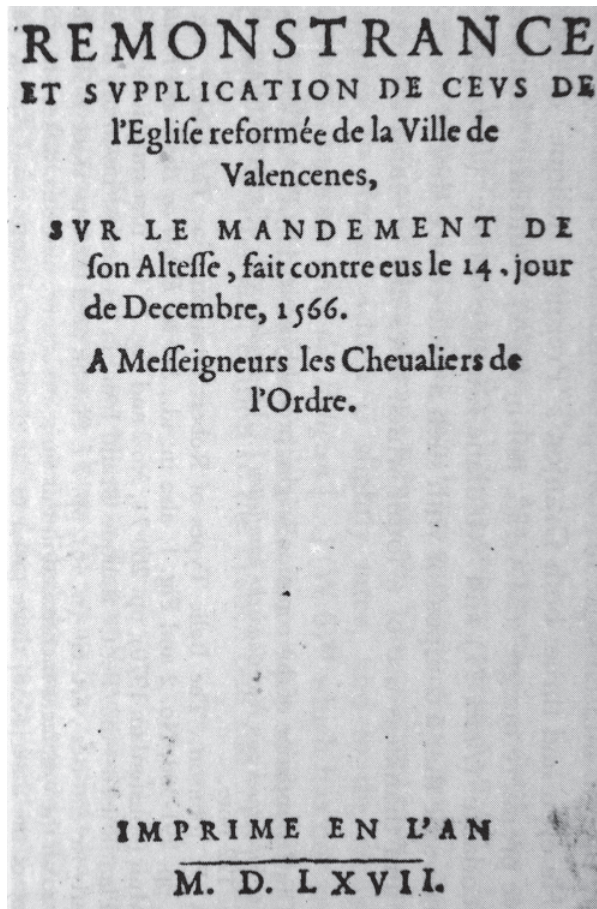
[P. van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde?] *Vraye narration* ... ([Vianen, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

Types: Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne', Pica and Long Primer
(Scan from the original publication)

2

[Guy de Brès] *Declaration sommaire* ... ([Antwerp, Christopher Plantin?], 1566)

Types: Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne' and Pica, with small capitals; Haultin's 'Philosophie' and 'Coronelle romaine'
(Scan from the original publication)



Dieu, sont recogneus pour membres de nostre Eglise, & admis à la sainte Cene, sans que personne face autre abjuration. Or de ceste remonstrance & exhortation que font les Ministres, nous auons plusieurs exemples & passages notables aus Escritures saintes. Et quant à la declaration des autres de leur bõne volonté, ce n'est autre chose qu'un rafraichissement de ce qu'on a promis pour nous en nostre Baptesme, à sçauoir de renoncer au diable, à ses œuvres & pompes.

6. Mais nous sommes sur tout esmerueillez en quelle conscience aucuns ont osé donner à entendre à son Altesse, & luy faire publier au nom de sa M. par l'aduis de son conseil, que nos Ministres, comme porte le Mandement, feroient faire serment à ceux qui veulent communiquer à la sainte Cene du Seigneur, de persecuter, nuire & endomager par tous moÿs à eus possibles ceux de l'Eglise Romaine: Si on en trouue vn seul qui ait esté requis de faire vn tel ou semblable sermēt ou promesse, nous sommes contēs d'estre punis, comme ayans fait chose scandaleuse, intolerable, seditieuse, & trejdangerense, selon qu'est cõtenu audit Mandement. Mais tout au contraire, ceux qui ont oui leurs prediciōs & prieres publiques, sçauēt le deuoir qu'ils font, de prier Dieu pour les pources ignorans, & en general pour ceus, desquels ils ont esté & sont encore persecutez: cōme aussi Iesus Christ nous enseigne & admoneste.

3

[Guy de Brès] *Remonstrance et supplication* ... ([Vianen, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567)

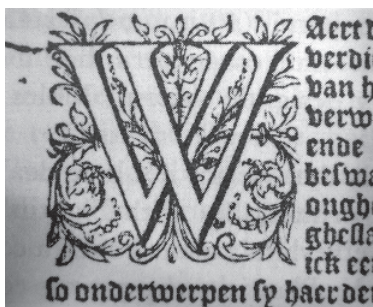
Types: Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne', Pica and Long Primer

(Scan from the original publication)

4

[Guy de Brès] *Remonstrance* ... f. A5recto. Types: Garamont's Pica and Granjon's first Long Primer ('La Granjonne')

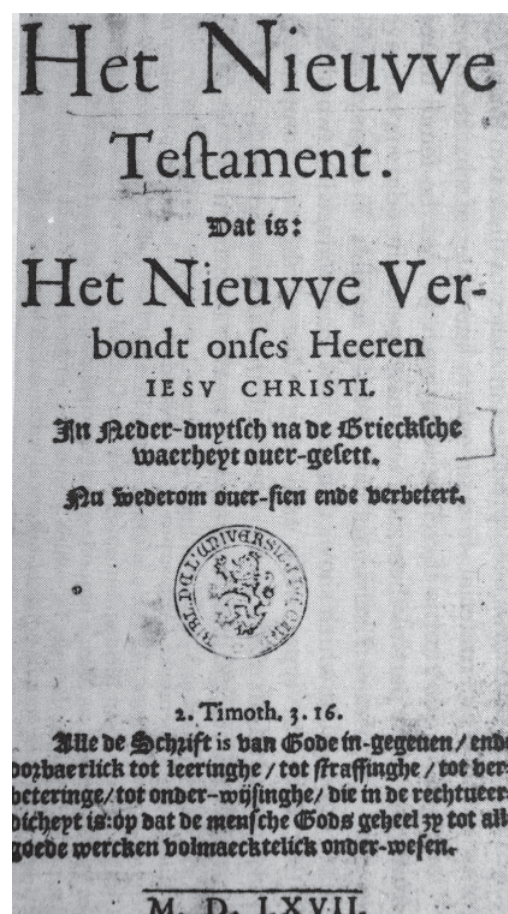
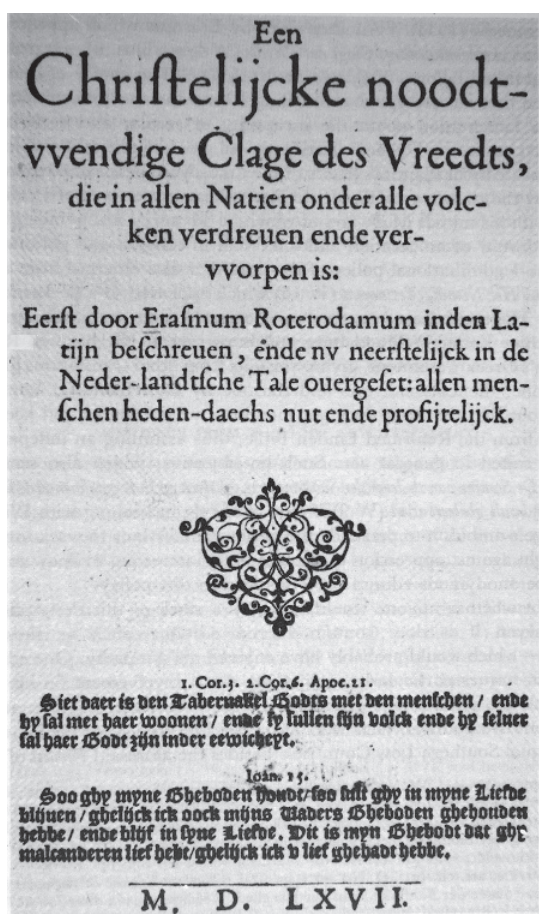
(Scan from the original publication)



5

The only woodcut initial Augustijn van Hasselt used at Wesel. Reproduced from Erasmus' *Een Christelijckee nootwendige Clage des Vreedts* "W4", f. A[I]recto.

(Scan from the original publication)

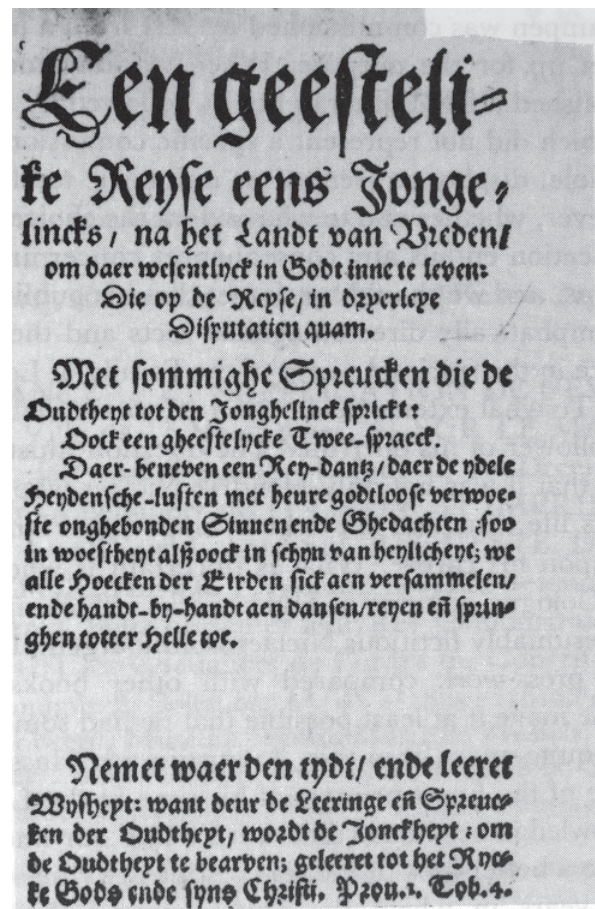
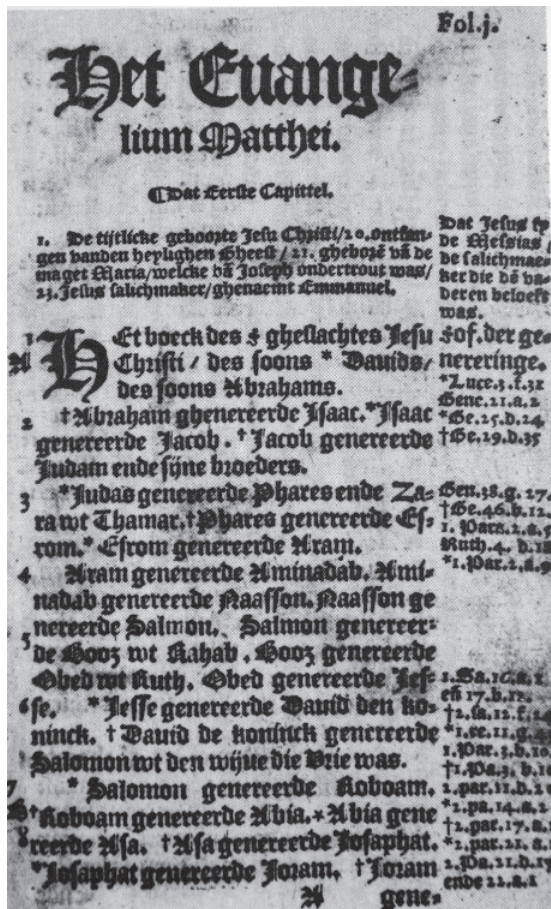


6

Erasmus. *Een christelijcke noodtwendige Clage des Vreedts* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567), W 4. Types: Garamont's 'Gros Canon', 'Vraye Parangonne', Great Primer and Long Primer; Granjon's 'Petit Canon Romain'; Parisian Textura on Small Pica (Scan from the original publication)

7

Het Nieuwe Testament ([Wesel (and Vianen), Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567), W 10. Types: Garamont's 'Gros Canon', Great Primer, Pica and Long Primer; Granjon's 'Petit Canon Roman'; Parisian Textura on Small Pica and on Bourgeois (Scan from the original publication)

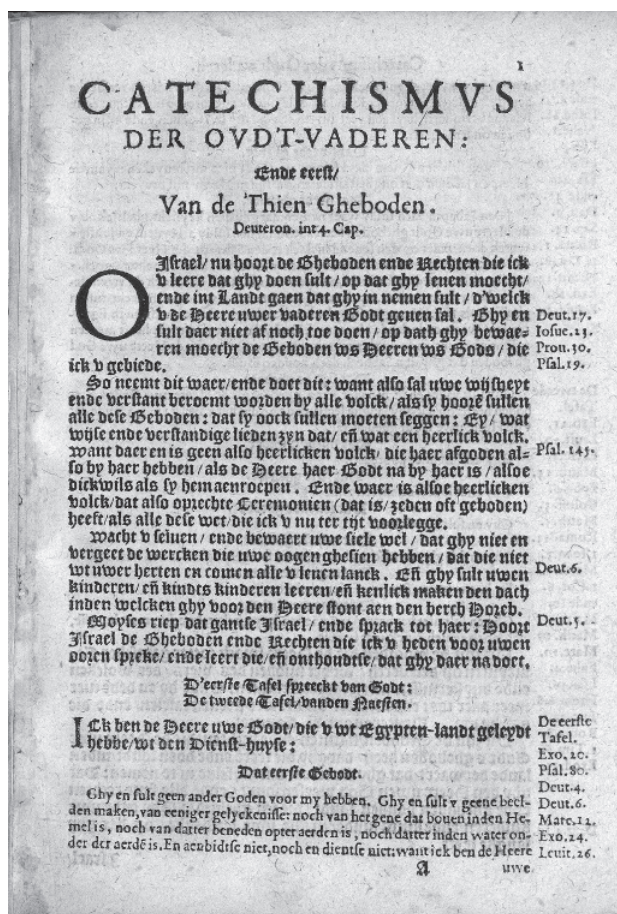
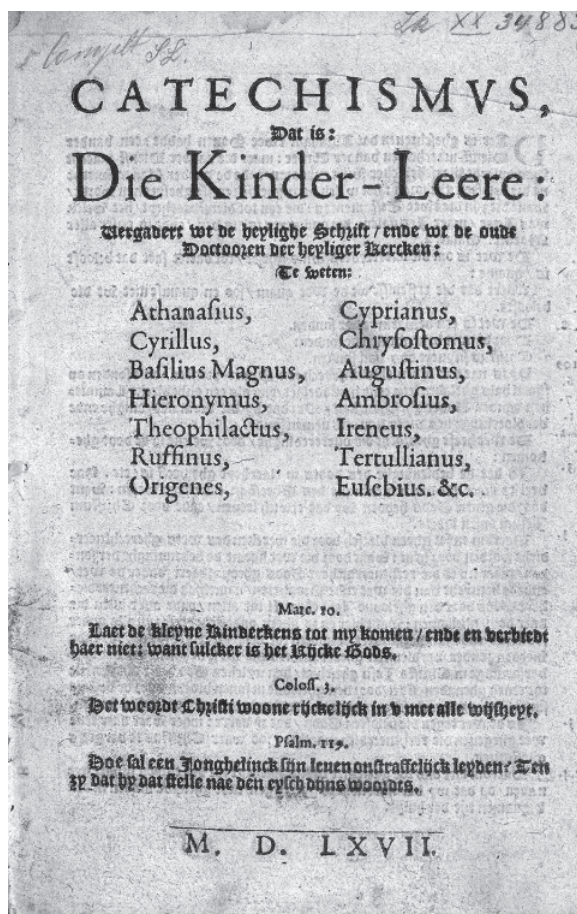


8

Het Nieuwe Testament, f. A[I]recto, printed at Vianen. Types (according to Vervliet's nomenclature): Vostre's two-line Great Primer Textura, French Great Primer Textura, Lettersnijder's Pica Textura, and Parisian Textura on Brevier
(Scan from the original publication)

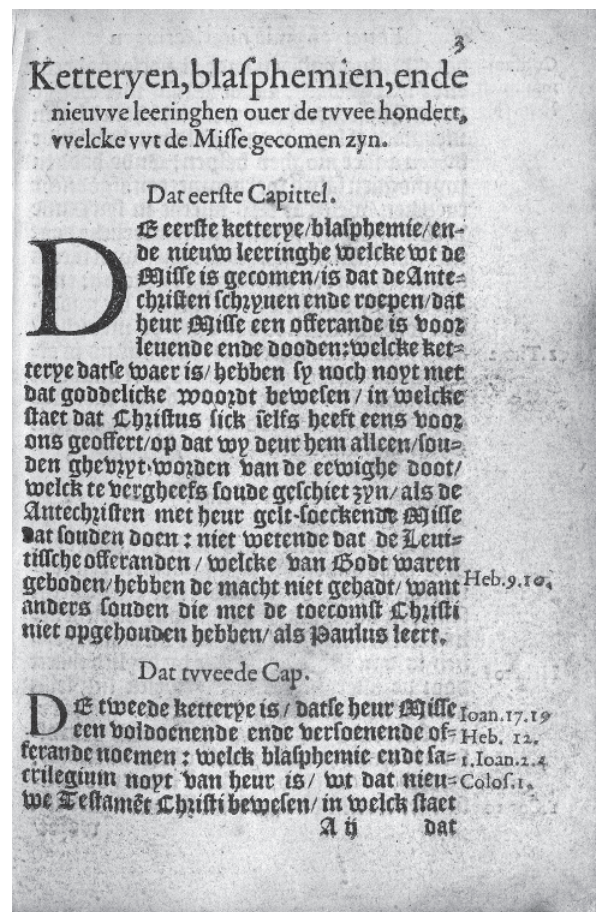
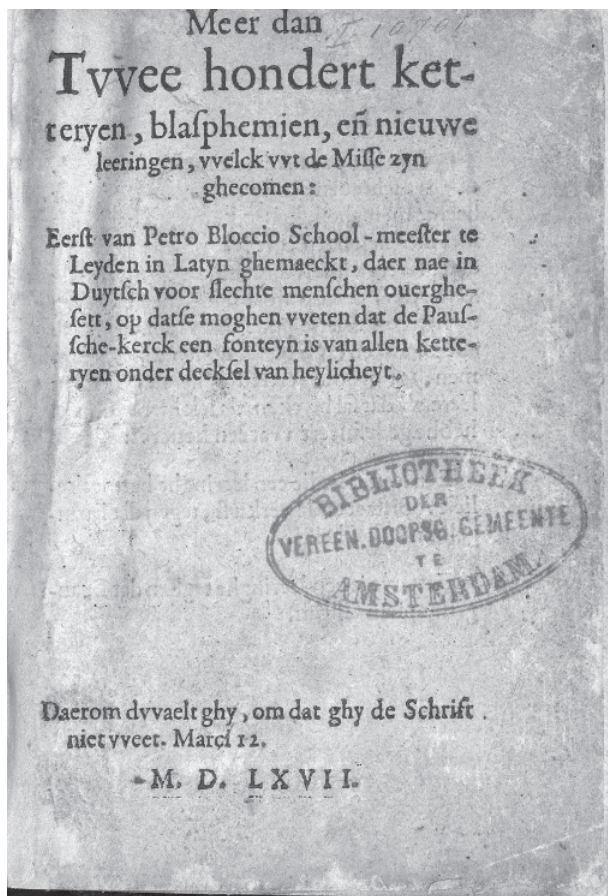
9

[Hendrik Jansen Barreveld ('Hiël')] *Een geestelike Reyse* ... ([Cologne, Augustijn van Hasselt, c.1592]). Types: Fractura on Canon, on Double Pica, on English and on Bourgeois
(Scan from the original publication)



10a and 10b

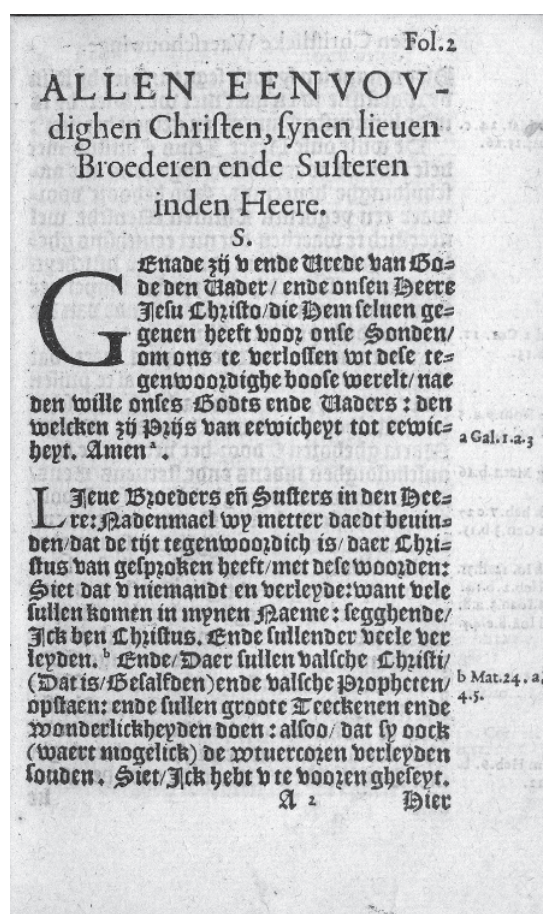
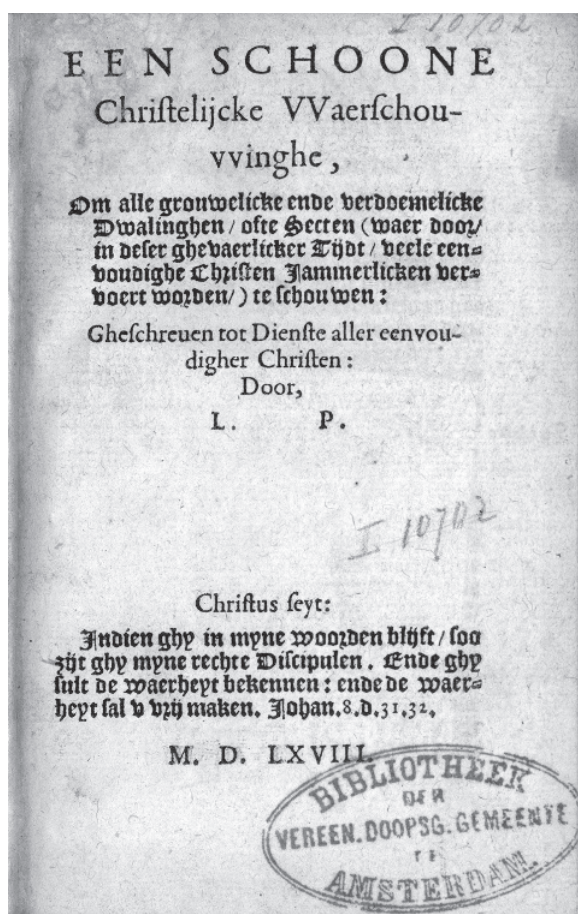
[Urbanus Rhegius], *Catechismus* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567), W 3.
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 80-852, Title-page and page 1)



IIa and IIb

Petrus Bloccius, *Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen* ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1567),
 W 2.

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-567, Title-page and page 3)



12a and 12b

Een schoone Christelijcke waerschouwinghe, door L. P. ([Wesel, Augustijn van Hasselt], 1568), W 12.

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-1301, Title-page and page 1)

THE SECRET BACKGROUND OF LENAERT DER KINDEREN'S ACTIVITIES

1562 to 1567



THE LEGENDS ABOUT HIS EXISTENCE

It would be going too far to say that a bibliographer should be grateful to history for revolutions, be they intellectual or political – but such developments certainly make his work particularly thrilling. For five centuries new ideas and political currents in conflict with the established order have given rise to a stream of publications which are often obscure in authorship and provenance and sometimes in date as well. For a long time this was an area of research in which adventurous spirits could indulge in hypotheses and speculations. When more scientific methods began to be adopted the results were equally unsatisfactory since they suffered all too frequently from a lack of adequate information from historical data. Thanks to recent bibliographical research, however, we now have the insight and the knowledge which enable us in many cases to reach convincing attributions by analysing the typographical material used.¹ It is intriguing to follow this path in the labyrinth of subversive and heterodox publications and to break through the customary anonymity of the men who sent them into the world: the printers in the secrecy of their illegal activities.² The necessary concealment of their work has destroyed nearly all direct evidence

¹ See H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Netherlands* (Amsterdam 1968), quoted hereafter as VPT. This pioneering work provides us for the first time with a survey of the entire domain, and contains a wealth not only of typographical but also of bibliographical information. It is indispensable for anyone wishing to investigate more deeply the history of the book in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century.

² It is probably an illusion to expect that anyone will ever trace the origins of all the books which appeared without an imprint in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. The printers of clandestine editions soon realized that recognizable elements in their publications entailed the danger that the authorities might discover the culprit. They therefore omitted woodcut initials or vignettes or chose pieces, new or long obsolete, which were used for this purpose alone. This method was not only effective in that it put their persecutors on the wrong track, but it also inevitably raises considerable problems for modern research. Nevertheless the types used, their combinations, and, in some cases, their characteristic variants and peculiarities often provide sufficient evidence to make some attributions possible. By analysing the material used, I have been able to establish by which presses many hundreds of publications in this period were produced, but this does not mean that we always know the place of printing or the name of the printer. Sometimes we get no further than the collection of a group of editions produced by the same press and the application of a name of convenience to the press in question.

of their identities and we have often even lost the names of the presses operating in this perilous domain in the sixteenth century. By and large their existence can be deduced solely from what has survived of the books and pamphlets which they published, or from the proceedings of a trial when the authorities actually managed to strike. Such material provides the only means of reconstructing these underground activities and of establishing the role of the individuals involved in the history of the clandestine book.

One man to whom all this applies was Lenaert der Kinderen, whose name appears on the title-page of five editions of the Scriptures: a complete Bible of 1563, a New Testament of 1562/3, one of 1565 and two of 1567. This is all we know of him: there is hardly a sign of his existence beyond this period and he himself says nothing of the town or towns where he worked. Apart from his name two or three woodcuts are known which he used as a device. And, finally, an unverifiable family tradition relates that he fled from Flanders to England in 1548 and moved from there to Emden in 1553 or shortly thereafter.³

This lack of documentation led at an early stage to the formation of particularly fanciful legends. Lenaert der Kinderen was said, for example, to have printed with silver letters on a ship which, according to one source, sailed down the Rhine, and according to another, across the North Sea. This romantic fabrication was subsequently attributed to the name of the premises where the printing-press was supposedly established: *'t Schip op de Noordsee*.⁴ And indeed, in Emden, where he had resided, there stood a house called 'In de Noordsee' with a ship represented on the gable. It appears, however, to have been built later and may thus account for the tradition, but certainly cannot confirm it.⁵ Other misconceptions also arose:

³ See I.H. van Eeghen, 'De familiechroniek van Frans der Kinderen (1667-1737)', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 64 (1972), pp. 117-62 (p. 119).

⁴ A. Pars, *Index batavicus of Naamrol der Batavise en Hollandse schrijvers* (Leiden 1701), pp. 231 f.; J.Y. Harkenroht, *Oostfriesche oorsprongkelykheden*, 2nd edn. (Groningen 1731), pp. 341 f. See also I. le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduytsche Bybels* (Amsterdam 1732; reissue Hoorn 1764), pp. 669 ff. The legend is still in circulation: cf. J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Wiesbaden 1963), p. 99.

⁵ H.F. Wijnman, 'Grepes uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (1): De totstandkoming van de Emdense uitgaven van de Liesveldt-Bijbel uit 1559 en volgende jaren', *Het Boek*, 36 (1963-4), pp. 140-68; *id.*, (2): 'De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51 (p. 142). The author is the only scholar hitherto to have described in a bibliographically responsible manner the history of the Emden book production in the sixteenth century. Previous attempts, of which he gives a survey, were defective and the published lists of Emden editions give a relatively large number of titles which were not produced there. Too many attributions rest on conjectures or simply on tradition. This applies to L. Hahn, *Die Ausbreitung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Ostfriesland* (Teutonia, 24; Leipzig 1912), to W. Brandes, *Bibliographie der niedersächsischen Frühdrucke bis zum Jahre 1600* (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 4; Baden-Baden 1960), as well as in some

Der Kinderen is said to have worked together with the equally mysterious printer Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest and to have published Bibles in the East Frisian dialect. Those and other unfounded ideas were accepted uncritically in the only description of his life extant up to recent times.⁶

It is owing to Dr H.F. Wijnman that an end was put to these fancies. In two highly original and excellently documented articles, in which the ground was thoroughly investigated for the first time, Wijnman wrote about the Dutch printing-presses in Emden and, amongst other things, demolished virtually everything that had previously been written about Lenaert der Kinderen. Nor did he stop at that: basing himself on the lack of contemporary documentation concerning Der Kinderen (such as the fact that he appears nowhere in the Emden register of citizens) he came to the unexpected conclusion that no publisher of that name had ever existed. It was actually no more than a pseudonym adopted by the well-known Emden printer and publisher Willem Gailliart.⁷ There is no point in repeating Wijnman's arguments, since they did not seem fully convincing at the time, and a little later Dr Daniel Grosheide came across Lenaert der Kinderen as a compositor mentioned in Plantin's Workmen's Book, the 'Livre des ouvriers'. This removed any doubt as to his having existed, although it did not destroy the attribution of the publications in question to Gailliart. The latter could always have used Der Kinderen for the purpose of launching on the market,

respects to M. Tielke's 'Verzeichnis der Emden Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602', *Das Rätsel des Emden Buchdrucks 1554-1602. Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), pp. 45-120. These authors mostly assembled material from various sources without performing any bibliographical research. Above all Brandes' work, as he admits in his introduction, is no more than a compilation in which attributions and even title descriptions are taken over from others without any further verification. Wijnman tried to introduce some order into this chaos and in many respects he succeeded, but, owing to a few bold hypotheses (as in the Der Kinderen question), he has also caused some new misunderstandings. In these cases he fell into the same trap as his predecessors, failing to check the results of his historical research against the evidence which could be provided by a bibliographical analysis. Yet his work is largely regarded as definitive, as we see from the most recent studies on the subject: the above-mentioned work by Tielke and H. Wiemann (Aurich), 'Emdense vluchtelingendrukkerijen en de Nederlanden. Rol en betekenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkers in de zestiende eeuw', *Jaarboek stichting 'Zannekin'*, 5 (1983), pp. 5-14. The only original contribution to the printing history of Emden in this period since Wijnman is J. Stellingwerff, 'De drukker van de Emden bedingen', *Uit bibliotheektuin en informatieveld. Opstellen aangeboden aan D. Grosheide bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, eds. H.F. Hofman, K. van der Horst & A.H.H.M. Mathijssen (Deventer 1978), pp. 199-208, in which for the first time arguments are based on an analysis of the typefaces and initials used.

⁶ J. Franck, 'Leonhard der Kinderen', *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 15 (Leipzig 1882), pp. 753 f. Also reproduced in Wijnman, art. (2) cit. (n. 5), p. 147.

⁷ Wijnman, *ibid.*, pp. 140 ff.

and distributing, articles which were prohibited in the Netherlands.⁸

Wijnman's ingenious hypothesis was thus disproved on one point but was not invalidated in any other respect. There is indeed clear evidence that Gailliarth and Der Kinderen were closely associated. We thus find Der Kinderen's first device, 'De lelie onder de doornen' (The lily among thorns), which he used from 1562 to 1565, in later books published by Gailliarth. And although he says nothing about it, Wijnman cannot fail to have noticed that a number of woodcut initials in Lenaert's Bible editions were also used by the Emden printer. Had he extended his research to the types contained in the books, he would have seen that in *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of 1565 they were identical in every detail to the founts in Gailliarth's possession. Finally another device, the 'Alle boom' (Every tree) woodcut in one of Der Kinderen's two 1567 New Testaments, appears in a third New Testament printed anonymously in the same year with type belonging to Gailliarth, who apparently also produced the two New Testaments without an imprint which came out in the following year with the 'Alle boom' device, as well as a Psalm book issued in 1569.

These two devices of Der Kinderen's can thus be found in no less than five of Gailliarth's editions and the repeated involvement of Gailliarth shows that Wijnman was indeed on the right track. On the other hand Lenaert's aforesaid 1567 New Testaments, one of which has yet another, third, device, appear to have been printed with material which was not available in Emden and contain initials different from those used in the earlier publications. This may have given rise to the idea that Der Kinderen was an itinerant publisher who had others to print for him.⁹ Ever since Grosheide's discovery, however, we know that the man was a compositor and that he worked as such for almost a year, between his New Testaments of 1565 and 1567, at Plantin's establishment in Antwerp – an odd activity for a publisher operating independently. This first undoubtedly confusing encounter with the man's work does not make the problem of his true part in his 'own' publications any simpler, and the lack of any further documentation means that we have to resort, precisely to the types and ornaments used.

DER KINDEREN'S BIBLE EDITIONS

The first books to be printed by Lenaert der Kinderen ('ghedruckt by Lenaert der Kinderen'), are *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of 1562/3 and *Den Bibél, inhoudende dat Oude*

⁸ D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellings Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225–31 (p. 231, n. 25). For the author's acceptance of Gailliarth as the real printer, see p. 226.

⁹ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *Drukkers, liefhebbers en piraten in de zestiende eeuw*, 2nd edn. (Amsterdam 1980), p. 79.

ende Nieuwe Testament (Vogel 11)¹⁰ which appeared in 1563. There are three issues of the *Testament*: one with 1562 in the colophon and on the title-page,¹¹ one with the same date on the title-page but with 1563 in the colophon (Vogel 10), and one with 1563 both in the colophon and on the title-page (Vogel 13).¹² This should not lead us to conclude that the type of the preliminaries and the last sheet was kept standing: the year was probably changed as the work was being printed with an eye to sales at a later date. Both the New Testament and the complete Bible are unique in the history of Bible printing in the Netherlands: an Italic type is used for the first – and for the last – time, since Textura was to remain the traditional printing type for Dutch Protestant books until late in the eighteenth century. The new publications thus indicate an unusual initiative which obviously aroused such high expectations that the number of copies printed was exceptionally large. Of the numerous Bible editions printed in the 1560s this is by far the commonest. The attractive appearance may also have contributed to its long survival, since it is a particularly accomplished piece of work. Both the paper and the typography and presswork are of a high standard and a great deal of care had obviously been devoted to the typographical design. The edition was thus intended for those who had had the benefit of a proper education. For the average Dutchman Italic type was too unfamiliar to be easily accepted.¹³

¹⁰ P.H. Vogel, 'Der niederländische Bibeldruck in Emden 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), pp. 162-71, also containing references to earlier literature. It should be pointed out that many of Vogel's attributions of Bibles in the vernacular to Emden are wrong, even though they correspond to the established tradition. It has always been thought that, despite the hostile attitude of the town towards Anabaptists, many of the writings of Menno Simons, Dirk Philips and their circle were printed there and that many other works for their supporters were also produced in Emden. This is supposed to apply in particular to the Bible editions preferred by the Mennonites. Typographical research has proved, however, that this view must be revised. Vogel's nos. 6, 7, 9-13, 16, 21 and 21a, which all appeared without an imprint, were not printed in Emden, any more than various editions of Bibles which appeared without any mention of place after Vogel's final date of 1568.

¹¹ Wijnman, art. (2) cit. (n. 5), pp. 140 f. and 145 f.

¹² Vogel's list of locations in his article (n. 10) can be supplemented for *Den Bibel* (Vogel 11) with copies in Aurich, Landschaftsbibliothek; Brussels, Royal Library (KBR); Cambridge, Trinity College; Groningen, UL, and five copies in the USA (see National Union Catalogue, vol. 53, p. 63). Copies of *Dat Nieuwe Testament* 1563 (Vogel 13) are also to be found in Emden, Grosse Kirche; London, British Library (BL); Utrecht, UL, and Leiden, UL.

¹³ For the development of the use of Romans and Italics in the Netherlands, see Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 60 ff; *id.*, 'Humanisme en typografie: de introductie van de romein en cursief in de Nederlanden (1483-ca. 1540)', *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen. Opstellen door vrienden en collega's van dr. C. Reedijk ...* (Hilversum 1986), pp. 316-30. The author describes the advent of these typefaces in Dutch-language books primarily in the light of the situation at the time in the southern Netherlands, where an advanced education and strong French influences facilitated the acceptance of this kind of types by a larger part of the reading public. In the northern Netherlands

The text letter both in the Bible and in the New Testament is the 'Bible Cursive', Granjon's Italic on Brevier which had also been used regularly by Plantin ever since 1560.¹⁴ The two books contain, furthermore, three larger Italics, all made by the punchcutter François Guyot: his 'Ascendonica cursive' (140 mm; VPT, IT 2),¹⁵ 'Text cursive' (110 mm; IT 3)¹⁶ and 'Mediaen cursive' (77 mm; IT 10);¹⁷ and finally a set of two-line Bible Roman capitals which will be discussed in some detail later.

The decorative elements include, first of all, the previously mentioned device 'Gelijck een lelie onder de doornen. So is mijn vriendinne onder de dochteren. Cant. 2.' [As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters. Song 2],¹⁸ executed by the Antwerp artist Arnout (Arnoldus) Nicolai. The woodcut is on the title-page of *Den Bibel* in a richly ornamented cartouche and is printed a second time on the title-page of the New Testament part without this border.¹⁹ *Dat Nieuwe*

the development was far slower: not a single book was printed in the vernacular before 1561 with an Italic as text letter. In that year a recently founded and humanist-orientated firm in Haarlem used the typeface in the preliminaries of Cicero's *Officia* and shortly after for the entire text of the first twelve books of Homer's *Odyssey*, both in translations by Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert; cf. B. Kruitwagen in *Het Boek*, 8 (1919), p. 302. The reception of this novelty does not seem to have been very favourable, for Jan van Zuren's press had to relinquish these activities after a year. In contrast to the southern areas it was not until the seventeenth century that Roman was used with any consistency in books in Dutch, and even then the use of Italics was almost always limited to that of a distinguishing letter.

¹⁴ For Granjon's 'Bible (until 1566 for Plantin 'Breviaire') Cursive', see *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II (16-18). *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 et Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), pp. 1-5; *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini 1567* (hereafter quoted as *Index*), no. 36; A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308, no. 9 and fig. 8; also *id.*, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, ed. P.H. Muir (Amsterdam 1970), pp. 260-71. It was Plantin's only Italic on this body and he had been using it since 1560.

¹⁵ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 286 f. and fig. 220; *Index* (n. 14), no. 19.

¹⁶ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 288 f. and fig. 221. Plantin used the type from the start but replaced it after the auction of his press in 1562 by a slightly larger Granjon face (*Index* 23).

¹⁷ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 301 and fig. 231. The earliest use of this type in the Netherlands that I have come across is in Homer, *Deerste twaelf boecken Odysseae* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561); cf. H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* ('s-Gravenhage 1951), pp. 183 ff., no. 9 and p. 387, illus. 9.

¹⁸ P.H. Vogel, 'Die Druckermarcken in den Emdener niederländischen Bibeldrucken 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 37 (Mainz 1962), pp. 456-8 (pp. 457 f. and illus. 2, reduced). See also D. Grosheide, 'The "Short Confession of Faith" of 1566', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [= 1968]), pp. 155-70 (pp. 156 ff.).

¹⁹ W.C. Poortman, *Boekzaal van de Nederlandse Bijbels* ('s-Gravenhage 1983), gives reproductions both of the title-page and of the device (illus. 72-3). For a full-scale reproduction of both the device and

Testament contains the same device at the end but in a different version, while the title of the book is printed in an architectural frame in the shape of a wall epitaph, also cut by Nicolai. The books contain woodcut initials of (probably complete) alphabets in two sizes, each provided with two almost identical blocks for both the D and P. That these letters should appear in duplicate shows that the sets were intended for printing Dutch Bible editions in which they are the most frequently used initials. The ornamentation consists of leaves and tendrils, while in some letters of the larger alphabet we also find human heads or the head of a lion. The New Testament contains, too, a tail ornament with similar floral motifs.

Seven letters of the smaller alphabet, together with some of the larger initials, can also be found in Der Kinderen's *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of 1565.²⁰ That he, as the title-page informs us, should also appear as the publisher of this reprint is confirmed in Plantin's accounts, where he is debited with two deliveries of paper: a dispatch of 12 reams on 5 June 1565, followed by one of 120 reams on 10 November of the same year.²¹ In the case of the latter order the amount was therefore considerable and it appears certain that it was intended for the New Testament.²² The entries show that Der Kinderen was residing in Emden on the dates mentioned and that he was professionally active there. The title-page of the book contains the device 'Gelijck een lelie' in the woodcut which had been used earlier for *Den Bibel*, but

the border, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), p. 376. The woodcuts are reproduced after a Bible published in 1593 by the Rotterdam printer Dirck Mullem.

²⁰ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), no. 19; Tielke, op. cit. (n. 5), no. 174. An edition of this New Testament probably appeared in 1564 in Emden with Der Kinderen's name, but no copy has hitherto been found. The book, with the statement 'na de copye van Nicolaes Biestkens' and indication of 16mo format, is mentioned in M. Schagen, *Naamlyst der Doopsgezinde schryveren en schriften* (Amsterdam 1745), p. 105, and appears in the *Catalogus van boeken [...] inzonderheid [...] van meest alle de Doopsgezinde of Mennonite schryveren en derzelver tegenschryveren [...] byeen verzamelt door Gerardus Maatschoen ...* (Amsterdam 1752), where, under no. Duodecimo 62, and with a reference to *Dat Nieuwe Testament na de copy van N. Biestkens*, it is described as 'idem Embden 1564. 1564 [sic] by Lenaert der Kinderen'. Le Long did not know this edition, so the copy can only have come to light after the conclusion of his *Boekzaal* (n. 4).

²¹ Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. 37, f. 5: 'Leenard va(n) Kindere(n) libraire. Doibt Le 5e Juing [1565] p[our] 12. Rames De papier fin de Troye a Lescusso(n) a 27 pat[arts] La rame: fl. 16 st 4 d -.' – PMM., Arch. 40, f. 135: 'Leonaerdt van Kinderen lib. etc. a Embden doibt du 5e Juing p[our] Rames 12 de Papier fin de Troye a lescusson a 27 pat la rame. tire hors du livre sign A. a k 5. ce 9e nove(m)bre come appar: fl 16 st 4 d - adi 10. Nove(m)b. p[our] Rames 120 de papier petit p. Rochelle a st 16 la rame iedits 16 pat la rame monte la somme de: fl 96 st - d -. S[omm]e: fl 112 st 4 d -.'

²² If it had been used exclusively for this purpose the edition would have amounted to a good 2,850 copies (of 21 quires). This figure seems high but not excessive if we keep in mind the immense demand for the article in the years 1563-6. It is of course perfectly possible that a part of this consignment of paper was intended for another purpose.

without the cartouche. Of the Italics used in 1562/3 we now only find the two smaller ones, both applied for special purposes. But instead of an Italic the text letter is now the Parisian Textura on Brevier (VPT, T 47)²³, the most common typeface for Bible editions in small format. In chapter headings and other lines we also have a southern Netherlands version of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura (T 30), while some words are set on the title-page in two larger Texturas (T 3 and T 12).

These four Textura typefaces form a combination which was used by various printers at about this time, one of them being Gailliart. His types even seem identical in every detail to those in *Dat Nieuwe Testament*: not a single difference can be found. This is hardly surprising if we observe that he had in the meantime come into the possession of all of Der Kinderen's material: the device of the Lily in its two versions, the tailpiece, the initials and the Italics. With the exception of one of these types (to be discussed later) all the material is used in editions with his imprint of 1566 and later, but this date is not conclusive as no books appeared under his name in the previous five years.²⁴ Yet his press had been far from inactive in that period and even produced various major works. These, however, rest on attributions. This is not a particularly tricky problem since Gailliart's initials, partly already known from his earliest editions²⁵ and partly coming from the printing shops of Steven Mierdmans and Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest (which he had taken over)²⁶ are both numerous and easily recognizable. If we go on to investigate when Der Kinderen's initials were first used by Gailliart, we are in for a surprise. We see that they appear in his publications from 1564 on²⁷ and that one of them had

²³ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 167 and fig. 119.

²⁴ The last work with his imprint to appear was a translation of Erasmus' *Moriae Encomion* published in 1560 with the title *Dat constelijck ende costelijck boecxken Moriae Encomion, dat is een Lof der Sotheyt*, with a foreword by J.G., possibly Johan Gailliart, see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de Marie-Thérèse Lenger, 7 vols. (Brussels 1964-75), no. E 944 (vol. 2, pp. 914 f.); S.W. Bijl, *Erasmus in het Nederlands tot 1617* (Nieuwkoop 1978; thesis Leiden), pp. 247-55; J. Trapman, 'De eerste Nederlandse vertaling van Erasmus' *Moria* (Emden, 1560) en Sebastiaan Franck', *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen, Opstellen door vrienden en collega's van dr. C. Reedijk...* (Hilversum 1986), pp. 308-15.

²⁵ Partly published under the pseudonym of the printer Theophilus Brugensis, with various fictitious addresses: town names preceded by the Dutch word 'buyten' (outside of), like buyten Lonnen, resp. Dornych, Ghent, Straesborch, Antwerpen etc. The press was probably operating in Büderich, close to Wesel, see Wijnman, art. (1) cit. (n. 5), pp. 148 ff.; the information he has collected is also in E. Droz, *Chemins de l'hérésie*, vol. 2 (Genève 1970), pp. 261 f., 268.

²⁶ A separate article will be forthcoming on Nicolaes Biestkens, also regarded by Wijnman as a pseudonym of Gaillart, and the history of his press. [P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 1558-1583', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber Amicorum presented to Níco Israel ...*, eds. Ton Croiset van Uchelen, Koert van der Horst & Günter Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31. Eds.]

²⁷ In 1564 in *De Bibel in duyts, voortijts by Jacob Liesveldt wtgegaen* (s.l. [Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1564, 2

already been used at the end of a book dated 1563.²⁸ That is the very year in which *Den Bibel* appeared and it would thus seem that, apart from his mistake about Der Kinderen as a living person, Wijnman was actually on the right track when he regarded Willem Gailliart as the printer of the Bible editions produced in Der Kinderen's name.

Yet one can hardly be satisfied with this solution, since the outer appearance of Der Kinderen's books is so very different from Gailliart's production as we know it. From the point of view of both presswork and design, Gailliart's are on a far lower level than that which Der Kinderen was apparently capable of doing, as we can see above all in *Den Bibel*. This is a particularly accomplished book in all respects. Noteworthy, for example, is the care with which the text is laid out in order to avoid any open spaces which might require the use of a vignette. The layout reveals the conception of a typographer experienced in the use of Italics and well acquainted with French models. None of this corresponds to Gailliart's style and way of working. He always abided by traditional Dutch designs and where the presswork is concerned his publications never display that meticulous care which we find in Der Kinderen's early books. The differences are clear and it is surprising to note that in the same year of 1563 another edition of the same Bible translation came from Gailliart's press, thereby making him compete with himself, if indeed he was the publisher of both editions. In addition, the two New Testaments which appeared in Der Kinderen's name in 1567 were printed with material which Gailliart never used, so that Gailliart can hardly have been the only printer involved in their production.

As I said, Gailliart obtained the Italics of Der Kinderen's first Bible editions as well as his ornaments. The smallest, Granjon's 'Bible Cursive', was again used in Lenaert's 1565 New Testament, but exclusively for the word 'HEERE' (LORD). Soon afterwards the type vanished from Emden: in April 1566 Jan Gailliart, Willem's father and financier, disposed of the fount, and the buyer was none other than Plantin. In his account books, there are two references to the purchase of 172

vols.), so far the only publication of that year which can be attributed to Gailliart. Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), p. 166, n. 30, mentions the book but did not recognize it as an Emden publication. Wijnman, art. (1) cit. (n. 5), pp. 140 ff. (with 3 illus.), corrected this omission but wrongly described the edition as having been printed by Gillis van der Erven (Aegidius Ctematius).

²⁸ In Sebastian Franck, *Chronica, tytboeck ende gheschiet bibel ...* (s.l. [Emden, William Gailliart], 1563, 3 parts). For this edition, see B. Becker, 'Nederlandsche vertalingen van Sebastian Franck's geschriften', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 21 (1928), pp. 149-60 (pp. 150 f.), Wijnman, art. (1) cit. (n. 5), pp. 150 f., and, for additional bibliographical information, K. Kaczerowsky, *Sebastian Franck; Bibliographie. Verzeichnisse von Francks Werken, der von ihm gedruckten Bücher sowie der Sekundär-Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1976), no. A 57. The initial in question, an A of the larger alphabet, can be found at the beginning of the Register on Rr2v.

pounds of 'lettre Italique dicte breviaire ou Bible lectre', so there is no question of its being confused with another type.²⁹ Yet this is a curious transaction, since Plantin himself possessed a set of matrices of the typeface and could thus have as much type cast as he liked. It is far from clear why Plantin should have the fount in question transported from Emden, presumably at no small expense. That he should have known of the existence of the type in Emden is less surprising since Lenaert had been working for him from the beginning of the year. They must have known one another already, for other entries show that in October 1563 Plantin had bought a quantity of old type and four used type cases from him³⁰ – interesting transactions, not only owing to the facts themselves, but also because they prove that personal contact already existed in the autumn of 1563, since the payment in cash of the type cases means that Lenaert was then staying in Antwerp.

We saw that Plantin delivered a considerable quantity of paper to Der Kinderen in Emden two years later, deliveries all the more remarkable since Plantin had very few commercial dealings with this Protestant centre of publishing.³¹ Nor does he appear to have insisted on any security for payment, but did the entire transaction on credit. There is also something odd about the settlement of these debts. In 1566,

²⁹ PMM, Arch. 36, f. 105: 'Le 25 Avril [1566] achete de Jehan Guillaud lectre Italique siue Breuiaire pesant 172 *Livres* a 3 *patarts* la liure facit en argent [...] luy: fl. 25 st. 16'. In his 'Journal', PMM, Arch. 3, f. 49 v., Plantin entered: 'Jay achete de Jehan Gaillard 172 *Livres* de lettre Italique dicte breuiaire ou Bible lectre a 3 *patarts*: fl. 25 st. 16'. Prof. H.D.L. Vervliet has drawn my attention to the fact that the price paid may have been a decisive factor in the purchase. And indeed, it appears from the data published by Leon Voet that this was about half of the new price; cf. his *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), vol. 2, pp. 121 f. Apart from the costs of the transport, however, we should also keep in mind that the cast type had already been much in use, and, in the case of this elegant small letter, can hardly have fully satisfied the high demands Plantin made on the quality of his material.

³⁰ PMM, Arch. 3, f. 2v: 'Matiere de vieilles lectures debiteur par casse 34 fl. 13 *patarts* Jay achapte de Lienard der Kinderen 396 *Livres* de matiere a 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *patarts* la liure. Casse credeur pour matiere a fondre lectures: fl. 34 st. 13.' I am most grateful to Prof. Johan Gerritsen for having given me a photocopy of this entry, for which Wijnman, art. (2) cit. (n. 5), p. 144 gives a mistaken reference. – PMM, Arch. 2, f. 2v: 'Casses pour la composition 4 vieilles achaptées de Leonard de Kinder: fl. 2.' Quoted from Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. 2, p. 144 n. 1. The description of Leonard de Kinder as 'carpenter' in the reference to this passage in the index rests on an error.

³¹ At least as far as we can gather from his account books. No other dealings with this town are mentioned, either directly or via an intermediary. In the eyes of the authorities in Brussels Emden had such a bad reputation as the place where heretical writings were printed that Plantin had every reason to keep his transactions with the town out of his books. That he concealed certain agreements from his account books is convincingly proved by the absence of any information concerning either his activities for Hendrik Niclaes in about 1556/7 or the agreement with Augustijn van Hasselt and its financial consequences in the years 1566-9.

almost a year later, Der Kinderen received his salary as a compositor in the *Officina* without any account being taken of the sum owing, and it was still outstanding in 1593.³² This is thus the third occasion on which we encounter the Antwerp printer in association with Der Kinderen, under circumstances which raise some questions about the nature of their relationship. So to this subject we should now turn.

PLANTIN IN EXILE

A series of events took place in Plantin's life the rapid succession of which would have been fatal to virtually anybody else. A few years after having settled in Antwerp he was obliged, probably because of a serious wound, to give up a successful career as a bookbinder and manufacturer of objects in gold-tooled leather and to start an entirely new existence as a printer. Later he had to dissolve his company as a result of political developments and to assemble further trading capital at a particularly unfavourable moment. Subsequently the vast investment in the publication of the Polyglot Bible and King Philip's long procrastination before deciding to support the enterprise landed the printer in considerable difficulties. A few years of relative rest were followed by the Spanish Fury, the looting of Antwerp, when he had to pay outrageously large sums of ransom in order to save his family, his house and his business. In contrast to colleagues like Willem Silvius, who never managed to recuperate after similar setbacks, Plantin succeeded fully. The inventiveness and the perseverance which he displayed in the process, together with his great professional qualities, make of him one of the most fascinating entrepreneurs of his day.

In this list of events I have not mentioned a particularly critical period in Plantin's life. The drama in question took place in 1562 when, after years of rapid expansion, the youthful publishing business seemed about to collapse within a few weeks. During a lengthy absence of their employer three of Plantin's French compositors had seized the opportunity to print a Calvinist book, an order which they appear to have performed at their own expense. In the eyes of the law of the time Plantin was fully responsible for everything that took place at his firm even if he was not there himself. When the authorities found out about the matter it led to a rapid liquidation of Plantin's property and a public auction of his printing shop and publishing stock. These events have already been described several times³³ and

³² 'Lienard der Kinderen' entered Plantin's service early in 1566 – especially, as we see from his wage sheet, in order to set books in the Dutch language. Cf. PMM, Arch. 31, 'Livre des ouvriers', f. 48v. He received his first salary on 6 January 1566 and a last payment on 16 October of the same year.

³³ In greatest detail in Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. 1, pp. 34-44; also in C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), pp. 23-7; C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes Plantiniens', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 33 (Mainz

can thus be regarded as sufficiently known, but certain details have not yet been accorded the attention which they deserve.

On 1 March 1562 Margaret of Parma, governess of the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain, ordered the Margrave of Antwerp, Jan van Immerseel, to investigate the matter and to take rigorous measures against the culprits. When Plantin returned from his journey shortly after, he found that he had to go into hiding. He sent his wife and daughters to Paris where they were hospitably entertained by his lifelong friend and 'brother' Pierre Porret. Two months previously, on 1 January, a business transaction had taken place which I consider to have been of some significance in this connection, although its true importance is not immediately clear. On that day Plantin received a dispatch of four sets of adjusted matrices from 'François le Fondateur', i.e. François Guyot, a former compatriot of his, who, as a successor of Ameet Tavernier, had recently become his permanent supplier of everything connected with type.³⁴

The entry concerning this delivery makes it possible to establish which matrices were being supplied and is of great importance for what is to follow. According to his 'Journal' Plantin received: 'L'Italica Cicero no. [i.e. to the number of] 126, Cicero Romeyn no. 172, Romeyn Brevier no. 162 [and] Italica Brevier no. 153', thus Romans and Italics on Pica and Brevier bodies.³⁵ For some years he had been in the possession of the following typefaces in these sizes: the Romans were Garamont's 'Mediane romaine' (*Index* 26) and 'Bible romaine' (*Index* 35), and the Italics were Granjon's 'Mediane cursive premiere' (not in *Index*) and his aforesaid 'Bible Cursive' (*Index* 36). If we compare the numbers of matrices with the information given in Plantin's inventories, we see that they correspond perfectly³⁶ and we are

1958), pp. 155-63; *id.*, 'Jean et Jacques Taffin, Jean d'Arras et Christophe Plantin', *De Gulden Passer*, 36 (1958), pp. 125-36.

³⁴ For Plantin's dealings with Guyot, see Voet, *op. cit.* (n. 29), vol. 2, pp. 67 ff.

³⁵ PMM, Arch. 36, f. 17v: 'Le Premier de Janvier a° 1562 Receu de Francoijs le fondeur des lettres [there follows the list mentioned above, and beside it we read:] le moule et autres matrices de Martin le Jeune.'

³⁶ Plantin's inventory lists of his typefaces at various dates have been published by M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II: Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 (quoted as: 'Early Inventories'). For the above-mentioned quantities of matrices, see the relevant entry in the inventory of 1563, art. cit., p. 16: '[Mediane] Italique autre premiere de Granion aussi contenant 126 matrices', *ibid.*: 'Mediane ou Cicero Rommaine Garamont contenant 172 matrices', and p. 17: 'Poinçons de la lecture de Breuiaire Garamont 162'. For Granjon's 'Bible' Italic we have no contemporary statement. In Plantin's inventory of 1589, art. cit., p. 89, 157 matrices are mentioned (including a set of upright capitals), but far fewer in later sources: Le Bé had an 'Italique petit Texte Granjon prem^{re} taille' and an *idem* 'dern^{re} taille' of 133 and 134 matrices respectively; see S. Morison, *L'Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé, selon la transcription de Jean Pierre Fournier* (Paris 1957), p. 20.

thus entitled to conclude that the dispatch in question was of matrices of types the matrices of which he already possessed. This was followed by another interesting episode: according to his entry of 3 January Plantin immediately forwarded this dispatch to Martin le Jeune in Paris, a bookseller with whom he maintained close business relations.³⁷ This seems strange because these French typefaces were obviously available in Paris – that centre of book production (and residence of Garamont) – and could easily be adjusted there, probably at a cheaper rate than in Antwerp. Consequently Plantin could not expect any commercial advantages from this unusual, and apparently unique, transaction and his behaviour reminds us of the proverbial bringing of owls to Athens. Historians have therefore sought another explanation for the episode and thought that they had found one in the assumption that this was a precautionary measure taken with an eye to a possible flight: Plantin wanted to put the material in a safe place in order to replace any losses he might suffer and so sent the matrices as quickly as possible to a town where there was no danger of confiscation.³⁸ If, however, we believe his biographers' assertion that Plantin knew nothing of his subordinates' proceedings and of the liberty they took to print a forbidden text behind his back, this hypothesis loses any logical basis. He can hardly have been reckoning in his order to Guyot on 1 January, let alone earlier, with consequences which were to take place some months later, or have foreseen what these men were to do in the future without his knowledge. If, on the other hand, we are not convinced of his innocence, it still appears odd that he should have limited himself to this single measure and have taken no further precautions to protect his interests. What did the possession of a few sets of matrices mean when compared with the possible loss of his entire business – which was to prove an all too real danger?

There is another puzzling element in the matter. At about the same time, late in 1561, Plantin had just decided to replace the above-mentioned Pica Italic, an

The set that John Fell bought for Oxford originally consisted of 130 matrices, see S. Morison, *John Fell. The University Press and the 'Fell' Types ...* (Oxford 1967), pp. 141 f. According to 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), p. 11, the PMM still owns a set consisting of 150 matrices (MA 58a).

³⁷ PMM, Arch. 36, f. 17v.: 'le 3e Janvier 1562 Envoye A Paris les sudittes matrices escrites icij dessus avec 36 / 48 / Dictionarium tetraglotton souz adresse A Martin le Jeune dedans un tonneau que le Sr Jan bonnot envoye a Monseigneur de Cannaij.'

³⁸ M. Parker & K. Melis, *Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices* (Antwerpen 1960), pp. 37, 48, 66 f. On Plantin's sales of strikes and matrices, see Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. 2, pp. 89 ff. The author does not mention any transaction in this domain previous to a dispatch of c.1572 to Frankfurt, and he observes (p. 90): 'Plantin's sales of typographical material were largely limited to the fairs held in that city. The reason for this is not far to seek. In Paris, Plantin had little chance of selling at a worthwhile profit matrices for type faces that French printers could obtain locally.'

early and not particularly satisfactory design of Granjon's, by the 'Mediane cursive pendante' (*Index* 27) of the same punchcutter.³⁹ This attractive and successful typeface, which Plantin was to continue to use, had a considerably more extensive composition, viz. 158 matrices as opposed to 126.⁴⁰ We would surely expect that, in an attempt to bring the material into safety, Plantin would have chosen the new typeface. But he did not do so. Instead, he dispatched an 'Italica Cicero' which consisted, according to the entry, of 126 matrices. To this question I shall return.

That Plantin should have sent the matrices to Paris as a precaution thus seems unlikely, and we now come to the question of how his behaviour should indeed be interpreted. What was his true motive, and what were his plans? The most obvious explanation is naturally that he wanted to use the matrices in order to print with them, although what and where is still unclear. Even without this knowledge, however, we can assume that there must be some connection between these two elements, the nature of what he wanted to publish, and the place where he hoped to publish it. If he wanted to produce books acceptable to the authorities there was no reason for going elsewhere, but the fact that he had a second set of matrices made for types whose matrices he already possessed must surely mean that he intended to use them outside Antwerp. If they were not delivered in Paris as a measure of precaution – and we have seen how unlikely that is, the course of events suggests that Plantin was planning to publish works

³⁹ Having used Ameet Tavernier's Pica Italic (VPT, IT 8) in the first years of his career as a printer Plantin bought Robert Granjon's first Pica Italic at the end of 1557 or early in 1558. In his first inventory of matrices the typeface is mentioned as 'Cicero Italique Grand Jonc', see 'Early Inventories' (where with '1556' the list is dated too early), art. cit. (n. 36), pp. 7 f. – and we later find the typeface referred to as 'Mediane Cursive premiere maigre'. Cf. Johnson, art. cit. (n. 14), no. 4 and fig. 3. Late in 1561 or early in 1562 Plantin reprinted Adrien du Hecquet's *L'Enseignement des paroisses* and its sequel for the Cologne publisher Arnold (II) Birckmann, see L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle, 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), quoted as Voet, nos. 1304-5. In these books, which were completed before Plantin's press was placed under seal at the beginning of March, he used for the first time a 'deuxiesme' Italic on Pica: Granjon's 'Mediane Cursive pendante' (*Index* 27), Johnson, art. cit. (n. 14), no. 7 and fig. 6; cf. also Parker & Melis, op. cit. (n. 38), pp. 66 f. Even before Plantin's partnership with the Van Bomberghens began he had again acquired both Italics, cf. 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), pp. 13 f. and 16. In 1565, finally, Plantin also bought Granjon's third Pica Italic (*Index* 28).

⁴⁰ This is the number of the set of matrices (MA 113) preserved in the PMM. In 1579 Hendrik (II) van den Keere adjusted for Plantin 166 matrices of the 'Mediane Cursive pendante', which appear in the inventory of 1581 as '[Mediane] Italicque de Robert Granjon couchée justifiée'. According to the inventory of c.1612 these included 'linien en strecken' [rules and braces] which have since disappeared and which presumably account for the difference of eight matrices; cf. 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), pp. 70 and 79. The matrices apparently served to replace the set now missing (LMA 3) which he had used since 1563.

the political or religious contents of which were too dangerous for them to be printed in his own firm.

If we ask ourselves which books would be most appealing to a publisher at that moment and in that context, we inevitably come up with Bibles in the Dutch language. For some years they had formed an important part of the book market in the Netherlands, with large sales and, it would seem obvious to conclude, with accordingly large profits. The printing of Bibles in the vernacular, with the exception of the Vulgate, had been forbidden since 1529, but after a period of silence, it started to take place on a large scale across the borders, and thus beyond the reach of the Dutch authorities. Hitherto two printers in Emden had taken the initiative in this domain, and their Bibles had recently been reprinted by a certain Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest.⁴¹ The unauthorized reprints found numerous purchasers and were reprinted in their turn. The market grew rapidly and Plantin must have looked on enviously at how other printers, better located for such a production than he was, seized control of this important area. Professional envy was all too understandable since no other book of this length was offered to the public in such huge quantities in so short a time. A few years later, in 1566, Plantin was to dispatch Augustijn van Hasselt with a printing-press in order to produce clandestine editions first in Vianen (his original destination being Kampen), and later in Wesel, and these include various New Testaments.⁴² For Plantin this was the only way to avoid being entirely cut out and losing all hold on the market: he employed a trusty collaborator as his agent ('factor') and furnished him with the necessary technical and financial means to set up, in a safe town, a production which was far too dangerous for him in Antwerp.

DER KINDEREN IN THE SERVICE OF PLANTIN

In 1562 Lenaert der Kinderen was the man for whom Plantin provided the requisite material to undertake such a task. This view of the hitherto unsolved problem of the Bible editions published in Der Kinderen's name is new, and the question is whether it can ever be proved with complete certainty. Not a single document concerning the existence of such a plan has survived, and even the Plantin archives yield nothing on the matter, if only for the simple reason that, however complete Plantin's surviving accounts may be, the books kept during his year of exile are all missing. After 12 January 1562, only a few odd shop sales are entered on 5 March; the firm had come to a standstill, Plantin had gone into hiding, and, on 28 April,

⁴¹ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), nos. 7 and 9.

⁴² P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a Printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90.

the liquidation auction of his property was held at the request of his creditors.⁴³ Only after his return to Antwerp could Plantin resume his activities and open his books again, so by 15 September 1563 we once more have authentic information. But even without this interruption in his accounts lasting for eighteen months he would be most unlikely to have entered anything connected with so clandestine a production and would have observed the same secrecy he had displayed some years earlier in connection with an important order from Hendrik Niclaes: the printing of the heretic's main work, *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*, together with some shorter pieces in about 1556.⁴⁴ And, at a later date, the existence of the printing-press in Vianen and Wesel run by Augustijn van Hasselt is only mentioned incidentally in a couple of letters which have survived more or less by chance: not a word is said about it in Plantin's books.⁴⁵

So we cannot hope for any documentary proof in these matters, and Plantin's biographers always had to fall back on subsidiary evidence where his clandestine activities were concerned. Nevertheless it would seem to be possible to apply methods of bibliographical, and above all typographical, research to the external appearance of the surviving printed works and thereby to acquire more information than they had at their disposal at the time. Information obtained with this method usually has the advantage of being particularly precise and reliable, and consequently forms a valid basis for further conclusions. It also has its limitations, of course: it tells us more about the press than about the printers, and more about the technical than about the commercial side of their business. It can reveal the material with which they printed, and its history, in successive phases, and sometimes also inform us about the typographers who worked with it and where they did so, but only in exceptional cases does it tell us something about the management and commercial policy of a firm. When – and this is the case now – other sources remain silent, a speculative element is inevitable.

Here typographical details seen in connection with the entries in his 'Journal' quoted above make it seem more than likely that Plantin was the man behind the publication of Der Kinderen's Bible editions. As I said earlier, the books contain three typefaces of Guyot and one of Granjon. Guyot's were used by various printers in the Netherlands, but Granjon's 'Bible' was not. As far as I have been able to ascertain, Plantin was the only printer in these parts who owned this small French typeface at about this time. The printers in Emden with their virtually exclusive production of books in the Dutch language appear to have had no use for it; an

⁴³ Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. I, p. 37, n. 2 and pp. 40 ff.

⁴⁴ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72 (pp. 253 ff., 268 f.)

⁴⁵ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 42), pp. 89 ff., 100 f.

Italic text letter would still have been unacceptable to a large section of their public in their principle marketing area, the northern Netherlands.⁴⁶ This failing interest is illustrated by the sale some years later of the fount which the Gailliarts had taken over from Der Kinderen. The fact that Plantin should have had a second set of matrices adjusted of this very text letter is thus a strong argument in favour of his involvement in these Bible editions. But it is not the only one.

The use of the two largest Italics, Guyot's 'Ascendonica cursive' (Double Pica, VPT, IT 2) and his 'Texte cursive' (Great Primer, IT 3), was so limited in the books to be printed that it would have been sufficient to send a certain quantity of cast type. This is in contrast to the fourth Italic which appears in the editions, Guyot's 'Mediaen cursive' (IT 10), for which matrices were obtained. Plantin never used this Pica Italic in Antwerp. As we saw, he originally had a typeface by Tavernier on this body and thereafter Granjon's 'Mediane cursive premiere' with 126 matrices, the very number with which Guyot supplied him. And this would seem to imperil our hypothesis, for if we assume that the order was really intended for the Bible editions we should not here be dealing with Granjon's typeface but with the Pica Italic of Guyot which appears in the books. Yet the quantity mentioned is not a reason for revising the argument: a contemporary specimen of Guyot's types, which he himself probably printed and distributed, shows that his Italic also contained 126 matrices,⁴⁷ so that rather than invalidating our hypothesis this number would seem to confirm it.

A still more decisive argument can be advanced for the view that Plantin was directly connected with the printing of *Den Bijbel* and *Dat Nieuwe Testament*. The books contain 19 Roman capitals on a body of two-line Brevier (or 'Bible'), an alphabet of particular quality which shows every sign of being designed by Garamont. The

⁴⁶ For the brevity of the Haarlem experiment, see n. 13. In the southern Netherlands Plantin was one of the very few printers at about this time who used an Italic as a text letter in books in the Dutch language. Other publishers went over to the two Civilité typefaces of Ameet Tavernier which had been available since 1559, script types derived from the current handwriting in the Netherlands; cf. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Typografische schrijfboeken. Een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de civilité letter', *Uit de wereld van het boek. I: Humanisten, dwepers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1975), pp. 133-60 – previously published in *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 288-326. See also *id.*, 'Les caractères de civilité et la propaganda religieuse', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26 (1964), pp. 7-27. For the acceptance of Civilité types in the Netherlands see also H. Carter & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité Types* (Oxford 1966), pp. 33 ff.

⁴⁷ *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. I [1-15]. *Reproductions of fifteen type specimen sheets issued between the 16th and 18th centuries ...*, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1963), (1): 'Anonymous Netherlands sheet, c.1565'. This sheet, the only known copy of which is at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, gives specimens of a total of six typefaces. Three of these are documented in the Plantin archives as the work of François Guyot. It is generally accepted that this also applies to the other three and that we are here dealing with a specimen sheet of the punchcutter himself, issued to promote his sales.

narrow E and N, the broad H, the open P, the R the tail of which ends below the line, and the diagonal stress of the O allow, in my opinion, no other attribution. Five letters are not used so that the complete alphabet consisted of 24 letters, including a W, a letter which is often wanting in other sets. This number corresponds to the '24 dobbel Bybel Capitaelen' mentioned in the 1652 inventory of punches and matrices of the *Officina*.⁴⁸ 'These punches', write the authors of the inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum,⁴⁹ 'were doubtless bought in 1562 from Le Bé with the punches for Garamont's Bible Romaine'. They thus belong to a set of punches of this typeface first mentioned in the inventory of 1563, no. 162 of which corresponds to the number of matrices which Guyot delivered of this face.⁵⁰ With the purchase of the punches the two-line capitals became Plantin's exclusive property and, in so far as I have been able to ascertain the matter, they have never been found in the work of other printers.⁵¹ There is no other possible explanation of their presence in these circumstances than that they came from his own collection, and this leads to the inevitable conclusion that he was deeply involved in the Bible editions of 1562/3.

PLANTIN AND HENDRIK NICLAES AS PARTNERS

The next question is: where were the Bible editions printed? From the acquisition of extra matrices it has emerged that Plantin had his eye on a place of publication

⁴⁸ 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), p. 112.

⁴⁹ Parker & Melis, op. cit. (n. 38), f. 20 (no. 21), where the reader is referred to the 1581 inventory which mentions the punches of Garamont's 'Bible romaine' 'Avec Capitales de 2 lignes du mesme Corps'. Cf. 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), p. 67 (where these punches are erroneously identified with ST 8. See n. 51). See also Parker & Melis, op. cit. (n. 38), f. 48 (no. 77): '[Plantin] had bought them from Le Bé, who probably bought them at Garamont's executors' sale in early 1562. The number 167 (properly 162) indicates that the set included the punches for the Capitales de 2 R. Bible'.

⁵⁰ 'Poinçons de la lecture de Breuiaire Garamont 162'; cf. 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), pp. 17 f.

⁵¹ After the purchase of Der Kinderen's typographical material they were acquired by Willem Gailliart, who used them in his edition of *Het Nieuwe Testament* of 1566 (Vogel 20). The editors of 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 36), p. 18, identify these two-line Brevier capitals (Height 4 mm) with ST 8 in the Plantin-Moretus Museum, a set of 23 punches, matrices of which were not made until the eighteenth century (MA 79b); they found the capitals to have been first used in a *Martyrologium* (Antwerp, ex Architypographia Plantiniana, 1746). From photocopies of specimens of ST 8 (smoke proofs) and MA 79b, for which I am much indebted to Prof. H.D.L. Vervliet, it would appear, however, that this identification is incorrect and that the ST 8-MA 79b typeface is not a two-line Brevier but a two-line Pica. The height of the capitals is 5.2 mm and is thus the same as the Double Pica of Tavernier (VPT, R 16) and even somewhat larger than Guyot's face on this body (R 17). An identification of the two-line Brevier capitals with any type surviving in the Plantinian collections thus seems impossible.

probably outside the southern Netherlands. In the meantime his business was auctioned and his typographical material had passed in lots into other hands – an additional reason why Antwerp could not be considered. In this connection we might think of Paris in view of Plantin's many contacts with that city and because, judging from the entry in his 'Journal', that was where the matrices were addressed. Yet Paris can presumably also be excluded since Plantin could not work independently there without rights of citizenship. Nor would he have found any compositors whose Dutch was good enough for such a task, and besides, to print Protestant Bibles was about as dangerous there as it was in the southern Netherlands. Several years were to elapse before a printer dared to produce the Genevan version of the Scriptures in Paris.⁵²

In order to find an answer to this question we must resort to what little is known about Plantin's movements during his exile. Until recently it has been thought that he spent most of the period together with his family in Paris, where his presence was required on account of a lawsuit; yet we now know that this action, over a house which served as a cover for Plantin's demands on the owner (who had died in the meantime), only took place in 1563.⁵³ Since there is not a single document concerning this period in the Plantinian archives we must turn, for the preceding year, to the history of the 'Family of Love' as it is related in the *Chronika* of the sect.⁵⁴ This manuscript, which has always turned out to be a reliable source when checked against documentation coming from elsewhere, provides various details about a journey which Plantin made to Kampen at about this time.

Hendrik Niclaes, as we know, had to leave his residence in Emden in about 1560.

⁵² The first edition of the Genevan version of the Bible which was printed in Paris dates from 1565; cf. B.T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century French-Language Editions of the Scriptures* (Genève 1983), pp. xiv f. and nos. 359-60; 'the First Parisian New Testament since 1525', published as a joint edition by Oudry Petit and André Wechel; W.J. van Eys, *Bibliographie des Bibles et des Nouveaux Testaments en langue française des XVe et XVIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Genève 1900-1), vol. 2, nos. 119-20.

⁵³ Clair, op. cit. (n. 33), p. 245.

⁵⁴ *Cronica. Chronika des Hüsgeſinnes der Liffen [...] dorch Daniel, ein Mede-older [...] am dach gegeben*, Library of the Society for Dutch Literature (Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde) in Leiden UL, shelf-mark LTK 620; quoted as *Chronika*. For the complete title and further details, see Fr. Nippold, 'Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe', *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 32 (1862), pp. 323-402 and 473-563 (pp. 326 ff.). A long awaited edition of this and other manuscripts about the Family of Love is due to be published by Alastair Hamilton. [*Cronica. Ordo Sacerdotis. Acta HN. Three Texts on the Family of Love*, ed. with an Introduction and Summaries in English by Alastair Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden, Brill, 1988). Eds.] The recent standard work on the subject is his *The Family of Love* (Cambridge 1981). Historical information about the life and writings of Hendrik Niclaes is assembled in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The Family of Love', *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), pp. 219-71, also containing a survey of previous literature. For certain supplementary remarks about the nature of the chronicle, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 248 ff.

He had lived and worked there as a prosperous and respected merchant for twenty years under the name of Hendrik van Amsterdam without his activities as the leader of a religious sect ever giving rise to suspicion. When it came to light, however, that he was the man hiding behind the initials HN with which he signed his writings, he had to flee from the town, leaving his family behind. Shortly afterwards he settled in Kampen, a port in the northern Netherlands. We read in the *Chronika*⁵⁵ that some time later – as always no more precise chronological details are given – he received a visit from Plantin, whom he put up at the house of Augustijn van Hasselt while he himself stayed with a friend after the death of his wife. Augustijn van Hasselt had become a friend of Plantin in about 1556/7, when, acting as HN's secretary, he had learned the art of typography at Plantin's establishment in Antwerp during the production of Hendrik Niclaes' main work, *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*. He had since become a citizen of Kampen in order to run a printing-office which Hendrik Niclaes had set up to publish the remainder of his writings.⁵⁶

Plantin's can hardly have been a lightning visit to Kampen: the *Chronika* refers more than once to the many conversations between guest and host and the special mention by the chronicler of the apparently high wine bill which HN was left to pay suggests a stay of relatively long duration. Only one of the subjects discussed is mentioned explicitly: Plantin came with the news of a bequest from a mutual friend, a Parisian jeweller who had fallen under the charm of the ideas of the prophet and had left him a casket of jewels. Plantin seems to have aroused HN's suspicions (probably unjustly) when he said that he himself had accepted certain precious stones in payment of some outstanding debts, but this setback in their mutual confidence had no further effects on their relationship. They remained in touch with one another for years to come, and from a business letter from Plantin – the only item in their correspondence to have survived – it emerges that Hendrik Niclaes was financially involved in one of the printer's enterprises: the publication

⁵⁵ *Chronika*, cap. XXI, 20–5. Published in H.F. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied', *De Gulden Passer*, 18 (1940), pp. 87–141 (in the Appendix, pp. 137 ff); also in *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durme (Anvers 1955), pp. 285 ff. The *Chronika* places the journey to Kampen 'a short time' after the fatal events in the spring of 1562 and it has indeed been assumed that the visit took place before the end of that year. Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. 1, pp. 37 f., observes that in Plantin's 'Journal' the entries of 1, 2, 3, 7 and 12 January are followed by an entry on 5 March, succeeded by one on 14 May which is the last before the firm was reopened over a year later. The author suggests the possibility that Plantin's presence in Antwerp on the last two dates means that he was first travelling to, and later returning from, Kampen, where he had spent the intervening period. But it was in the first weeks of this period that his bankruptcy was organized and his goods auctioned in a successful effort to save them from confiscation by the authorities. That he should have moved elsewhere in these critical days seems particularly unlikely.

⁵⁶ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 256 ff.

of Hebrew Bibles, which appeared in three different editions in 1566.⁵⁷

The legacy was not, however, the only – or, I believe, the most important – reason for Plantin's visit. I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere that he supplied various Roman types to Hendrik Niclaes' printing-office and had the press produce a reprint of a book in his stock: *De Secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois* (Voet 39).⁵⁸ When the work appeared in 1561, the press had just started, for Augustijn did not receive his citizenship of Kampen before September of that year.⁵⁹ Plantin must therefore have known about the plans at an early stage and this suggests that they were hatched after joint discussions. This again leads us to conclude that the object of the enterprise very probably exceeded the exclusive production of a number of tracts and epistles by Hendrik Niclaes. In so far as they survive these editions take up no more than fifty octavo quires and, judging from the extent of his work as we know it from the later editions published in Cologne and elsewhere, this was not far short of the total volume of his unpublished writings.⁶⁰ It is hard to believe that someone with the commercial experience of Hendrik Niclaes should set up a special printing-office, with all the expense it would entail, simply in order to print fewer than four hundred leaves. There is therefore every reason to assume that the press was intended from the start for a far vaster production and that the commercial objective went further than the printing of Hendrik Niclaes' own works. That the *Chronika* should only mention this latter purpose means little: the author of the manuscript hardly ever talks about the business activities of the leader of the sect and when he does so, he only refers to

⁵⁷ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. Rooses, vol. 1 (Anvers 1883), pp. 157 ff., no. 74. The document, an undated minute, is between letters dated 2 August 1567. For the Hebrew Bible editions see Voet, op. cit. (n. 39), nos. 649–51. Hendrik Niclaes' participation in these publications can be deduced from the information sent him by Plantin and which would appear to be intended for someone directly involved. This would seem to be confirmed by the discovery of a copy of one of the editions (Voet 651) in a binding on which the name 'Henricus Nicolas' is stamped, presumably a present from Plantin. Cf. De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 54), p. 237 and illus. 5. Other participants in this vast enterprise were the Van Bomberghens, Gaspar van Zurich and the Antwerp merchant Johan Radermacher.

⁵⁸ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 44), pp. 266 ff.

⁵⁹ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes. Prolegomena eener Bibliographie', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940–2), hereafter referred to as FV, pp. 161–221 (p. 175).

⁶⁰ This concerns the following editions in De la Fontaine Verwey's list (n. 59): nos. 8, 14, 22, 46, 55, 56, 59, 63–7, 70, 71 and 96 (Voet 1733–46 and 1746 bis), *Evangelium, seu laetum regni Dei ac Christi nuncium* (FV 13) and a hitherto undescribed original edition of *Dre grundighe refereinen* in Wolfenbüttel (Herzog August Bibliothek, HAB 1164.107 Theol. 3); see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 44), p. 257. To this enumeration should probably be added a reprint of *Van dat geestlicke landt der belofften* (FV 26) and translations of that tract into French and possibly also into Latin. No copies have hitherto come to light, but there exists a revised Cologne reprint of the French translation which indicates the existence of an earlier edition; cf. Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 54), p. 151, n. 79.

them in the most general terms. For the prophet's followers, the publication of his writings was an important matter, but, for posterity, the curtain was allowed to drop on his social existence and his career as a merchant.

On the basis of these considerations we can assume that we are dealing with a joint commercial enterprise of Hendrik Niclaes and Plantin the aim of which was to cut in on the growing demand for Bibles at the time. The text used was a recent translation of 1558, republished by Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest in 1560, which was highly successful and became the object of countless reprints.⁶¹ The market the two men had in mind consisted above all of purchasers from the southern Netherlands and this meant that a more modern typographical layout was possible than that used in the existing editions of the Bible. This relieved the enterprise to some extent of the competition of the Emden printers who were providing vast numbers of the same Bibles in the traditional Textura. The use in these areas of an Italic typeface for printing a Bible was an entirely new concept which can hardly be attributed to any other printer but Plantin: the Frenchman had been reluctant to use Texturas for many years and it was only in 1566 that publications of his own appeared in that kind of type.⁶² Besides, even the considerable capital necessary for the work limits the choice of possible publishers. The production time for a Bible on one press with two compositors was about a year, and it thus took some time for the investment to produce a return.⁶³ About half of the costs were due to the paper.⁶⁴ In this case it is

⁶¹ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), no. 7. This Bible is already a reprint of the edition of Steven Mierdman and Jan Gailliart, Emden 1558 (Vogel 3), and therefore an adaption of the Low German Luther translation printed in 1554 by Michael Lotter in Magdeburg. For the history of the text, see C.C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden 1937), pp. 216 f. This so-called 'Biestkens' Bible remained in use notably by the Mennonites into the eighteenth century.

⁶² In April 1565 and the months following Plantin bought cast type of three Texturas; two were of French origin and were delivered by François Guyot. Denominated as 'Parisian Textura' on Small Pica and Bourgeois respectively, they are described by Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 158 f. (T 41; *Index* 43) and pp. 162 f. (T 43; *Index* 44). The third typeface is Tavernier's 'Nonpareil' (T 51; *Index* 45), the smallest Textura available at the time; cf. Vervliet, op. cit., pp. 174 f. Plantin bought the fount of this typeface from a certain Girard d'Embde, an otherwise unknown name behind which the punchcutter himself was perhaps concealed. For a list of further literature on the three typefaces as used by Plantin, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 42), notes 62-4.

⁶³ The Bible, together with the extensive register, contains at a rough calculation a total of 5,600,000 ens. For copy such as this, with tens of thousands of cross references in the margins, the long term production of an experienced compositor cannot be set at more than 9,000 ens a day; see my remarks in my art. cit. (n. 42), note 80. If two compositors were continually at work for a six-day week this would mean a production time of $(5,600,000 : 9,000) : 2 \times 7/6 = 363$ days. This, however, is without counting ecclesiastical feast-days, illnesses or other interruptions, so that the real production time must have been over a year.

⁶⁴ Cf. the chapter 'Costing' in Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. 2, pp. 379 ff., and especially the examples on pp. 382-4.

of particularly fine and uniform quality and provenance, and the whole supply was probably delivered before the printers set to work.⁶⁵

All these elements mean that, besides the salary of four qualified typographers (two compositors and a first and second pressman), this large enterprise had to be financed for a whole year without producing any profits.

What part did Der Kinderen play in this business? Nothing suggests that he had at his disposal the financial means to contribute even partially to such activities, so he cannot have been the true publisher, responsible financially and organizationally for the production of the books. That he should be named as such on the title-pages means little, for Plantin more than once used the names of collaborators for works which he did not want to publish under his own name.⁶⁶ For the sale and distribution of the apparently large editions, it would appear from various reports that use could be made of a network of middlemen ('bijbelschippers' [Bible skippers]) and numerous agencies held by more or less regular book dealers, both itinerant and sedentary. We cannot exclude the possibility that Der Kinderen played some part in the distribution and indeed presented himself externally as the producer of the books. In the entire business he probably kept a special eye on Plantin's interests, but the larger part of his task was undoubtedly the type setting which he performed together with Augustijn and under his colleague's general management. To what extent Plantin took a personal part in the process during his exile and whether he went to Kampen more than once and, as has been suggested, made French translations of one or more of HN's works there,⁶⁷ is something we do not know.

⁶⁵ Watermark: hand with articulated fingers, on which a flower with a stem. Cf. C.M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. (Genève 1907; repr. Amsterdam 1968), vol. 2, pp. 577 f., the group nos. 11434-59; the greatest similarity is with nos. 11449, 50, 56 and 57. The paper is French and probably from Troyes, which was where Plantin's chief suppliers were based, as we see from the data published by Voet, op. cit. (n. 29), vol. 2, pp. 27 ff. In the period 1563-7 (there are not enough figures from earlier years) half of the paper which Plantin bought came directly from Troyes, and the other half, mainly provided by paper dealers in Antwerp, probably also contained paper from that area. See also H. Voorn, 'Lombards en Troys, Frans en Bovenlands papier. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse papierhandel', *Opstellen over de Koninklijke Bibliotheek en andere studies ...* (Hilversum 1986), pp. 312-27 (pp. 313 ff.). Although hardly any research has been done on the watermarks in Dutch books of this period, J.F. van Someren came across the watermark in question in editions printed in Antwerp and Ghent in the years 1568-74; see his article 'Wesenbeke of Marnix? Historisch-bibliographische studie', *Oud Holland*, 9 (1891), p. 81 (illus.).

⁶⁶ The men close to Plantin who leant their names were Frans van Ravelinghen (his future son-in-law), Guillaume Rivière (a brother-in-law), Nicolas Spore (his foreman in the press from 1579 to 1589) and Cornelis de Bruyn. The book dealer Thomas Basson fulfilled this role in Leiden in 1585 when Plantin produced a number of political publications there intended for the French market.

⁶⁷ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 54), p. 235.

DER KINDEREN AND GAILLIART'S PRESS

I have already said that Der Kinderen, with part of the material used in Kampen, including the woodcut ornaments and initials, moved to Emden and there apparently started working for Gailliart. Two books are of particular interest in this connection since they contain a large number of initials belonging to both men and appeared in 1565 with a hitherto unused device. It is oval in shape and depicts Christ as the Source of Life with the legend 'Comt ende drinct wt die fonteyne des levenden waeters' [Come and drink from the fountain of the water of life].⁶⁸ First there appeared *Biblia, dat is de gantsche heylige Schrift* ... ('Ghedrukt tot Embden Anno 1565').⁶⁹ The folio volume is a clandestine reprint of the so-called 'Deux-Aes Bible' of 1561/2,⁷⁰ and the large cartouche in which the device is printed on the title-page is a copy of the original. For the rightful publisher Gilles van der Erven (Aegidius Ctematius) this infringement of his rights must have been particularly unpleasant.⁷¹ The 'Emden translation' had a great success both there and elsewhere and soon became the most popular Dutch Bible amongst the followers of Calvin. This makes the interest of competitors understandable, but it also accounts for the indignation with which the injured publisher called the pirate to account in a reprint of his own issued in the same year.⁷² He could take no further steps against the culprit, however, for, also in 1565, an anonymous translation appeared of Johannes Tauler's *Predicatie oft Sermonen*,⁷³ with the same device and thus apparently by the

⁶⁸ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 18), p. 458.

⁶⁹ The title-page of the New Testament has the date 1564. Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), pp. 169 f., no. 17; Le Long, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 731 f. For a (reduced) reproduction of the title-page, see Vogel, art. cit. (n. 18), illus. 4 and Poortman, op. cit. (n. 19), illus. 80-1, where the title-page of the New Testament is also reproduced. A full-size reproduction of the printer's device is to be found in Tielke, op. cit. (n. 5), p. [39].

⁷⁰ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), p. 167, no. 8. Le Long, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 719 ff. For the history of the text cf. De Bruin, op. cit. (n. 61), pp. 238 ff. The title-page (reduced) is reproduced in Vogel, art. cit. (n. 18), p. 456 illus. 1.

⁷¹ This printer has been active in Emden since 1555 as the successor of Nicolaes van den Berghe (Nicholas Hill), for whom he had probably worked before that date. He came from Ghent, went to London where he became a member of the consistory and deacon of the Dutch Church in 1550, and moved with many others in 1553/4 to Emden via Copenhagen. In January 1555 he obtained the citizenship of Emden and remained there until his death in 1566, printing mainly for the Protestant Dutch and French refugee communities. In his first years as an independent printer he also worked for the English market, cf. F. Isaac, 'Egidius van der Erve and his English printed books', *The Library*, 4th S., 12 (1932), pp. 336-52. Some of the editions there described perhaps appeared before the press was in his name.

⁷² Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), p. 170, no. 18; De Bruin, op. cit. (n. 61), p. 244.

⁷³ For a full description, see E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 3, pp. 287 f.,

same publisher, not, however, with 'tot Embden', but with the imprint of a certain Peter van Dueren in Frankfurt, who is otherwise wholly unknown.⁷⁴ This fictitious address seems to have offered the guilty printer sufficient protection since it never came to a lawsuit. In Emden it was not only the city magistracy who controlled commercial transactions; the consistory of the Dutch emigrant community also acted against the infringement of the authors' and publishers' rights of its members. The proceedings of this body (to which Van der Erven himself belonged for several years) have been preserved and make no mention of any intervention in this case.⁷⁵ Yet Van der Erven must certainly have had his suspicions: printers easily recognize the material with which their immediate colleagues work, and in this case the culprit was not far off.

The fictitious address has in recent times led to various false conclusions, one of which presents Tauler's *Predicatie* as an Amsterdam reprint of some decades later.⁷⁶ Since the work also appears in the *Librorum prohibitorum Index* of 1570 and was confiscated in Kampen in the same year, so late a date as well as Amsterdam as place of publication

no. 558.

⁷⁴ The appearance of the 'Comt ende drinct' device both in the *Biblia* of Embden 1565 and in Tauler's *Predicatie* of the same year is discussed as the example of an unsolved problem by H. de la Fontaine Verwey in his 'Opmerkingen over de Nederlandsche bibliographie der zestiende eeuw na 1540', *Bibliotheekleven*, 28 (1943), pp. 1-14 (pp. 10 f.). The provenance of the books had not yet been established. The Bible was previously ascribed to Urbain van Collen; cf. Hahn, op. cit. (n. 5), no. 61 and Brandes, op. cit. (n. 5), no. 51. Vogel left the attribution open. Urbain was a compositor who worked for various printers in London, Emden and Antwerp but never acted as an independent publisher. All that is known about him has been assembled by Wijnman, art. (1) cit. (n. 5), pp. 157 ff.

⁷⁵ For the intervention of the Emden consistory in a matter of Bible publication in 1558, see J. Weerda, 'Eine Denkschrift Godfrid van Wingen's an den Emden Kirchenrat gegen die Gheylliaert-Bibel von 1556', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 31 (1940), pp. 105-22, and Wijnman, art. (1) cit. (n. 5), pp. 145 ff. and 152 ff. For another example cf. Wijnman, art. (2) cit. (n. 5), p. 141.

⁷⁶ Burger, op. cit. (n. 73), came across various initials in the book which also appear in another edition issued in 1588 by the Amsterdam publisher Barent Adriaensz. He established that they show similar traces of damage in both books and were undoubtedly printed from the same woodblocks. For this reason he described the 'Frankfurt' edition as a later reprint from the end of the sixteenth century. A possible provenance from Amsterdam had already been suggested by J. T. Bodel Nyenhuis in *De Vrije Fries*, 15 (1853), p. 123, n. 1. These misconceptions were due to the fact that nobody had realized that all the material of Gailliart's press was taken to Amsterdam in 1578 after the town had chosen to back William of Orange and was used there for many years. Burger, op. cit. (n. 73), vol. 4, p. 293, already admitted that 'a close examination of all editions which contain any of this material could be fruitful for our knowledge of both the Emden and the Amsterdam publications'. He embarked on this research himself but had later to confess to his regret that he had not found the key. In his lecture mentioned in n. 74, De la Fontaine Verwey, in his turn, again stressed the 'eminent importance' (pp. 9 ff.) of such a study. As a sequel to an initiative taken by him this has now been done and it is consequently clear how and when the typographical material of nearly all Dutch printers who worked in Emden came to Amsterdam.

must be excluded.⁷⁷ This applies to the *Biblia*, too, the same printer's device of which also led to the assumption that it was a pre-dated Amsterdam edition.⁷⁸ This is wrong, but it is easy to see how such attributions came about: Gaillart's initials were taken to Amsterdam in 1578, where they were used intensively.

If we examine the typographical contents of this *Biblia* more closely we will see that the text type used, the traditional Pica Textura of Henrick Lettersnijder (VPT, T 30),⁷⁹ is not uniform throughout the entire book but that use is made of two founts which clearly differ. As we might expect in a book of this size, several compositors were involved in the production. One of them worked with the type in its original form (fount A): sturdy, with heavy static forms including an f and a long s which stand on the line and the characteristic square y. This is how the type had survived for about seventy years and was still used by many printers, particularly in the northern Netherlands. His fellow compositors (there was probably more than one) had different type cases, with the type as it had developed in the southern Netherlands (fount B): narrow, lighter and more mobile, with an f and a long s which extend below the line and a slim, bent y after the French model. This fount (B) has the normal Pica measurement of the type, 77-8 mm for twenty lines, and differs in this respect from (A) which, contrary to custom, is cast on a size of 76-7 mm. As a result of this differing format we see, over the same number of lines, a clear difference on opposite pages in the height of the type area between pages printed with types (A) and (B) respectively.

For the marginalia and the list of contents of the chapters use is made of the above-mentioned 'Bible' Textura (T 47), but here too the content of the type cases was not the same. One of the founts (C) has a Bastarda A, thus with a bar, and an unusual W (Isaac's W 20 without the first hairline),⁸⁰ while the other one (D) is of a normal composition for that time (as reproduced by Vervliet) with an undivided A and a Fractura W.

⁷⁷ 'Tauleri homilien in de nederspraecke ouerghesedt ende Gheprint tot Franckfort, tot dat sy ghecorrigeert sijn'. F. H. Reusch, *Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1886), p. 317; C. Sepp, *Verboden lectuur. Een drietal Indices librorum prohibitorum toegelicht* (Leiden 1889), p. 253. For the confiscation in Kampen, see J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, 'Een kijkje in de bibliotheken te Kampen, 1570', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van Overijssel*, 4 (1878), pp. 306-45 (p. 334).

⁷⁸ Cf. C.P. Burger Jr. in his introduction to the *Catalogus der Bijbel-tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid der herdenking van het honderdjarig bestaan van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap in het Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1914), p. xviii.

⁷⁹ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 140 ff. For the type in its original state, see W. & L. Hellinga, *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of The Netherlands*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1966), vol. 1, pp. 96 f., 102 f., and Table 105; vol. 2, Plates 271-2.

⁸⁰ Cf. the Keyplate (fig. 1) in *English and Scottish Printing Types 1535-58, 1552-58*, collected and annotated by Frank Isaac (Oxford 1932).

These typographical details, which are not in themselves particularly illustrative, acquire their significance if we examine the combination in which the types are used. We then see that in the various parts of *Biblia* (A) + (C) are always employed in combination and that the same goes for (B) + (D), which also always appear together. A total of 20 quires of the Bible are set in the former combination (which was moreover used throughout the composition of Tauler's *Predicatie*) as against 50 in the latter.⁸¹ This implies that one compositor was probably at work with (A) + (C) as against two with (B) + (D). The problem now is as follows: we would here expect the more common situation in which two printers pool their working capacity and their financial means in order to publish a Bible together and thus produce a joint edition in which they participate according to a pre-arranged relationship of work and investment. Such a form of collaboration seems to be out of the question in this case, not only because the curious proportion between the number of quires in the folio volume produced by each party speaks against it, but still more on account of the composition of the last gathering which consists of six leaves. The two outer sheets of this quire are set in the combination (A) + (C), while the middle one is in (B) + (D). Such a division of the work is most unusual and even counterproductive in the case of two compositors working for different presses. It therefore seems almost certain that we are dealing with a production within a single printing shop, in other words that of Gailliart. He did indeed own both versions of the two typefaces: he started his career with the original Lettersnijder Pica (A), but replaced it in 1559 or 1560 by the somewhat more elegant and more economical southern-Netherlands variant (B), while in 1562 the acquisition of Nicolaes Biestkens' printing material added the (C) version of the 'Bible' Textura to the more modern fount (D) which he possessed already.

So much for the typographical aspect of the two books with the device 'Comt ende drinct', which thus offers a solution for their provenance and genesis. If we apply the data assembled to Der Kinderen's New Testament which appeared in the same year of 1565 it emerges that the book is set in (B) + (C), a combination which does not appear in the above-mentioned works but is to be found, for example, in Gailliart's 1567 New Testament (Vogel 22). From this we can deduce that Der Kinderen did not have a printing-press of his own in that year: had he done so he would have used, as one of the printers of *Biblia* (in a part of which his woodcut initials appear), either (A) + (C) or the combination (B) + (D). His *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of 1565 was thus produced by the presses of Gailliart, a result which tallies with the fact that Lenaert never became a citizen of Emden. In contrast to

⁸¹ Printed in the combination of (A) + (C) are: preliminary leaves (°), the Index (a†-c†°), *Propheten* (2A-2M°) and *Nieuwe Testament* 3G°, 3I°, 3L°, 3N° and 3O 1,2,5[6]. In (B) + (D): *Oude Testament*, first part (A-Z°, a-g°), *Apocryphen* (2A-2L°) and *Nieuwe Testament* 3A-3F°, 3H°, 3K°, 3M° and 3O 3,4.

colleagues with or without a printing-office of their own his name never appears in the town's register of citizens.

Der Kinderen's woodcut initials also appeared in the same year of 1565 in two books with another fictitious address, 'by Cornelis van der Rivieren tot Doesborch'. There is something odd about this hitherto unsolved pseudonym since it was used at more or less the same time by two different printers, a particularly rare phenomenon in the Netherlands (and presumably elsewhere too) in the sixteenth century. In 1564 we find this imprint in a translation of Ovid's *De arte amandi* probably done by the Antwerp rhetorician ('rederijker') Marius Laurier.⁸² The edition also contains a Dutch adaptation, by Marcus van Vaernewijck, of 'Les adevineaux amoureux' (c.1479).⁸³ The anonymous printer was a certain Dirk Buyter, who settled in Vianen in the course of 1563 but soon returned to Antwerp (not later than in May 1565) and was never heard of again.⁸⁴ In the same year the pseudonym was used on two other books, printed this time by Gailliart: *Bibelsche Concordancie*,⁸⁵ and *Den A, B, C, oft Christelijcke onderwysinghe*,⁸⁶ both translated from the French and of Protestant origin. *Den A, B, C, ...* is a translation of *L'ABC ou Instruction chrestienne*,

⁸² *Die Conste der Minnen, De Arte Amandi ghenaeemt*. Int Latijne beschreuen door den vermaerden Poet ende Meester der Minnen, Ouidius Naso. Ende nu eerst in onser duytscher talen ouerghesedt ... ('Tot Doesborch, By Cornelis vander Riuieren [= Vianen, Dirck Buyter], Anno 1564', 8vo). Cf. F. Kossmann, 'De Ars amandi bij de rederijkers van het laatst der 16e eeuw', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. 321-56 (pp. 321 ff.). For the attribution to Laurier, see *idem*, 'De Sleutel op de Conste der Minnen en de rederijker Marius Laurier van Yperen', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*, 60 (1941), pp. 207-27.

⁸³ Van Vaernewijck's adaptation, entitled *Questien oft raetsels der minnen*, was first mentioned by W.E. Hegman in *Dokumentaal*, 2:2 (1973), p. 4.

⁸⁴ On Dirck Buyter, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41 (pp. 8 ff.), and *id.*, 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "Voorspel"', *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann ter gelegenheid van zijn vijf en zestigste verjaardag en van zijn afscheid als Bibliothecharis der Gemeente Rotterdam* ('s-Gravenhage 1958), pp. 20-34.

⁸⁵ *Bibelsche Concordancie, of seer schoon Register vande voornaemste dingen inden Bibel ende dnieuwe Testament begrepen, nu alderyerst int licht gecomen, ende gestelt by Locos Communes (als de Gheleerden segghen) na de ordinancie van A.B.C. [...] Item de verclaringe ende beschijuinge der Plaetsen, Lantschappen ende Steden inde heylige Schrift ...* ('Tot Doesborch, By Cornelis vander Rivieren [= Emden, Willem Gailliart], An. 1565'. 8vo). – Copy: Amsterdam, UL. The book contains the complete set of Der Kinderen's small initials except for F and X.

⁸⁶ *Den A, B, C, oft Christelijcke Onderwysinghe voor de Jonghe Kinderen. Van nieuus ouersien by eerweerdighe Leeraers der H. Schrift. Nu yerst tot dienst ende stichtinghe der oprechter Christelijcker Ghemeynten, wt de Fransoische sprake in Nederlantsche tale ouerghestelt door Joannem Fruyterium ...* ('Ghedrukt tot Doesborch, by Cornelis vander Riuieren [= Emden, Willem Gailliart], Ann. 1565. Met Priuilegie voor 6. Jaren'. 8vo). – Copy: Leiden, UL. The book contains the A and O of the larger alphabet and small initials B and W.

first published by Plantin in 1558,⁸⁷ and for the reprinting of which in 1562 (BT 4987)⁸⁸ Willem Silvius was called to account by the authorities – a serious warning for the future. The translator was Jan Fruytiers, who had recently returned to Antwerp after having spent several years in the northern areas and who published in the same year, also with Silvius, a version of *Ecclesiasticus* (BT 1190) in verse and set to music. And when, in 1579, circumstances permitted it once more, reissues appeared both of *Bibelsche Concordancie*⁸⁹ and of *Den A, B, C, ...*⁹⁰ published again by Silvius, who thus appears to have been the owner of the remaining stock. This coincidence suggests the possibility that he was also the original publisher and gave pseudonymous printing orders first to Dirk Buyter and then to Gailliart for books which he did not dare to print on his own press. Whether Der Kinderen acted as intermediary in all this can only be guessed at.⁹¹

As we have seen, in 1565 Lenaert der Kinderen ordered both the paper necessary for *Dat Nieuwe Testament* and a smaller consignment of twelve reams. This may have been intended for the publication of *Een schoon Tafelspel van drie personagien*, more of a fictitious religious discussion than a play (as the title suggests),⁹² printed with

⁸⁷ Voet I, 2 and 2 bis. For the composition and history of the book and the parts played by Jean and Jacques Taffin, see D. Grosheide, 'Twee protestantiserende werken door Plantin in 1558 gedrukt: L' A.B.C. ou Instruction chrestienne, en: Instruction chrestienne par F.J. Pierre Ravillan', *Liber Amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (De Gulden Passer, 61-3; Antwerpen 1985), pp. 77-95 (Silvius: pp. 77 f.).

⁸⁸ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, vols. 1-2 (Nieuwkoop 1968 & 1977-80), hereafter quoted as BT.

⁸⁹ *Den gantschen Schat der Heyliger Schriftueren, of Bybelsche Concordantie, ende seer schoon Register vande vernaemste materien die in't oude en d'nieuwe Testament zijn beghepen ...* ('Tot Leyden, By Willem Silvius drucker der Co. Mt., An. 1579'. 8vo). – Copy: Amsterdam, UL. The first sheet (A) is substituted in the reissue by two half-sheets, both with quire signature A. These are preceded by 4 leaves, also with signature A, which include the new title-page and a foreword by Petrus Dathenus dated 'Ghendt den 4. Decembr. 1578', in which he mentions Silvius as the man who had the book translated. If – and this is by no means sure – this were to refer to the original edition of 1565 it would be a strong argument in favour of Silvius' direct involvement in the edition.

⁹⁰ *Den Gulden A, B, C, oft Christelijcke onderwijsinghe voor de jongheren ende dochterkens [...]* wt de Fransoische sprake [...] overghestelt deur Jan Fruytiers (Antwerpen [=Leiden], Willem Silvius, 1579. 8vo). – Copy: London, British Library (BL).

⁹¹ It should be observed in this connection that 'ABC by Jan Fruitiers, apud Sylvium 68' appears in the *Index librorum prohibitorum* of 1570; cf. Reusch, op. cit. (n. 77), p. 308 and Sepp, op. cit. (n. 77), p. 209. No copy of this edition (a reissue?) has yet come to light and, as far as I know, no copy has ever been mentioned in early auction catalogues. – On Fruytiers' literary works as published by Silvius and the author's presumed editorship of the Rotterdam moralities (*Spelen van sinne*, 1564), see D. Coigneau, 'Drie Rijnsburgse refreinen to Rotterdam (1561) en hun Franse bron', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde*, 1977, pp. 239-90 (pp. 239 ff.).

⁹² *Een schoon Tafelspel van drie personagien, te weten: een prochiaen, gheheeten Eygen ghemack; een coster, gheheeten*

Gailliart's material and containing two of Der Kinderen's initials. The author is not known but he was probably a Brabantine who had sought refuge in the north.⁹³ The quantity of paper corresponds to an edition of some 850 copies – an acceptable figure for a book which was intended for a wide public. Another anti-Catholic work, the popular *Een schoon suyverlick boecxken inhoudende het oordeel [...] vanden Paus Paulo Tertio over [...] Pasquillus*,⁹⁴ is also of a suitable size but only contains a single initial belonging to Gailliart.

CONCLUSION

The course of events in which Lenaert der Kinderen played a part can now be recounted as follows. In the first half of 1561 Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes decided to set up a printing-office on joint account. The basic objective on which this enterprise rested was HN's desire to publish what he had written in recent years. In view of the prior dealings and the existing friendship between the two men it was perfectly obvious that he should approach Plantin who had printed his *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* some years earlier. The Antwerp printer either could not, or did not wish to, carry out so dangerous an order himself. Circumstances had changed. After the favourable development of his own business he now had far more to lose than formerly; his increasingly large staff made the problem of secrecy more acute and there are indications that the authorities supervised book production with ever more severity.⁹⁵ There were too many dangers. After joint discussions another plan came into being: the two men decided to set up in Kampen, where HN had

Menschelijck mensche; een wever, gheheeten Evangelis verstant (s.l. [Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1565. 8vo, 56 unnumbered leaves). – Copies: Ghent, UL, The Hague, KB; cf. W.M.H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijkersdrama, 1500-ca. 1620* (Assen 1968), no. 408. The book contains the large initial W and the small E. A later edition, which appeared without an imprint in 1578 (Leiden, UL) is not, as one might have expected, a reissue but a reprint by the Delft publisher Albrecht Hendricksz.

⁹³ Cf. J. van Mierlo, *De Middelnederlandsche letterkunde van omstreeks 1300 tot de Renaissance* (Geschiedenis van de letterkunde der Nederlanden, 2; 's-Hertogenbosch 1940), p. 371.

⁹⁴ The copy is in Utrecht, UL. It should not be confused with another edition, also without an imprint and with the same date 1565, in the KB in The Hague. The title of the latter displays various differences in spelling (suyverlyck, oordeel), and the unnamed printer was Albert Christiaensz in Vianen.

⁹⁵ That even the very highest authorities were personally involved in the hunt for forbidden books appears from a memorandum dated 10 March 1562 (NS) sent by Joachim Hopperus to Viglius van Aytta: '... Quant au livret en flameing envoye a Son Altesse par le dit Marcqgrave [Jan van Immerseel]. Semble que yceluy Marcqgrave se doit informer tant sur la religiure dycelluy qui semble estre d'Anvers, que sur le caractere.' Published, with a reproduction of the original, in C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes Plantiniens', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 33 (Mainz 1958), pp. 155–63. We do not know what the book, or pamphlet, in question was.

been residing for some time, a press which could be used to publish HN's writings as well as for other work, particularly the printing of Bibles, in which advantage could be taken of the freedom accorded to publishers by the liberal magistrates of the town. The enterprise held out favourable prospects for both parties, and that led to an agreement the business details of which have – as is nearly always the case – been lost.

The management of the printing-office was entrusted to Augustijn van Hasselt, HN's secretary, who had turned into an excellent typographer in Antwerp under the supervision of Plantin. In order to print it was necessary to be a citizen of the town: Augustijn requested citizenship on 24 July 1561 and was granted it by the authorities on 4 September. After that the press could start to work, at first only with the types owned by Hendrik Niclaes himself and which had been acquired at his own expense in order to print his books in Antwerp. The three Fracturas used then were now supplemented with a fourth on a smaller body, and a small Textura was also available. Before the year was out these types had been used to produce a book for Plantin.⁹⁶ In the meantime, as a part of his share in equipping the press, Plantin had bought strikes of four Roman and Italic typefaces and given them to François Guyot to adjust the matrices. On 1 January 1562 these were delivered and two days later they were forwarded. As a precaution Plantin noted in his account books that they were addressed to a trusted business contact in Paris (naturally without debiting him for this 'delivery') to whom a consignment of books was dispatched on the same day. The Italics were destined for the Bible editions – a daring idea which was never imitated – while the 'Bible' Roman was used for the marginalia in HN's publications.⁹⁷ This fact is most important for determining the course of events since it provides a demonstrable connection between the matrices ordered by Plantin and the press in Kampen. The presence of three of the four types concerned is thus proved. Whether the fourth, Garamont's Pica Roman, was also used will probably appear from the hitherto undiscovered French edition(s) mentioned in the *Chronika*.

The two largest Italics, used on a small scale on the title-pages and elsewhere in the Bible editions, must have been sent to Kampen as cast type, like perhaps Pierre Haultin's (first) 'Saint Augustin' which is used together with the 'Bible' in a Latin edition of HN's *Evangelium regni* (FV 13).⁹⁸ As far as we can see, then, Plantin sent four Italics and three Roman text types to the press in addition to the ornaments and the set of two-line Brevier (or 'Bible') capitals. It may be possible

⁹⁶ [Girolamo Ruscelli?], *De Secreten vanden Eerweerdigen Heere Alexis van Piemontois* ([Kampen, Augustijn van Hasselt, for] Christoffel Plantijn in Antwerp) – Voet 39. For the printing history and the types used, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 42), pp. 266 ff., with two reproductions on plates C and D.

⁹⁷ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 42), p. 261.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and 261.

to add one or more typefaces in the future when a French translation of one of the works comes to light. For the casting of the type, an agreement had probably been reached with Peter Warnersen, one of the two foremost printers in Kampen. After the suppression of Hendrik Niclaes' press in 1565 Warnersen published a reprint of one of his tracts, apparently on his own initiative and at his own expense, and he appears to have owned all the Fraktur used there.⁹⁹ He thus seems to have taken over the inventory of the printing shop, unless we assume that he had previously taken the opportunity to cast the matrices for his own use. If this were so, the collaboration would be even more certain.

After the Italics had arrived in Kampen, work could be started on what, from a commercial point of view, was the most important part of the production. First a New Testament was printed which appeared during the autumn, if we are to judge from the fact that a part of the edition was dated 1562 while the rest has the year 1563. After that the press embarked on an entire Bible which was completed in the course of the latter year. The agreed programme was thus accomplished and the enterprise was over. The press came to a standstill and was apparently sold after Plantin had taken back the typographical material belonging to him. Hendrik Niclaes also presumably kept some types for later use: certainly he kept his woodcut ornaments. Kampen was soon abandoned. We find Der Kinderen a little later, in October 1563, in Antwerp with Plantin, who had just reopened his business and bought a quantity of old type and four used type cases from him. He did not actually enter the service of the *Officina* but, it would appear from later editions, was allowed the use of a part of the Kampen material by his former employer: the Italics, which were duplicates for Plantin – including the two-line capitals – and the ornaments, which were stigmatized by their use in the Bibles.

Der Kinderen travelled with this material to Emden and before the end of the year Gailliart published a book in which one of the initials used in Kampen appears. It is most likely that Lenaert entered the service of the Emden firm since, in 1564 and the year following, a number of books came out with 'his' initials. They were partly publications of Gailliart himself, but others appeared with the device 'Comt ende drinct' with Christ as the Source of Life behind which an unknown financier would seem to have been hiding. Several books were also published with the fictitious address 'Cornelis van der Rivieren, tot Doesborch' and may have been printed on the account of Willem Silvius in Antwerp. In 1565, moreover, there appeared a reprint of the New Testament dating from 1562/3, in which the 'Lelie' device and the woodcut initials are again used together under Der Kinderen's name

⁹⁹ *D' anderde Vormaninge H. N. to syne Kinderen unde Husgesinne der Liefien ...* (Kampen, Peter Warnersen, 1565) – De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 59), pp. 175 f. and 196, no. 35. See also Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 42), pp. 268 and 271, with reproduction on plate C.

as the publisher. The paper of this book came from Antwerp – and this, together with a smaller consignment addressed to him, appears to have been Plantin's only dispatches of this article to Emden. Curiously enough the bills remained unpaid, although the 'publisher' worked for almost a year as a compositor in the *Officina* in 1566, and so had every chance of acquitting himself. This suggests that we are dealing with one or more editions in which Plantin was financially involved and that Der Kinderen did the actual work. Whether other joint activities resulted from this commercial association between Plantin and Emden is something we do not know. At the end of 1565 Lenaert left Emden and started working for Plantin in Antwerp at the beginning of the new year. His material remained behind and was taken over by the Gailliarts. Shortly after, Plantin bought back from them the fount of the 'Bible Cursive'. The reason for this transaction is far from clear: he may have been reluctant to see this indispensable and easily recognizable typeface in the hands of a printer who was working in a town so suspicious in the eyes of the Brussels authorities as Emden.

On 16 October 1566 Der Kinderen left Plantin for good to embark on a new stage in his career. As the successor of Goswinus Goeberi (Goossen Goebens), he obtained the post of agent ('factor') in a printing-office in Sedan. In this French town there appeared in 1567, under the name of Lenaert der Kinderen but with hitherto unused printer's devices, two reprints of the New Testament in a recent translation by Joannes Dyrkinus. One of these pirated editions, printed in Lettersnijder's Pica Textura, showed a replica of the anchor-and-snake device of Jean Crespin.¹⁰⁰ The other edition, set in the press' Textura on Brevier,¹⁰¹ had a

¹⁰⁰ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), no. 21a. For the original woodcut device, see J.-F. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin, un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle* (Genève 1981), Plate 2, no. 7. This replica is not represented on plates 13-15 ('Contrefaçons').

¹⁰¹ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 10), no. 21. The author doubted the authenticity of Der Kinderen's imprint. Wijnman, art. (2) cit. (n. 5), pp. 146 f., also said he was not convinced by it and rightly observed that the book was not an Emden publication. It is in fact a reprint of one of the editions of this translation issued after 1559, the publishing rights of which had originally belonged to Gillis van der Erven (Ctematius) but had gone over to Willem Gailliart after he purchased the former's press in 1566. The only known copy of this pirated edition, in Leiden UL, is bound together with a reprint of Dathenus' translation of the Psalms of the same year, 1567; cf. C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985), 'Dath. 1567a' (pp. 21 f.). This Psalm book, published without imprint or device, is attributed by the authors to Der Kinderen. Although the general appearance is very similar to the New Testament which precedes it, there are certain differences which exclude this identification. The Psalm book contains Granjon's first 'St Augustin cursive' (Johnson 1) instead of the English Italic of Tavernier (VPT IT 4) used in the New Testament. The Lettersnijder Pica (T 30), moreover, is not uniform in the two books, and the founts of the Parisian Textura on Brevier (T 47) also differ. Previously the same error was made by D. Nauta in *Handbuch zum Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. L. Coenen (Neukirchen 1963), p. 42.

device which, like the first one he used, was oval in shape and represented a fruit tree being cut down with the legend: 'Alle boom die gheen goede vruchten brengden sullen afghehouden ende int vier gheworpen worden. Matte. III. Cap.' (Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Matt. III).¹⁰² The history of this press, originally from the northern Netherlands, has yet to be published.¹⁰³ Here I shall limit myself to the role of our protagonist. His activity in Sedan did not last much over six months, for, when the entire firm moved to Emden, he returned again to that city and printed a few more books. After that, before the year was out, a New Testament appeared with the 'Alle boom' device, also in Dyrkinus' translation but expanded with the translated annotations of Augustin Marlorat.¹⁰⁴ This edition was soon followed by two others of the same text, with the same device, but bearing the date 1568 (see illus. 9a), and a Psalmbook with the Heidelberg catechism dated 18 July 1569, also with the same device. Although they are without an imprint all four can be attributed on typographical grounds to Willem Gailliart's press.¹⁰⁵ The present state of our knowledge does not allow us to

nos. 18 and 21.

¹⁰² Vogel, art. cit. (n. 18), p. 458 and fig. 3, a reduced reproduction of the title-page. Another reproduction, also (slightly) reduced, is in D. Stoker, 'Anthony de Solempne: attributions to his press', *The Library*, 6th S., 3 (1981), pp. 17-32, (Plate I B), where the publication is wrongly ascribed to Emden (p. 25).

¹⁰³ The article will appear in a future number of this journal. ['The international career of an Emden printer (Goossen Goebens 1560-1576)', *Quaerendo*, 27 (1997), pp. 113-40. Eds.]

¹⁰⁴ T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols., in 4 parts (London 1903-11), no. 3296 (in Part 2). Other copies in Amsterdam, Mennonite Library (on loan to Amsterdam UL), London, BL, Utrecht, UL.

¹⁰⁵ Not described by Vogel because they 'nach allgemeinem Urteil nicht in Emden gedruckt wurden' (art. cit. (n. 18), p. 458). One of the three editions is an octavo of 1568 the title-page of which is reproduced, slightly enlarged, in Stoker, art. cit. (n. 102), p. 24, fig. 1. The attribution to Gailliart mentioned by the author, the result of research in Holland of which he was informed, is correct despite the reservations he expresses. All the initials in the book were owned by this printer, like the woodcut I reproduced in the article quoted (Pl. II C). The letter came from Der Kinderen, who had used it in 1563 in order to open the text of 'his' Bible. (see illus. 2) The two other New Testaments with the 'Alle boom' device are duodecimos (as far as I know the sedecimo mentioned by Stoker does not exist) and are dated respectively 1567 and 1568. The latter one contains the same ornamental initial H with which the 1566 New Testament published in Gailliart's own name (Vogel 20) begins (see illus. 9b). This woodcut also came from Der Kinderen and appears in the New Testaments of 1562/3 and 1565. The 1567 edition with the device does not contain any initial but has the same special text letter as the duodecimo of 1568: Tavernier's 'Nonpareil', a typeface which, besides the punchcutter himself, only Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt owned in these years. The fount very probably came from a press where it was used in 1565 for a reprint of Menno Simons' main work: *Fundamentum. Een Fondament ende clare aenwijsinge ...* and where a new edition of

account for this change of presses with any certainty.¹⁰⁶ There is some evidence that Lenaert gave notice or was dismissed within a few months of his return to Emden; he may have been employed on an annual contract which was not prolonged. He was (again) replaced by his predecessor in Sedan, Goossen Goebens, who after his return to Antwerp had fled from the Netherlands and had sought refuge in Emden. At the time the only other press working in Emden besides the one which Lenaert left was Gailliart's, so we can assume that he returned to his former employer, who was probably delighted to have an experienced compositor of Bible editions in view of the new orders he was receiving. The financial backer, who, either alone or in partnership, used the 'Alle boom' device, did indeed make this transition to the other printer, but whether there is a causal connection between the two changes besides the chronological coincidence is uncertain.

After 1567 we lose sight of our protagonist. All that remains is a somewhat dubious piece of information: in 1723 Gerardus Outhof, a preacher in Kampen who had lived in Emden, claims to have come across his name in a register in the townhall of that city. Lenaert der Kinderen was mentioned as one party in a document of a commercial nature ('in 't stuck van koopmanschap') which was passed on 21 January 1572.¹⁰⁷ At Wijnman's request a search was instituted for this document in the Emden City Archive, but to no avail,¹⁰⁸ and a recent investigation in the State Archive in Aurich has been equally fruitless.¹⁰⁹ If it ever comes to light it will probably show that Lenaert had chosen to embark in another direction. In the prosperous and rapidly expanding Emden of those days a man as active as he would have been offered other possibilities besides the craft of printing – and by then publishing was heavily restricted by the city magistrates.

Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion* had appeared in the same face a year earlier. For the Psalmbook, *De Psalmen Davids ende ander lofsangen ...* (s.l. 1569), see Höweler & Matter, op. cit. (n. 101), pp. 27 f., 'Dath 1569b'.

¹⁰⁶ The change of printer may have been connected with Gailliart's recent acquisition, the 'Nonpareil' mentioned in n. 105, the smallest Textura extant at the time. The typeface made it possible to print the New Testament with extensive marginalia in 12mo format and this was something which the press which had issued an octavo edition with the 'Alle boom' device in 1567 was unable to do.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. 'G. Outhofs byvoegsel op zyne Aanmerkinge over eenige Neerlandsche Bybeldrukkers, enz.', *Maendelyke uittreksels, of Boekzael der geleerde werelt*, 16 (1723), pp. 601-4 (p. 602). The 'Aanmerking' itself is on pp. 427-40.

¹⁰⁸ Wijnman, art. (2) cit. (n. 5), p. 143.

¹⁰⁹ Outhof, art. cit. (n. 107), claimed to have come across the reference in Emden 'in Protocollo Partium'. There is no trace of Der Kinderen, however, in the 'Kontraktenprotokollen' of that town which are now in the Staatsarchiv in Aurich. I am most grateful to Miss Marja Keyser (Amsterdam UL) for assuring me that his name does not appear in the index of the 1572 volumes of this register (Rep. 234, pts. 11-13).

We can therefore only examine Lenaert der Kinderen's career from 1562 to 1567, and we can only speculate on the last year. Despite this fragmentary picture, however, his part in the heyday of Dutch Bible printing was not insignificant, even if it was more restricted than that of the colleague with whom he worked for some time – Augustijn van Hasselt. What is more important is the fact that he was used by Plantin to look after the printer's interests in his partnership with Hendrik Niclaes and their joint commercial activity in this forbidden domain. That Plantin should have pursued such a policy casts a new light on his desire to continue to occupy a prominent place in the production of Dutch Bibles, despite the impediments which he encountered in his town of residence, Antwerp. The enterprise he embarked on with Hendrik Niclaes must have been a financial success: the relatively large number of copies of jointly produced Bibles that survive indicate a sizeable edition which probably met with rapid sales. Judging from the frequent appearance of new editions of Bibles and New Testaments, the demand at the time was colossal.

Perhaps we have here an explanation for the speed with which, and the scale on which, Plantin managed to re-equip the *Officina* and put it back into action after the events of 1562. Hitherto this has been attributed to the help of financiers and there is no doubt that the capital of his partners contributed to a large extent to the rapid growth of his stock and sales capacity in the following years. Yet his own assets seem remarkably large for the victim of the liquidation of his business and the forced sale of his property. The year of Plantin's exile may not have been such a financial disaster as has so far been assumed. It was not the first time that the great businessman emerged reinvigorated from a calamity, nor was it to be the last.

I had already completed the previous article when I received an important piece of evidence to support my hypothesis. As the reader will probably have noticed a weak point was formed by the lack of any indication that Plantin knew our compositor before he entrusted him with so responsible a task in 1562. In the course of a conversation about the results of my research Dr Daniel Grosheide turned out to have found the missing link during his own investigations in the archives of the Plantin-Moretus Museum: the proof that Lenaert had worked at the *Officina* in 1561.¹¹⁰ For a few months in that year Plantin kept a list, in his 'Journal',¹¹¹ of the wages which he paid each week – in more or less the same manner as he did in his 'Livre des ouvriers' since 1563. As from the first entry on 12 July 1561 we find the name 'Le(ee)nard', sometimes with the indication 'compositeur'. Except for a period of three weeks in August, at the time of the autumn fair in Frankfurt,¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Once more I want to express my sincere gratitude for the assistance extended to me by the late Dr Daniel Grosheide.

¹¹¹ PMM, Arch. 35 ('Journal' 1558-61), ff. 125r.-127r.

¹¹² On 16 and 23 August only a few typographers received their wages. The explanation presumably

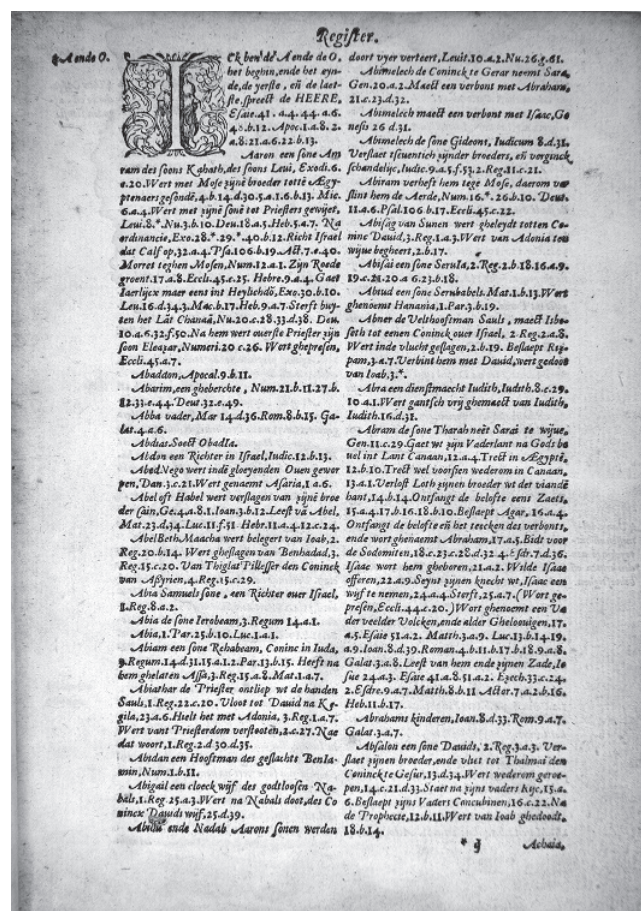
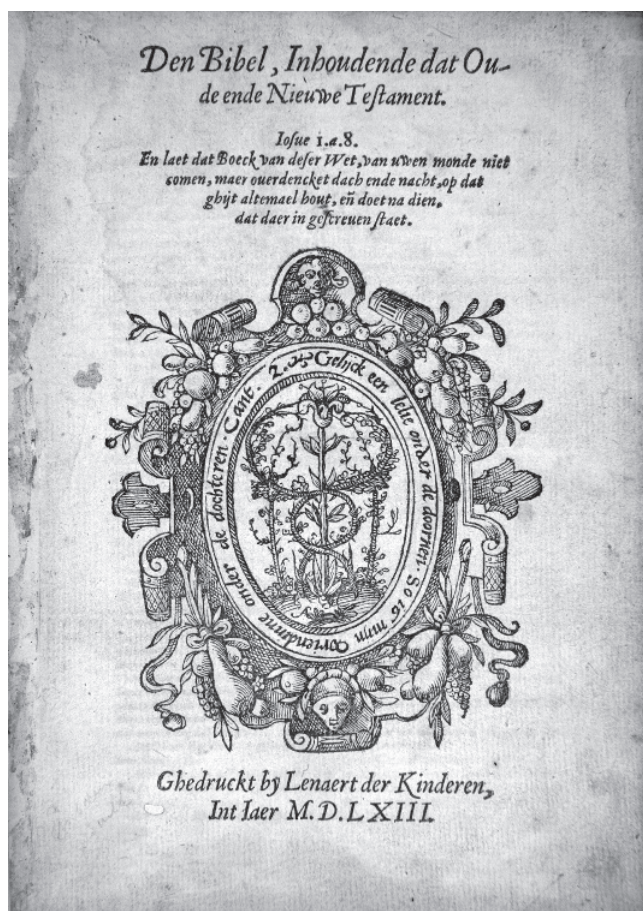
his name appears constantly until 20 September, when the list suddenly comes to an end. The reason for the abrupt termination is obscure, but this information provides a *terminus post quem* for Lenaert's departure for Kampen. Nothing appears in the book which tells us when he started to work in the *Officina*.

So much for what we know about a man who worked for Plantin in 1561-3 and again in 1566 and who, within a period of five years, published Bible editions for Plantin and others in three different towns. But I cannot end this article without reporting another interesting discovery which Dr Grosheide communicated to me. In a further part of the 'Journal', covering the years 1558-61, Plantin used a page for making loose notes.¹¹³ In one of these he noted a payment of five day wages to 'Augustin' on Saturday 2 September [1559]. Since nobody else appears with this name in the account books the entry must refer to Augustijn van Hasselt who was thus in Plantin's service in that year. It therefore seems very likely that he continued to work as a typographer after the printing of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* and a few other books for Hendrik Niclaes in 1556/7, and did not return to his employment as secretary to his former master in Emden. His connection with the founder of the sect was consequently much looser than has so far been thought.¹¹⁴ That he again entered his service in Kampen, on the other hand, is fully in keeping with the collaboration between Hendrik Niclaes and Plantin which I have described and can only serve to strengthen the hypothesis of a common enterprise of the two men.

is contained in a note made on the latter date (f. 126v.): 'Le 23 daugst 1561 le mess estait a francfort'. During Plantin's absence the activity of the printing shop seems to have come to a partial standstill for two weeks, for there is no trace of payments of arrears in the weeks following. Judging from the wages paid, however, work was being performed normally in the week ending on 9 August. That Lenaert's name should be missing there raises the question of whether he too went to Frankfurt.

¹¹³ PMM, Arch. 35 ('Journal' 1558-61), f. 190v.: 'Paye le samedi le 2e de september [...] A augustin 5 Jours ...'. The item immediately follows two entries, the first dated Saturday 16 April and the other 20 July without mention of the day. The first undoubtedly dates from 1558. Perhaps this new piece of information can also be attributed to that year and Augustijn thus worked for Plantin in 1558. Plantin would then have got the date wrong and have written 2 instead of 3 September.

¹¹⁴ Cf. what I have already said in this connection, art. cit. (n. 42), pp. 179 ff., 184.



I

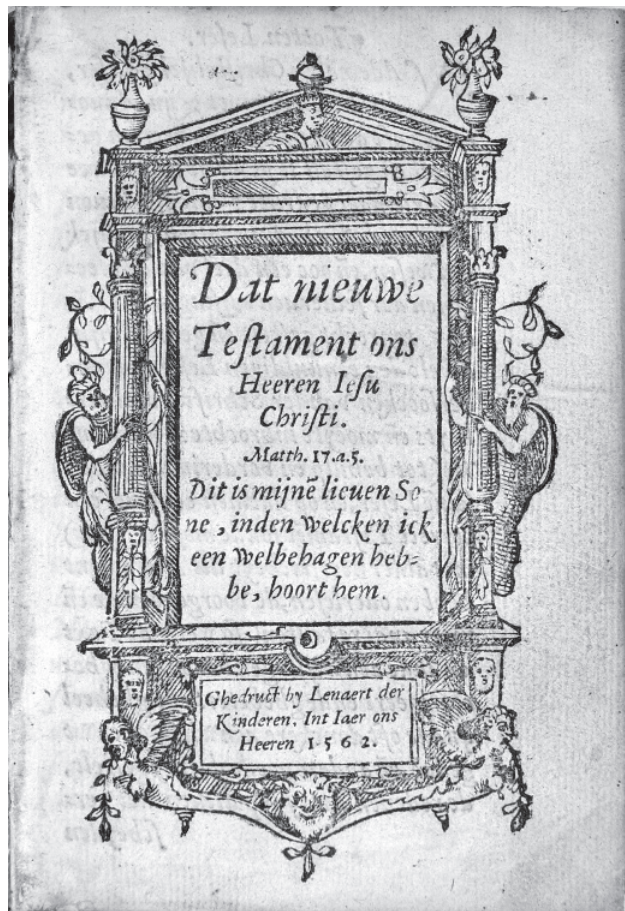
Den Bibel (s.l. [Kampen] Lenaert der Kinderen [for Hendrik Niclaes and Christopher Plantin, 1563). Types: Vervliet IT 2, IT 3 and IT 10. Lenaert's oval device within an ornamental border

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 61-4177)

2

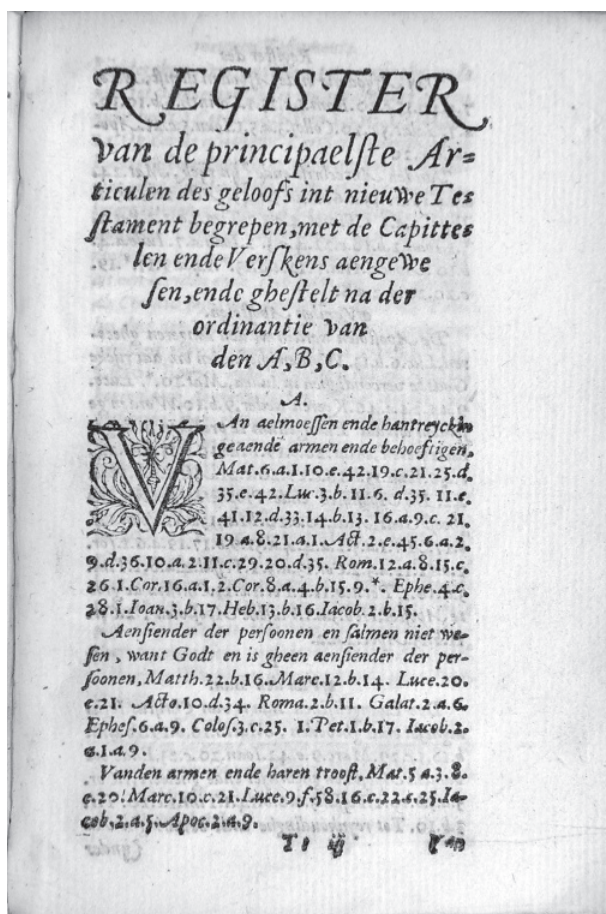
Den Bibel, f. I; see illus. 1. Types: Vervliet IT 2 and IT 10; Granjon's 'Bible Cursive'. Large initial I

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 61-4177)



3a

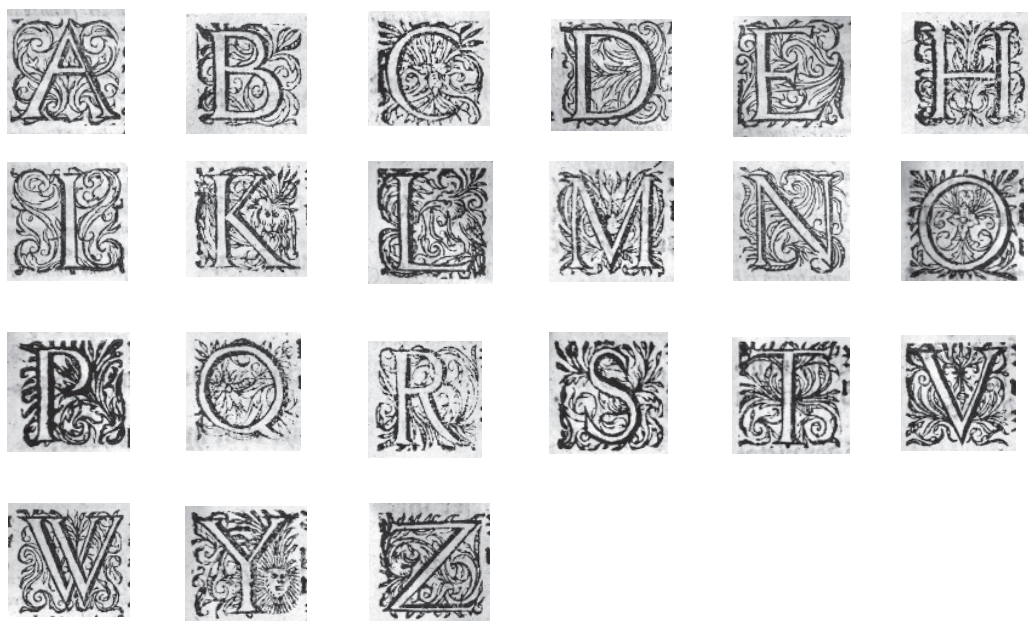
Dat nieuwe Testament (s.l. [Kampen], Lenaert der Kinderen [for Hendrik Niclaes and Christopher Plantin], 1563). Types: Vervliet IT 2, IT 3 and IT 10; Granjon's 'Bible Cursive' (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 62-5634)



3b

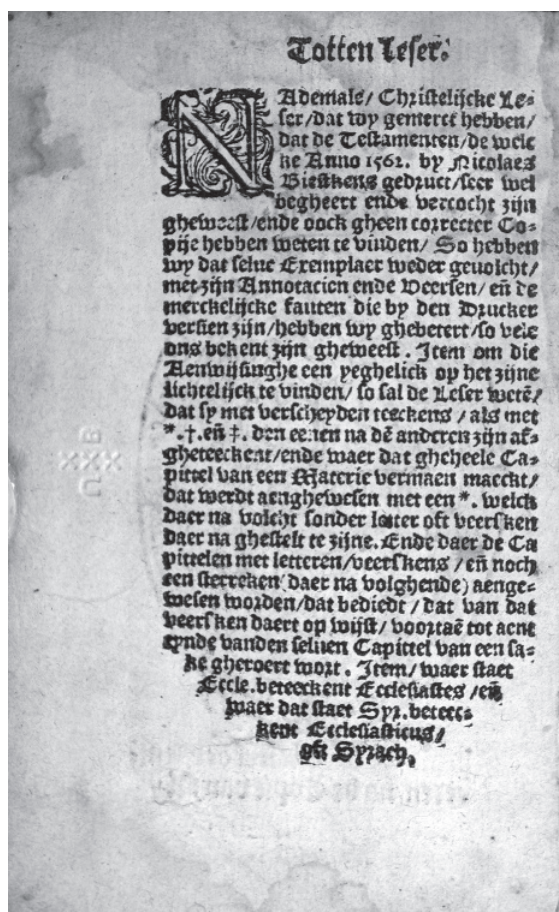
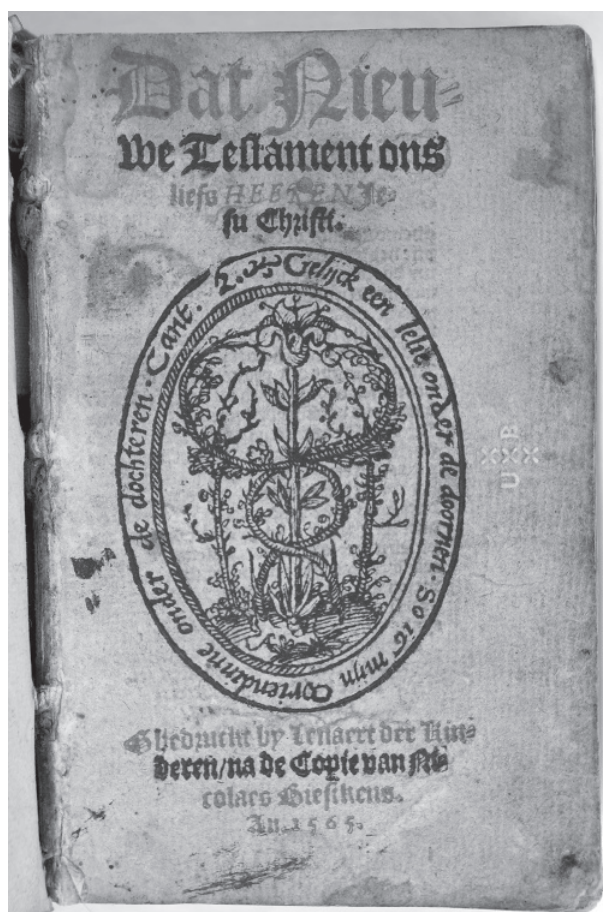
The same, leaves Tt2v. and Tt3r. The same types. Lenaert's circular device and his initial V of the smaller set.

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 62-5634)



4

An alphabet of Lenaert's smaller initials as used in *Bibelsche concordantie* [...] (Doesborch, Cornelis van der Rivieren [= Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1565), *passim*.
(Amsterdam, Paul Dijstelberge, 2013)

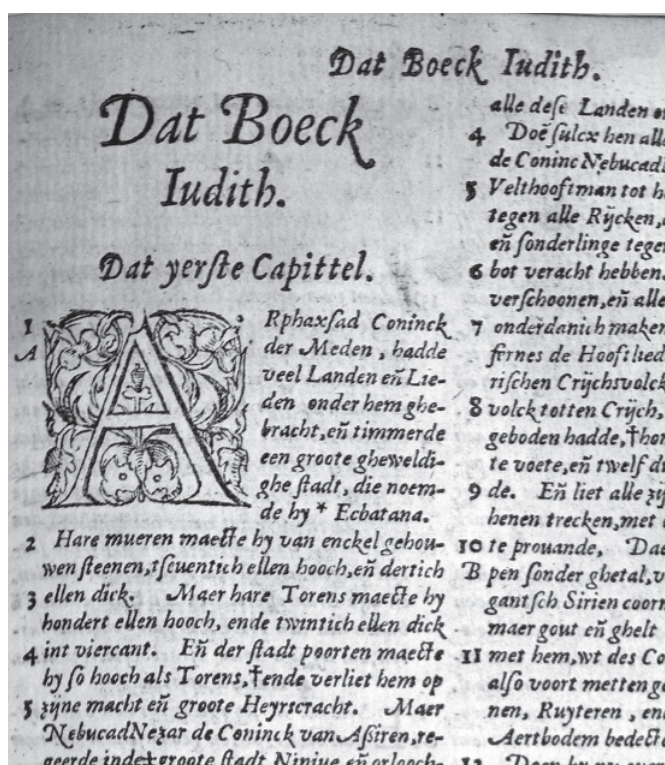


5a

Dat Nieuwe Testament (s.l. [Emden], Lenaert der Kinderen [at Willem Gailliant's], 1565)
Types: Vervliet T3, T 12(b), T 30, T 43 and IT 10. Lenaert's oval device. Title printed in black and red

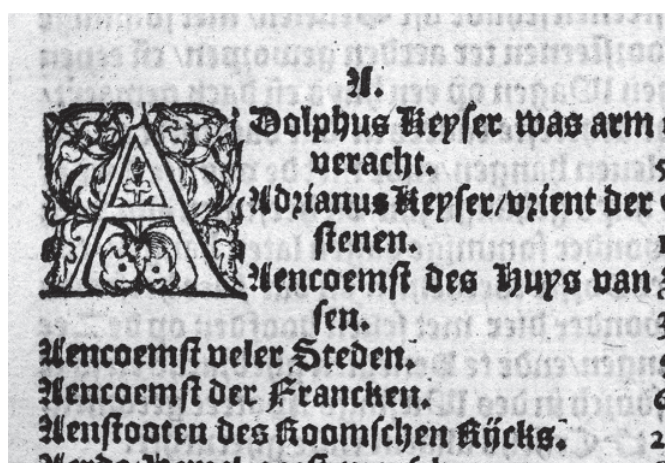
5b

The same, verso title. Types: Vervliet T 30 and T 47, fount (C). Initial N upside down, of the small set
(both: Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 81-74)



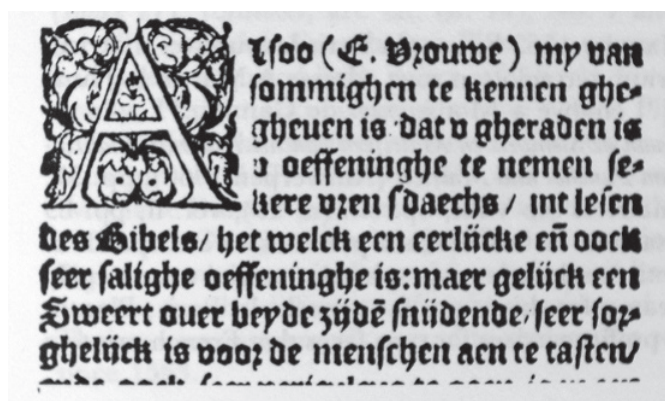
6a

Den Bibel (s.l. [Kampen], Lenaert der Kinderen [for Hendrik Niclaes and Christopher Plantin], 1563), f. 338r.
(Amsterdam, Paul Dijstelberge, 2013; A: O 6I-4I77)



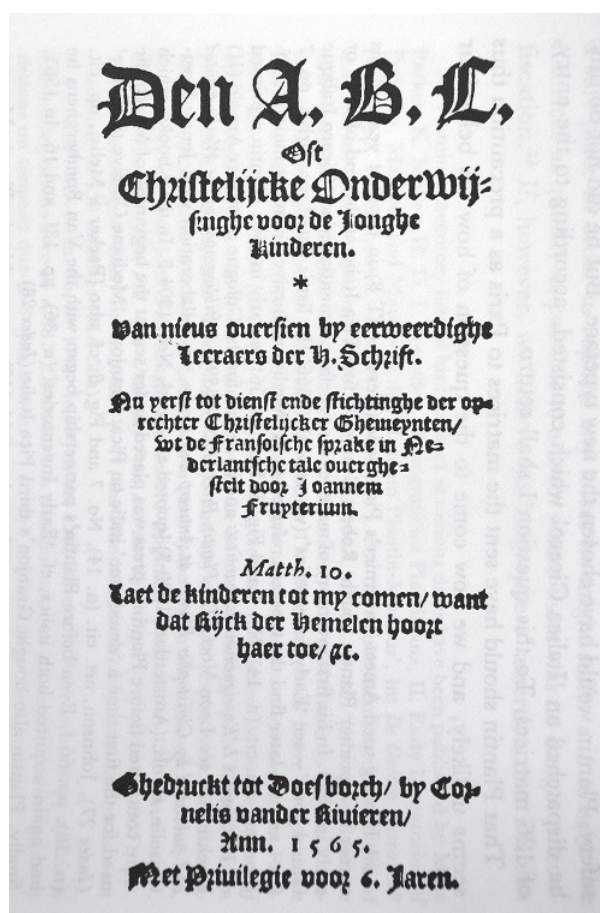
6b

Seb. Franck, *Chronica, tytboeck ende gheschiet bibel* (s.l. [Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1563), sign Rr2v
(Amsterdam, Paul Dijstelberge, 2013; A: OG 70-7)



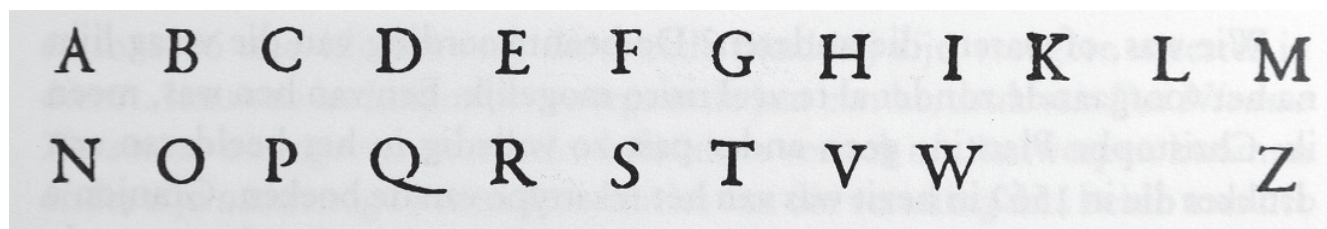
6c

Den A, B, C, oft Christelijcke onderwijsinghe [...] (Doesborch, Cornelis van der Rivieren [= Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1565)
(Scan from the original publication)



7

Den A, B, C, of Christelijcke onderwijsinghe [...] (Doesborch, Cornelis van der Rivieren
[= Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1565)
(Scan from the original publication)



8

Capitals on two-line Brevier, here attributed to Garamond. Taken from *Der Kinderen's Den Bibel*, 1563
(Scan from the original publication)



9a

Het Nieuwe Testament (s.l. [Emden, Willem Gailliart], 1568). Types: Vervliet T 30, T43, T47, T5I; Device: 'Alle boom [...]'

9b

The same, f. I. The same types. Initial H of the smaller 'Der Kinderen' set.
(both scans from the original publication)

A FURTHER BOOK
PRINTED IN VIANEN AND WESEL



The present state of our knowledge about the book in the sixteenth century is such, that every publication runs the risk of appearing too soon. Until our vision of the field is more complete, any new item of information may alter the picture. Archival research can lead to the discovery of hitherto unknown historical data, and even the typographical products have provided us, on more than one occasion, with surprises. It is above all in the domain of clandestine publications, where the printers were generally so adept at concealing their own share from the outside world, that anyone investigating such activities must always be prepared for further complications. An unexpected discovery may mean the end of an attractive hypothesis or the more or less fundamental revision of the conclusions reached. Sometimes, however, destiny is less unkind and unnoticed material provides a confirmation of the solution to a bibliographical problem which had previously been reached via other paths. I have already drawn attention more than once in the pages of this journal to Augustijn van Hasselt, a close collaborator of Plantin, whose important role as printer and publisher in the Netherlands in the 1560s had fallen into complete oblivion,¹ although he was indeed remembered as a follower and secretary of Hendrik Niclaes, the founder of the Family of Love. All that was known about him until recently was taken from the *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Liefsten* [...] *dorch Daniel, ein Mede-older*, the remarkable manuscript which recounts, in biblical language, the history of the sect and its founder. Despite its hagiographical tone the chronicle would appear to be reliable in providing various sorts of information. Details about Plantin's life and personal circumstances thus tally perfectly with what we find in his archives and in other documents. We may well regret that the chronicler should concentrate on the spiritual life within the movement so much as to devote relatively little attention to the worldly existence of the founder and his circle. But although the account is fragmentary and the approach frequently one-sided, hardly any factual inaccuracies have come to light in the work.

This also applies to Augustijn van Hasselt, about whom the *Chronika* tells us that

¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72 (pp. 256 ff.); *id.*, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90 (*passim*); *id.*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *ibid.*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (pp. 109 ff., 120 f.).

he ran a printing-press in Vianen as Plantin's factor. A surviving letter written from that town to his employer confirms the report. The peculiar political position of Vianen, the seat of Hendrik van Brederode, who acted as sovereign ruler in the lands his forefathers had held in fee (but which were now in the possession of King Philip II of Spain), made it possible to print books there, which could not be published elsewhere in the Netherlands. The activity of the press lasted barely six months. When the town fell in May 1567, it was necessary to flee in all haste, and work was only resumed in Wesel some while later. From Plantin's account books we see that Augustijn van Hasselt, as well as two other printers, did indeed leave the *Officina* on 2 November 1566. What he produced in the two towns, however, long remained a mystery. Not a single book with his imprint has come to light and it is doubtful whether one ever will. Nevertheless it was possible to attribute to him a number of publications on the assumption that the typographical material he was given by his employer consisted partly or wholly of typefaces also used in the *Officina*. I could thus identify a group of fifteen books, mainly in Dutch, printed with Garamont and Granjon types, most of which were owned in the Low Countries exclusively by Plantin. The editions appeared between 1567 and 1569 and thus date from the period after the fall of Vianen when the press was operating in Wesel.²

One of the editions, *Het Nieuwe Testament*, dated 1567, played an important part in this investigation. From a typographical point of view the book is most unusual, for about half-way through the production, the typographical material changed completely. All the original typefaces were simultaneously replaced by others, so that, as a typographical product, the book consists of two parts. This anomaly points to its having been produced in special circumstances: the strange and aesthetically unsatisfactory final result indicates an emergency solution. But this same division of the typographical material also sheds light on the printing of the work: this was obviously interrupted unexpectedly and could not be continued locally, but had to be completed by another press. The second group of typefaces shows that this undoubtedly occurred in Wesel. In view of what the *Chronika* tells us about the course of events, we can now assume that the first part of the book was set in Vianen. Before the town fell into the hands of the Spanish troops it had obviously been possible to carry the printed sheets of *Het Nieuwe Testament* into safety, but this did not apply to the printing-press and further equipment. When it came to completing the publication the original type was no longer available and the book had to be terminated with different material.³

This reconstruction, which provides the most logical explanation of the

² For a list of Augustijn's publications in Vianen and Wesel in the years 1567-9, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (1986, n. 1), pp. 184 ff.

³ For further particulars, see *ibid.*, pp. 167 ff.

phenomenon, had to remain hypothetical because of the lack of supplementary evidence. The existence of this clandestine press can be confirmed by its surviving production, and that it operated in Wesel emerges both from what the *Chronika* says and from two permits which Augustijn received from the magistracy in 1568 and the year following, allowing him to print a New Testament and a Psalter. His previous residence in Vianen is proved by the letter which he wrote to Plantin, 'Datum in Vianen den 10 Martii 1567', but what he actually printed there can only be deduced indirectly. That the type-setting and printing of the 1567 *Het Nieuwe Testament* began in that town, was only a likely supposition when I first wrote about it. Theoretically, and improbable as it was, the first part of the book could have been printed somewhere else.

Thanks to a fortunate find I can now show that this was not an isolated case, but that the hypothetical course of events is confirmed by another product of the same press. Recently I was able to establish that, besides the New Testament, there was also another book dating from 1567 and displaying a similar hybrid composition. This edition, too, belonged to a category too dangerous to be printed in Antwerp: a Psalmbook, in this case especially intended for the use of the Lutherans in the Netherlands. It is a reprint of a volume entitled *Een hantboecxken*, published in Wesel (or possibly Antwerp?) shortly before, in 1565, with 'Frankfort' as a fake address, by Paulus de Bra(e)ker or Braekfelt.⁴ The new edition appeared in duodecimo with a different title: *Den geheelen Souter*.⁵ The preliminaries (†¹²) and the gatherings P-Z¹² Aa-Gg¹² (= ff. 169-352 + [8]) are set in typefaces which we encountered at Augustijn's press in Wesel: the text types are the 'Parisian' Textura on Small Pica (T 4I) and

⁴ *Een Hantboecxken, inhoude(n)de de(n) heele(n) Psalter [...] Eensamelijck den Catechismus, met noch veel schoon hymne(n) [etc.]* Gheprint te Vranckfort, by my Hans de Braeker [...] M.D.LXV (1565). Cf. A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied, 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 18; Nieuwkoop 1985): *Hantboecxken* 1565 (pp. 16 ff., and illus. 2, 3). In addition to the literature there listed, see also J.W. Pont, 'De oudste Luthersche psalmen gezangboeken', *Nieuwe bijdragen tot kennis van de geschiedenis en het wezen van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden*, 3 (1910), pp. 37-84 (pp. 37 ff.). S.J. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse psalmberijmingen van de Souterliedekens tot Datheen, met hun voorgangers in Duitsland en Frankrijk* (Assen 1959; repr. 1983), pp. 475 ff., may be right in assuming that the book was printed in Antwerp: De Braeker left Wesel in the course of 1565. The typographical material, however, is his own and his name is therefore not used as a blind as the author supposes. For further information on the printer, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), p. 26.

⁵ *Den geheelen Souter des Koenincklijcken Propheten Davids [...]*. Gedrukt te Wesel, int jaer M.D.LXVII (1567, 12mo). – Höweler & Matter, op. cit. (n. 4): *Hantboecxken* 1567b (p. 25). The literature can be supplemented with J.M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600, erster Teil: Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*. vol. 3, Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen, pt. 1: *Historisch-bibliographische Einleitung* (Gütersloh 1935), pp. 745 ff. Copies: Brussels, KBR, London, BL, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (incomplete).

Bourgeois (T 43), while on the title-page and elsewhere we also find Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne' Roman and his Great Primer, Pica and Long Primer Romans. The initials used are capitals of Garamont's 'Gros Canon romain' and Granjon's 'Petit canon romain'.⁶ Apart from Plantin's press such a combination of typefaces only occurs in the Low Countries in Augustijn's Wesel production, so there can be no doubt about the origin of this part of the book. Besides, the verso side of the last leaf bears the vignette which also appears on the title-pages of his two Erasmus editions.⁷

The first part of the body of the book provides another typographical picture. The gatherings A-O¹² have, besides the aforesaid T 43, Lettersnijder's Pica Textura (T 30) as text type, while a French Great Primer Textura (T 12) and Guyot's Double Pica Italic (IT 2) appear in the headings (illus. 3a).⁸ The use of this last typeface makes it likely that, as in Wesel, no Texturas of Great Primer or a larger format were then available, or indeed any of the larger sizes of Garamont's Romans which have been used in the other part. Here too capitals of Granjon's 'Petit Canon' serve as initials.

Such a composition shows clearly that we are again dealing with a book produced in two stages and by various presses. We are faced once more with a production process which has suddenly been interrupted and then continued elsewhere – a particularly rare phenomenon which must consequently be seen, in this context, as supporting the Vianen-Wesel hypothesis. This is further confirmed by the explicit mention of Wesel as the place of publication. Of course we must always be suspicious of an imprint which mentions a town but no publisher. In this case, however, the omission of the latter is understandable: although Augustijn himself was safe in Wesel, the appearance of his name on the title-page of such a book could have particularly unpleasant consequences for his employer.

The *Souter* is thus an addition to the group of anonymously published editions which I have identified as the work of Augustijn. The book provides further support for the theory that the establishment of Plantin's second press and the choice of a locality (Vianen, but the original plan was Kampen) were primarily intended to maintain and to strengthen his position in the field of Bible publications. Public demand, especially for New Testaments and Psalmbooks in the vernacular, increased enormously in 1565/6, and Plantin was not the sort of man to yield so important a market area to others without striking a blow.⁹

⁶ See the list of typefaces at Augustijn's press in Wesel in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (1986, n. 1), pp. 184 f.

⁷ Cf. the reproduction of one of these title-pages, *ibid.*

⁸ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), pp. 140 ff. (T 30), and 286 f. (IT 2).

⁹ In the course of another partnership Plantin had already launched a Bible and a New Testament

The position of the caesura in the structure of the *Souter* shows that the compositors began to set both this book and *Het Nieuwe Testament* the moment the press in Vianen was ready for use. The time necessary to set fourteen gatherings in duodecimo, including music notes, must have been about the same as the production time of the 23 and 24 octavo gatherings respectively of the latter book, which had been completed before it was necessary to flee. The time factor thus causes no problems: the text type used, on the other hand, does. For this is not the same as the Lettersnijder Pica found in the New Testament: there are various differences in the fount, the most striking of which are the capital S, which here has the normal form instead of that of the French Bastarda variant there, and the f and long s which stand on the line instead of descending below it.

Yet this use of two different founts of the same typeface does not mean that the first part of the Psalmbook cannot have been produced by this same press. We only need to assume that while two compositors with identical type cases were working on *Het Nieuwe Testament*, a colleague with another pair had started to work on the *Souter*. It is most improbable that the implements necessary for casting type were available in Vianen, and besides, we know from Plantin's inventories that he did not have any matrices of Hendrick Lettersnijder's Texturas.¹⁰ The requisite typographical material must thus have come from elsewhere. The Pica Textura in *Den geheelen Souter*, in contrast to that in the New Testament, does not seem to me to be from the southern Netherlands, but rather from Delft, where Simon Jansz, as the successor of the Lettersnijders, father and son, could probably still provide matrices or strikes of their punches.

The presence of a third compositor¹¹ would make the enterprise still larger than has hitherto been suspected and shows how eager Plantin was to occupy a

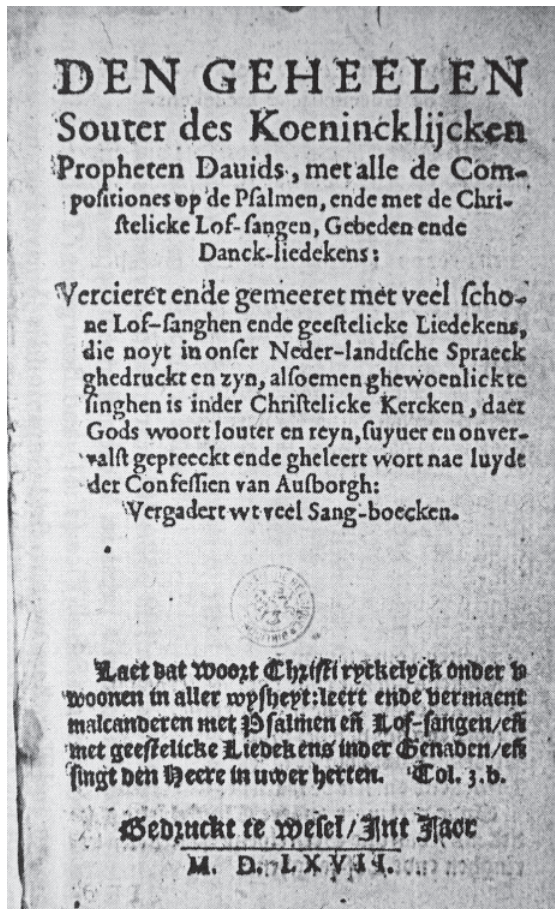
in Dutch on the market. They were printed by Augustijn van Hasselt and Lenaert der Kinderen at a press which Hendrik Niclaes had set up in Kampen. On this venture, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 1: 1987), *passim*.

¹⁰ This emerges from the lists which Plantin compiled of his typographical material in various periods. They are reproduced, with extensive elucidations, in M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139.

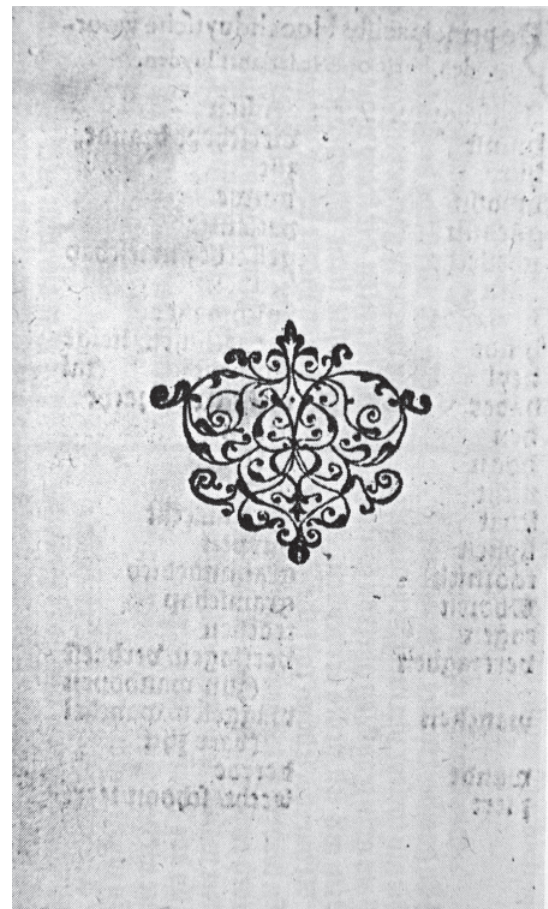
¹¹ A possible candidate is Gillis (II) Coppens van Diest, whose homonymous father had been running one of the largest printing shops in Antwerp since 1539. Gillis (I) was interrogated at the end of August 1567 as to whether he had a son in Vianen involved in the printing of heretical books, see E. Gachet, 'Quelques imprimeurs anversoises en 1567. Lettre de Marguerite de Parme touchant leur arrestation', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 2 (1845), pp. 250-4 (p. 253). He naturally denied this, but the name appears in an undated list of Plantin's employees in a register covering the years 1563-72 (PMM, Arch. 23; according to H.R. Hoppe in *The Library*, 5th S., 3 (1948-9), p. 213, who wrongly identifies this Gillis with the father). According to his list of accounts in the 'Livre des ouvriers' (Arch. 31) the young Gillis also worked for some six months in the *Officina* in 1574/5.

position of importance in this rapidly expanding market. Here too we see that his business policy was primarily dictated by professional considerations rather than by the norms and barriers set up by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. This is hardly surprising, and was an attitude shared by many contemporaries who were trying to hold their own in business. Besides, Plantin's collaboration with Hendrik Niclaes in the publication of Bibles and his partnership with the Protestant Van Bomberghens has already shown to what extent the printer was prepared to work together with men of a different faith. In this same connection we should observe that he did not reprint the less accomplished but immensely popular verse translation of the Psalms by the Calvinist Petrus Dathenus but preferred a new and augmented edition of a Lutheran translation. Such a choice, which deviated from the religious sympathies of his partners, could suggest that he did not embark on the Vianen venture at their instigation, as has sometimes been thought, but did so on his own initiative and at his own expense.

I



2



(Scans from the original publication)

Den hondert en dertichsten
Sijn goetheyt willet betrouwen/
Die my toefeyt zijn weerdich woort/
Dats mijn troost/ en ghetrou consoort/
Dien wil ick althies verbeiden.

Al duerdet schoon tot inden nacht/
En wederom tot aenden morghen/
Noch en sal mij hert aen Godes macht
Niet wanhopen/ noch oock sorghen/
Also doe Israel rechter aert/
Die wt den Scheet herbozen waert/
En zijnen Godt verbeide.

Al zijn by ons veel sonden quaet/
By Godt is noch veel meer ghenade/
Sijn hat om helpe heeft tijt noch maect/
Hoe groot dat oock is de schade/
Hy is alleen de Herder goet/
Die Israel verlossen moet/
Wt zijnen sonden alle.

Eer zij den Vader/ en den. *re. i.*

Psa. Cxxxj. Domine non.

*Op de wijse: Gelobet seist du Jesu. *re.**

O heer mijn hert is houwerdich is
Mijn ooghe zijn niet stout gewis/
In groote dinghen ick niet wandle/
Die my te hoogh zij om thandle. *Alle.*

Psalm Davids. Fol. Cxix

Als ick niet stilde de Siele mijn/
Soo werdt sy ghespeendt/ wel soo sijn/
Blijck eenen die traey wort ghespeendt/
Van sijne lieue Moeder iendt. *Allelu.*

Inden Heere hoept Israel/
En betrou hem/ lijf en Siel wel/
Want by hem is schoon hulp bereydt/
Van nu af/ tot in ewicheyt. *Allelu.*

Een ander Compositie op den seluen
*Psalm / Op de wijse / Idt spijcht
der onwijser mondt.*

Hier als mijn hert recht ouer dinct
Mijn eelend sondich leuen/
Daer in ick gheheel ben versinckt/
Ick en can my niet verheuen/
Ick keer mijn ooghen toe der eerdt/
Ten is mer al mijn doen niet weerdt/
Ick moet aen my selfs vertzagen/

Daer ick ghedacht aen myner macht.
En beroemden my groter gauen/
En had op mijn goede wercken acht/
Soo wert mijnen moet verhaen/
Doch blijft mijn hert in twijfel staen/
En conste hem niet op te verlaen/
Van Angst werdet seer verflaghen/
Dan daer ick mijn Siel niet en set.
Op uwe ghenade te gronden/

Id *Dae*

(Scans from the original publication)

GILLIS COPPENS VAN DIEST
AS AN UNDERGROUND PRINTER

1566 to 1567



For the bibliographer of the Low Countries the 1960s were particularly significant. There appeared in rapid succession two publications of the utmost importance for the history of Dutch printing: the *magnum opus* of the Hellingas on typefaces in the incunabula of the northern and southern Low Countries came out in 1966,¹ and H.D.L. Vervliet's *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* was published two years later.² These are two standard works which will long condition our knowledge of typography, while the second has the great merit of having charted hitherto entirely unknown territory. The descriptions and the reproductions provide us for the first time with an insight into the development of the typefaces in use in the Low Countries during that period, in their different forms and numerous variants. Moreover, these data, above all with the help of methods developed in the Anglo-Saxon countries, open up new possibilities for bibliographical research on the basis of typographical evidence. Such a technique, which has so far been applied in Holland almost exclusively to incunabula and post-incunabula, can now also be used for the later sixteenth century.

Vervliet was one of the first scholars to avail himself of these possibilities and to use, in addition to ornaments and initials, an investigation into typefaces as a means of solving bibliographical problems of this period. He thus demonstrated that Plantin could not have printed his edition of *La théologie germanique*, dated 1558 and a translation of the well-known *Theologia teütsch*, before 1579.³ His answer to a question which had already prompted an official enquiry four hundred years ago was equally convincing: who printed the rebellious *Vermaninge aen de regeerders ende gemeynte van den vier hoofsteden van Brabant* in 1566? In May of that year the authorities in Antwerp, following the instructions of their superiors, started to investigate the origins of a pamphlet which had been distributed in the town on a large scale a little earlier.

¹ W. & L. Hellinga, *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1966).

² H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT.

³ H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana I. — Ter inleiding: de studie van het zestiende-eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La theologie germanique" (Plantin, 1558)', *De Gulden Passer*, 37 (1959), pp. 170-8.

Even then efforts were made to establish which of the various printers was using the typeface in question by comparing their types. As one might expect, there were several candidates, some of whom were outside the town. The investigation consequently foundered – an outcome which, we may assume, suited the city magistrates. But, on the basis of a single typographical detail, the shape of the letter w in the printed matter, Vervliet managed to demonstrate who the culprit was. It emerged that he was one of the printers who had indeed been questioned, but who had succeeded in throwing his interrogators off the scent: Gillis Coppens van Diest.⁴

These results show how important typefaces, as the reflection of the inventory of a particular press, can be for establishing the origin and the date of printed matter which appeared either anonymously or with a misleading imprint. Vervliet's *Printing Types* is of value not only as a fundamental study of a craft in which Antwerp and Ghent obtained an international reputation in the sixteenth century. The scope of the work is broader still: it is an essential point of departure and a necessary aid for anyone attempting to reconstruct the frequently secret history of many of the publications of those eventful years. As we know, printers tried to ensure themselves against the risks incurred by their clandestine activities by omitting all initials and other easily recognizable ornaments in the books and pamphlets of this category. But they did of course have to work with the cast types in their possession. And typefaces, even if they were almost invariably in use among several printers in this period, can, thanks to special characteristics or the combinations in which they appear, indicate the printing-press in question. Research based on these elements is often the only means of discovering who was responsible for all sorts of clandestine publications.⁵

⁴ H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Een onbekende tijdgenoot van Christoffel Plantin: Ameet Tavernier, lettersteker', *Antwerpen. Tijdschrift der stad Antwerpen*, 7 (1961), pp. 37-41.

⁵ For the book in the Netherlands after 1540 and the Dutch book elsewhere in Europe, the use of this method is relatively recent. The quantity of applications of this method before the publication of Vervliet's *Printing Types* is also negligible, if we except the work of Dr M.E. Kronenberg. In addition to his studies mentioned in notes 3 and 4, see F. Isaac, 'Egidius van der Erve and his English printed books [in Emden]', *The Library*, 4th S., 12 (1931-2), pp. 336-52; C. Clair, 'On the printing of certain Reformation books [Steven Mierdmans in Antwerp and London]', *ibid.*, 5th S., 18 (1963), pp. 275-87; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'La première imprimerie [Goossen Goebens] à Sedan et le poète Charles de Navières', *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain* (Paris 1968), pp. 215-22. The number then increased rapidly: R. Breugelmans, 'Quaeris quid sit Amor? Ascription, date of publication and printer of the earliest emblem book to be written and published in Dutch', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 281-90; W. Waterschoot, *De 'Poetische werken' van Jonker Jan van der Noot, I. Analytische bibliografie* (Gent 1975); J. Stellingwerff, 'De drukker van de Emden bedingen', *Uit bibliotheektuin en informatieveld. Opstellen aangeboden aan D. Grosheide bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, eds. H.F. Hofman, K. van der Horst & A.H.H.M. Mathijssen (Deventer 1978), pp. 199-208; D.E. Rhodes, 'The first Edition of Gildas (Antwerpen, Christoffel van Ruremunde?, ca. 1526-1527)', *The Library*, 6th S., 1 (1979), pp. 355-60;

Not only is the solution of such puzzles a challenge for the bibliographer – it is one of the most exciting aspects of his task – but the results are also of interest for the historical investigation of the period in which these publications appeared. Nor is it a matter of sporadic cases. Anyone who has gone through the catalogues of Dutch pamphlets or the volumes of *Belgica Typographica*⁶ will be struck by the hundreds of editions, of varying nature and contents, which appeared without an imprint or with a fake address. These include books and tracts which had a considerable influence in their day on the formation of political and religious opinion and which are now of importance for our knowledge of these developments. This applies above all to the century which witnessed both the Reformation and the Dutch struggle for independence, since the origin of much that appeared in the early years of the Revolt is still unknown. Where did all the pamphlets, proclamations and other works of propaganda come from – Antwerp, Vianen, Emden, Wesel, or other centres of resistance?

As a test of research in this domain I propose to follow Vervliet's example and examine more closely the work of Gillis Coppens van Diest, the man whom he revealed to be a clandestine printer. Such a study does not demand any exhaustive investigation into as yet unknown documents relating to him. If such documents do indeed survive, they are most unlikely to yield any new information about forbidden practices after all the work that has already been carried out in archives. As far as we are concerned, we can limit ourselves to a closer investigation of the tangible evidence of his activities which has come down to us: his printed work. The external characteristics of his publications, and above all the typefaces, give so much information about their origin that we can dispense with historical sources, however welcome they may be. The situation could, of course, be different. In some cases underground publications, whether or not as the result of a deliberate policy of the printer, have so few characteristic typographical elements that, in the present state of research, an attribution to a specific printing press is not yet possible. The number of such insoluble cases, however, is decreasing, and where Coppens is concerned, the circumstances are particularly favourable. In his clandestine work he made an almost unlimited use of the same types which we find in his signed work, and that includes

D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellînga Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225-31; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quærendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72; *id.*, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a Printer in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90; *id.*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *ibid.*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127; *id.*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

⁶ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beek, vols. 1-2 (Nieuwkoop 1968-80), hereafter cited as *BT*.

so many publications that we have an excellent overview of the composing material in his possession. Judging from his production his printing shop was relatively large and well equipped, with a fairly complete and varied assortment of typefaces. He had owned some of them ever since he started and, thanks to the use of these obsolete variants which had long been replaced by more modern material in the shops of other printers, his work is easily recognizable. This means that attributions to his press have a high degree of reliability, even when he took the precaution of not using any woodcut initials which might betray him. In this kind of investigation only the biographical information about Coppens is of interest.⁷ Of this there is not much – in fact surprisingly little for a printer who occupied a prominent position in the greatest centre of the book trade in Western Europe for almost thirty-five years. It is not even certain in which building ‘by d’yzere Waghe’ (near the iron balance) he actually worked. We do know that he was born in Diest in about 1496 and set up a press of his own in Antwerp in, or shortly before, 1539. Six years earlier he was admitted to the St Lucas guild as a freemaster, but he only became a citizen in 1549. He undoubtedly printed considerably more than the fewer than a hundred titles which have so far been listed,⁸ since by no means everything issued by his press bears his name. He himself published relatively little, and he worked almost exclusively for others – a long succession of colleagues both in and outside Antwerp, and even in England. He appears to have been *the* printer to approach for the printing of books about architecture (Serlio), astronomy (including a series of editions of Apianus) and bookkeeping (Menher), and of atlases (Ortelius). He printed books in various languages, in French and Dutch, as well as in Latin, Italian, Spanish, German and English. The certificate he received from Plantin in 1570 also mentions his experience in setting Greek type. He was thus a versatile printer, with a large circle of clients.

Plantin’s declaration and the renewed patent which Gillis received a month later shows that, despite his advanced age, Gillis was still able to practise his craft. He was assisted by two sons, Anthonis and Gillis, the eldest of whom carried on the business after his father’s death in 1572. But in 1566 Gillis (I) was still running the press himself, and we can assume that he also took the decision to print the *Vermaninge* mentioned above. At all events the responsibility was his, as the owner of the press. As we saw, the investigation started by the authorities ran aground, but in August 1572 he was in serious trouble. His firm was searched on the orders of Margaret of Parma,

⁷ For a biographical survey, with further literature, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des xve et xvie siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 45–6.

⁸ Most of them are mentioned in BT, Index topographicus s.v. *Copenius Diesthensis*, and in the ‘Index of printers and publishers’ of the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish Books Printed in Other Countries, from 1470 to 1600, Now in the British Museum* (London 1965), s.v. *Coppenius*.

the governess for King Philip II of Spain, and some printed pages and copperplates ('gedruckte papieren mette schyven') came to light, with the title *d'Inquisitie van Spaingnen*.⁹ It was probably a collection of copperplates with representations or text considered insulting. Also suspected of other activities of a forbidden nature, he was put in prison together with two colleagues accused of the same misdemeanour. He was charged, too, in connection with a rumour which was apparently in circulation: one of his sons was thought to have printed 'heretical' books in Vianen.¹⁰ Since we know that Augustijn van Hasselt, dispatched by Plantin, together with two other compositors and two printers, had begun work on the production of a New Testament and a Psalter in that town, there is a fair chance that the accusation was justified.¹¹ At all events we can conclude that one of his sons had left Antwerp for a long period.

After a few weeks in prison Gillis was released on bail and was then acquitted for lack of evidence. Once again he had had a lucky escape, and in this case, too, we see that the margrave, Jan van Immerseel, had apparently failed to act in time. Gillis had every reason to be grateful for this outcome. His prospects would have been far gloomier if the authorities in Brussels had discovered the extent of his involvement in the printing of prohibited material, since, in the course of 1566/7, he had been more active in this domain than any other printer in Antwerp. Besides the *Vermaninge* it can now be established that thirteen clandestine publications originated from his press.

As we have already observed, these publications can only be identified by an analysis

⁹ *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 12, (1876), pp. 408-9. On 22 August 1567 Margaret of Parma sent a letter to the margrave of Antwerp in which she said she had received a report that Gillis van Diest, a printer in Antwerp, was guilty of having printed 'certaines figures et pourtraictz de la forme de linquisition despaigne bien scandaleusement, pour rendre pardeca ladicte inquisition entre le peuple fort odieuse'. She gave orders for Gillis to be arrested with no further ado and for the authorities to 'saisir tous les plattes desdictes figures et pourtraictz, ensemble tout ce qui desja se trouvera imprime ...'. (General State Archive (ARA), Brussels, Audientie 261, f. 207). Although Jan van Immerseel imprisoned the printer together with some other suspects, he obviously failed to lay his hands on any conclusive evidence. The Governess, faced, not for the first time, with a lack of eagerness on the part of the city magistrates to proceed against their own citizens, decided to adopt a different approach. She appointed her councillor in Ghent, Jacob Hessel, to lead all further interrogations and to bring the matter to a successful end. Her instructions, dated 28 August, describe Gillis van Diest as 'véhémentement suspect d'avoir imprimé ces années passées plusieurs livretz, pasquilles, escriptz et pourtraictz scandaleux qui sont esté venduz et distribuez publicquement audit Anvers', see E. Cachet, 'Quelques imprimeurs anversoises en 1567. Lettre de Marguerite de Parme touchant leur arrestation', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 2 (1845), pp. 250-4 (esp. 253). Guillaume van Parijs, another of the accused and suspected of being the cutter of the print, also escaped sentence.

¹⁰ 'S'il n'a ung sien filx se meslant du mesme mestier qui se seroit retiré à Viane, et illecq faict semblables impressions hérétiques et scandaleuses', see Cachet, art. cit. (n. 9), p. 253.

¹¹ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1986), pp. 167 ff.; *id.*, art. cit. (n. 5: 1988), pp. 98 ff.

of the typefaces with which they were printed. For the ones in Dutch one particular typeface is of interest which, however common, never appears to have been used in the same combination by any other printer. This is the traditional Pica Textura of Henric Lettersnijder, the first Dutch Textura on that body, which was still in use in many presses at the time.¹² But Gillis used the typeface, from the start of his activity as an independent printer, with a mixture – and not a replacement – of various capitals in another typeface, the Bastarda. We thus find him using certain capitals, arbitrarily spread about the type matter, in two different forms. This remarkable phenomenon, which is hard to explain, continues for the whole of his career and makes his publications easily recognizable. Admittedly the number of these ‘double’ capitals diminished over the years: in 1566/7 he was still using the A, the B, the G and sporadically, the V. Before that we also find the D, the M and the W.¹³

We encounter Lettersnijder’s Pica Textura in this characteristic combination,¹⁴ together with other typefaces from Gillis’ assortment, in three anonymously printed publications from the early years of the Dutch Revolt. In 1566 there appeared an edition of the Petition of the League of Noblemen, with the successive correspondence, *Requête aen Mijnevrouwe de Hertoginne van Parme ...* (s.l. 1566). Editions of this notorious document published by the government in the two official languages had already appeared containing, besides the text, only the apostil.¹⁵ But there was also a French edition, without imprint, printed in Sedan,¹⁶ which,

¹² VPT, pp. 140-2, T 30.

¹³ The capitals not belonging to the typeface display a great similarity with, and are probably identical to, those of the Pica Bastarda described by Vervliet in his book as B4 and illustrated on pp. 184-5. This typeface, of uncertain origin, was only used in 1534 by Martinus de Keyser in his edition of *Coustumes et usaiges [...] de Lille*; see W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500-1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 (s-Gravenhage 1923-71), hereafter cited as NK, no. 632. But he seems to have been dissatisfied with the typeface, for, in the same year, we see him using another Bastarda on that body. The remaining Texturas which Coppens owned (T 3, T 12 en T 43) were used by so many printers that, even in combination, they are of no value as evidence.

¹⁴ The type already appears in this unusual combination in the first book in Dutch which I know the printer to have produced: (Sebastiano Serlio), *Generale reglen der architecturen* (s.l. 1539), see NK 4492. The anonymously published work gives no printer’s name but contains a large number of initials which we later encounter regularly in the work of Coppens. The translator was Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who also gives his name as the publisher in other parts of Serlio’s book on architecture, mainly without an imprint but also printed by Coppens. This was what misled Miss Kronenberg into seeing Pieter Coecke van Aelst as the printer, see also Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 42.

¹⁵ They appeared with the title *Copie de la requête ...* (Brussel, M. van Hamilt, 1566); BT 692, resp. *Copie van de requête ...* (*ibid.*); BT 700.

¹⁶ *Requête presentee par le Seigneur Hendrick de Brederode, Seigneur de Viane, etc. accompagné des Nobles du pays bas.* Item la copie de son Alteze rendue audit Seigneur [...] Item la replique des Nobles presentee

in addition to other pieces, also included the so-called 'Promesse', the pledge of freedom of worship attributed to certain Knights of the Golden Fleece – probably a supplement of Calvinist origin. Hendrik van Brederode, aware of the dangers attending any further spread of this misleading document, hastily had Albert Christiaensz produce a Dutch edition without the 'Promesse' but with the reply of the League.¹⁷ Some time later this same printer also produced an expanded edition,¹⁸ but left Vianen soon after. In the same year Coppens issued a reprint of the new edition, identical in every way except for a few differences in spelling.¹⁹ Whether he did so on commission or at his own expense is unknown.

At about the same time, possibly for the leadership of the Revolt, he printed *Een cort verhael van de noodeloosen twist tusschen de ghereformeerde kercken, aengaende d' uitlegghinge van den avontmael des Heeren* (1566).²⁰ This is a new translation of a tract which had already appeared twice in print under another title: in 1564 commissioned by Hendrik van Brederode and produced by his printer at the time, Dirck Buyter,²¹

a son Alteze au Conseil d'Estat. Et finalement la promesse faite des Chevaliers de l'Ordre ... (s.l. [Sedan, Goossen Goebens], 1566. 8vo). – Copy: London, British Library (BL). An article on this press, which was transferred to Emden in 1567, will soon appear in *Quaerendo*. ['The international career of an Emden printer (Goossen Goebens 1560-1576)', *Quaerendo*, 27 (1997), pp. 113-40. Eds.]

¹⁷ *Propositie ende Requeste opt stuck vande Inquisitie, ghedaen ende overgegeuen aen Mijn Vrouwe d'Hertoginne van Parme en(de) Plaisance etc. Bijden [...] Heer Hendrick Heer tot Brederode [...] met andere(n) Heeren en(de) Edelen ...* (Vianen, [Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 4to); W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1889-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, no. 138; L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), hereafter cited as Petit, no. *110.

¹⁸ *Requeste aen mijn Vrouwe d'Hertoginne van Perme, Plasance etc. Reghente ende Gouuernante van sConincx ons G.Heeren Nederlanden, bi den Heeren den Edelen ...* (s.l. [Vianen, Albert Christiaenz], 1566. 8vo); BT 4120, Kn 137b).

¹⁹ *Requeste aen Mijnvrouwe de Hertoginne va[n] Parme, Plaisance etc. Regente ende Gouuernante van Sconincs ons G. Heeren Nederlanden, by den Heeren ende den Edelen ...* (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1566. 8vo). – Copy: Utrecht, UL (see J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht niet voorkomend in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22), hereafter cited as Van Someren, no. 25).

²⁰ *Een cort verhael vanden noodeloosen twist tusschen de ghereformeerde kercken, aengaende dwtleghinge vanden auontmael des Heeren*. Beschreven deur Jeronimus Zanchi Italiaen. Nu nieu ghetrouwelyck ouerghesedt wten Latine in onse duytsche tale (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1566. 8vo). – Copies: Amsterdam, UL, London, BL. See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "Voorspel"', *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann ter gelegenheid van zijn vijf en zestigste verjaardag en van zijn afscheid als Bibliothecaris der Gemeente Rotterdam* (s-Gravenhage 1958), pp. 20-34 (esp. pp. 30-1).

²¹ *Het gheuoel[n] Jeronymi Zanchi Bergomatis, des Leeraers der Godlijcker Schrift binnen Straesburch. Vanden twist, aengaende den handel des Nachtsmaels, die de Sassensche hebben teghen de Switsersche, ende alle andere ghereformeerde*

Albert's predecessor; and in the same year, without an imprint, in Emden.²² In this recent text, dated 1 February 1564, the author, the Italian theologian Hieronymus Zanchius, emphasized the common elements in the beliefs of the Calvinists and the Lutherans, particularly where the vexed question of the Eucharist was concerned. The work was thus particularly suitable for the purpose of bridging the contrasts between the main Protestant schools of thought and fitted in perfectly with Orange's desire for greater tolerance among his political supporters.

Eenen brief ende vriendelijckce bewijssinghe, van eenen Dienaer des Evangeliums (1567) is written in the same eirenic spirit.²³ This work, addressed to the Lutheran ministers in Antwerp, is an appeal for moderation in doctrinal disputes and for a union with the Calvinists in the revolt against Spanish rule. Here, too, Coppens appears to have been the printer. At the same time there appeared a French edition, *Epistre et amiable remonstrance ...* (1567).²⁴ The author was Antonio del Corro (Corranus), 'dit Bellerive', a former Spanish friar who had left his Church and country and, after preaching for five years in France, had settled in Antwerp in the hope of obtaining a post in the Walloon church. When, under Spanish pressure, he was refused admittance as a minister by the city magistracy, he publicly addressed Philip II. The work dated 15 March 1567, in which he justifies his abandonment of the Catholic Church and discusses the main points of his

ghemeynten. Wt den Latijne in Nederduytsch ghetrouwelijck ouergheset. Joannis 6 (3 lines) (s.l. [Vianen, Dirck Buyter], Anno 1564. 8vo). – Copy: Amsterdam, UL. De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 20), pp. 25-7, with a reproduction of the title-page.

²² *Het ghevoelen Ieronymi Zanchi Bergomatis, des Leeraers der Godlicker Schrift binnen Straesburch; Vanden twist aengaende den handel des Nachtsmaels, die de Sassensche hebben teghen de Switsersche, ende alle andere ghereformeerde ghemeynten*. Wt den Latijne in Nederduytsch ghetrouwelijck ouergheset (s.l. [Emden, Gillis van der Erven], Ghedruckt Anno 1564. 8vo). – Copies: Ghent, UL (J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt vóór 1600, aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter cited as Machiels, no. Z 3); Halle a/S, UL (Franckesche Stiftungen); Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire.

²³ For a description of the title, see BT 5497. Besides the copies there mentioned in Antwerp, Stadsarchief (City archive) and Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), there is also a copy in the Royal Library (KB) in The Hague. For the author and the circumstances in which the work appeared, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'The life of Antonio del' Corro (1527-1591) before his stay in England', *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique. Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België*, 57 (1986), pp. 530-68, and 59 (1988), pp. (569-625).

²⁴ BT 730. Kn 152a. A.G. Kinder in *Bibliotheca dissidentium*, 7 (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 106; Baden-Baden 1986), no. 1 (pp.151-3; illus.). In addition to the Royal Library Brussels (KBR), copies are also to be found in Cambridge, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB), and London, BL – a list which does not claim to be complete. This remark also applies to the remaining French titles.

belief, only appeared in French, *Lettre envoyée à la Majesté du roy des Espagnes* (1567).²⁵

We must obviously now enquire whether these French editions of Del Corro's works were produced by Coppens' press. They do indeed appear to have been. Both the *Lettre* and the *Epistre* are printed in typefaces which can be found in a series of books bearing his name as printer. As a typeface the *Lettre* has a Pica Roman (20 lines 82 mm) which represents the earliest state of François Guyot's Pica Roman on that body (VPT, R 27).²⁶ It was already a fairly old typeface which Gillis was apparently the first printer to use in 1544. He did not have many imitators since Ameet Tavernier soon appeared with a more successful Pica Roman which immediately conquered the market in the Low Countries.²⁷ Coppens, however, long continued to use Guyot's typeface as he had once purchased it, with an A and an M with serifs on both sides of the vertices, an almost closed G, and other types which the designer himself soon had replaced by more modern ones. While every printer of any stature removed all the pre-Garamont typefaces from his cases in the 1550s, Coppens continued to work with them as if there had never been any development in letter forms.²⁸

Coppens' conservatism in this respect can also be seen in a small Roman (20/62; VPT, R 33)²⁹ which appears, for example, on the title-page of the *Epistre*. This, too, is a thoroughly obsolete letter, still from the days Garamont, which Gillis continued to use, as it was when he originally bought it at the start of his career

²⁵ *Lettre envoyée à la Majesté du roy des Espagnes* [...]. Par laquelle un sien treshumble subject lui rend raison de son departement du Royaume d'Espagne, et presente à sa Ma. la confession des principaux poinctz de nostre Religion Chrestienne, luy monstrant les griefves persecutions qu'endurent ses subjects du Pais bas pour maintenir ladite Religion ... (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Dienst, 1567]. 8vo) ; Kinder, art. cit. (n. 24), no. 2 (pp. 154-6; illus.). – Copies: London, BL (2x); Oxford, Bodleian Library; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (2x); Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (WLB).

²⁶ VPT, p. 268. It includes (fig. 203) a full specimen of the typeface, c.1565, probably made by the designer himself. The reproduction is after an anonymous type specimen in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC, containing six typefaces. Three of them can unquestionably be attributed to François Guyot. It is generally accepted that the three others, of which this is one, were also his.

²⁷ VPT, pp. 266-7, R 26. In this typeface, too, various adaptations took place. Compare fig. 201 on p. 267 (an edition by Tavernier dating from 1558) with fig. 202, a photographically assembled type specimen from a Bible published by his widow in 1571, in which the types have acquired their definitive form.

²⁸ We do indeed see that Coppens constantly expanded his Pica Roman with material from other typefaces over the years. He thus made a large scale use of an Italic w and a ditto y, while types from Tavernier's R 26 are also included, in Epictetus' *Hantboecxken*, which he printed in 1564 for Jan van Waesberghe, cf. A. Geerebaert, *Lijst van de gedrukte Nederlandsche vertalingen der oude Grieksche en Latijnsche schrijvers* (Gent 1924), XVIII, I.

²⁹ VPT, pp. 278-9, where the typeface is mentioned in the inventory of various earlier printers in Antwerp, the first being Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten in 1535.

as an autonomous printer. Besides the old-fashioned M and the R with a 'lashing' tail, the particularly narrow H and S are characteristic. Both can also be found in the somewhat larger (20/72) typeface of the book, where we again encounter an A and an M with serifs on both sides of the vertices. This typeface, which appears seldom in the Low Countries and which Vervliet did not include, is so close to the aforesaid R 33 that a common origin seems probable – presumably Cologne, as I have already suggested elsewhere.³⁰ On the title-page of the *Epître* we also see Guyot's Double Pica Roman (R 17) and the English Roman of Tavernier (R 22), but these are so common that no bibliographical information can be derived from them.³¹

On the basis of the typefaces typical of Coppens which have been described so far we can now ascribe various other clandestine publications to him. First of all, following the one already discussed, there is a French edition of the *Petition: Remonstrance presentee à Madame la Duchesse de Parme* (1566),³² with the same content as the Dutch version. The typeface is Guyot's Pica Roman and R 22 is used on the verso of the title-page, but on the title-page itself we have a typeface that we have not encountered before: Tavernier's Great Primer Roman (VPT, R 20), one of his most successful designs.³³ Of slightly later date is the *Response de la noblesse à la Duchesse de Parme*, 1566, which includes some other documents as well.³⁴ With the exception of a few headings this edition is printed exclusively in the 20/72 typeface. As in

³⁰ The London printer Thomas Berthelet also owned both typefaces, as did his successor Thomas Powell, see F. Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types, 1535-58, 1552-58*, collected and annotated by Frank Isaac (Facsimiles and Illustrations, issued by the Bibliographical Society, 3; Oxford 1932), vol. 1, fig. 64 (20/73), resp. vol. 2, fig. 2 (20/62 = R 33). See also A.F. Johnson, 'Sources of roman and italic types used by English printers in the sixteenth century', *The Library*, 4th S., 17 (1937), pp. 70-82 (esp. 73-4). Johnson found the larger typeface being used in 1531 by Eucharius Cervicornus (Hirtzhorn) in Cologne – a fact that seems to confirm Vervliet's supposition.

³¹ VPT, pp. 248-9, resp. 258-9.

³² *Remonstrance présentée à Madame la Duchesse de Parme etc. Regente du pais bas, par les Seigneurs et Nobles dudit pais, avec la Responce et Replicque, et autres escrits* (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1566. 8vo); BT 4129. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL (Machiels N 71); The Hague, KB. For a specification of the contents, see J.K. van der Wulp, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1866-8), no. 120.

³³ VPT, pp. 254-5.

³⁴ *Responce de la Noblesse à la Duchesse de Parme Regente etc. sur les articles proposez par les Seigneurs Prince d'Orange et Conte d'Egmont à l'assemblée faicte par les Confederez à Saint-trom. Avec la declaration de ladicte Responce suiuant la requisition faicte par ladicte Dame pour l'intelligence d'iceux. Et la Requeste du peuple et des marchans de ces pays bas aduouans la Requeste et compromis de la Noblesse et confederez* (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1566. 8vo); BT 4144, read: 12 leaves). – Copies: Brussels, KBR; The Hague, KB; London, BL. The Antwerp copy in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), BT 6630, is printed with the same material but lacks the date on the title-page.

the *Vermaninge*, such a limitation was probably a precaution taken to diminish the recognizability and consequently the risk of the printer's being discovered.³⁵

As far as we know this was Gillis' last work with a directly political content. For his later underground publications the commissions came from a religious circle – or rather, from religious circles, since he printed for various faiths. The earliest was the *Sommaire de la Confession de foi [...] pour membres de l'Eglise de Jésus Christ*, dated 28 July 1566.³⁶ Consisting of no more than four leaves, it was published by the Calvinists in Antwerp for the instruction of new members of the church and for those who wished to join. In the past, the brief confession of faith was attributed to Franciscus Junius, but the ascription lost its plausibility when a manuscript came to light with a similar text of which he was more likely to have been the author.³⁷ Apart from a line in Coppens' 'French' two-line Double Pica³⁸ on the title-page the work is printed in his R 27, with a mixture of various types from Tavernier's R 26, and in R 33 for the marginalia.

In the same year the Lutherans reacted to this active evangelization with a reprint of a translation of the 'Variata' (originally published in 1558), the Augsburg Confession with the Apology, in the adaptation of the author of the Apology, Philip Melancthon (1540). The publication also had a certain political significance and suited the policy of the leaders of the Revolt, William of Orange and his brother Louis of Nassau, who was a convinced Lutheran. The promotion of the work had a twofold purpose. Not only did the brothers hope to reconcile the various religious views of their supporters with this moderate Protestant confession of faith, but they also hoped, by way of its acceptance, to obtain the support of the German princes in the struggle against Spain. The plan for the reissue transpired, however. Before the Dutch edition was ready, Margaret of Parma had already reported to William of Orange on 22 September 1566 that the book was being printed by Hans

³⁵ For the *Vermaninge* and the only typeface used in it, viz. the English Italic of Tavernier, see VPT, pp. 290-1 (IT 4) and my article mentioned in n. 4.

³⁶ *Sommaire de la Confession de foy, que doiuent faire ceux qui desirent estre tenus pour membres de l'Eglise de Jesus Christ*: Leu apres la predication publique, faite pres d'Anuers, le XXVIIJ. de Iulet 1566. (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest, 1566]. 8vo); BT 4371. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Dublin, Trinity College Library (TCL); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB). Reprinted in full in J.F. Willems, *Mengelingen van historischen-vaderlandschen inhoud* (Antwerpen 1827-30), pp. 477-88.

³⁷ A.A. van Schelven, 'Het "scriptural de fide" van Franciscus Junius (Juli 1566)', *Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht*, 51 (1930), pp. 104-7. For a new approach to this question, see W. Heijting, *De Catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), vol. I, p. 207, no. B 15.1.

³⁸ The Canon capitals, popular in the whole of Western Europe and attributed to Peter Schoeffer (II), were first used by Froben in Basel. For their spread in the Netherlands, see VPT, pp. 238-9 (under R 12) and fig. 176.

de Laet in Antwerp. The subsequent course of events is well-known: piles of sheets of *Die Confessie oft Belydinghe des Gheloofs* (1566)³⁹ were confiscated, but the printer had either stored elsewhere or hidden most of what was ready so that a large part of the edition was salvaged.⁴⁰

Besides that part of the edition which was still missing, the confiscated part was now printed again so that the book could appear in its entirety with a slight delay. We have a report which says that the work was completed in Vianen,⁴¹ but typographical research shows that various printers in Antwerp were involved. One of them was Gillis, who may have taken on the most dangerous task, the printing of sheets A and K, containing the title-pages of the two parts. Had the printer been discovered he could hardly have claimed ignorance about the nature of what he was doing. For the text Coppens used his easily recognizable Pica Textura. We also find on the title-pages T 12 and capitals of his Canon Roman and R 22, and on the title-page of the *Apologie* the Great Primer Italic of Guyot (IT 3)⁴² which has not yet been mentioned. Besides this Dutch translation of the revised text, there also appeared, 'pietatis ergo', a reprint of the Latin original, the 'Invariata' of 1530 with the *Apologia* (1531): *Confessio fidei, exhibita [...] in comitiis Augustae [...] Una cum Apologia eiusdem authore Philippo Melanthe* (1566).⁴³ Here the printing was entirely

³⁹ *Die Confessie oft Belydinghe des Gheloofs, die den onuerwinlycken Keyser Carolus de. V. inden Rijcxdach van Ausborch overghegheuen is, int jaer M.D.XXX.* Nu eerst wten Latine int nederduytsch op daldernerstichste ende ghetrouwelycste ouerghesedt. Psal. CXIX (3 lines) (s.l. [Antwerp, Hans de Laet, Jan Verwithagen and Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1566. 8vo); BT 5475; W.H. Neuser, *Bibliographie der Confessio Augustana und Apologie, 1530-1580* (Nieuwkoop 1987), p. 105, no. 83 (read: 296 'gez. Bl. '); Heijting, op. cit. (n. 37), no. A 10.2. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x), Library of the Free University (FrUL); Antwerp, PMM; Dublin, TCL; London, BL; Utrecht, UL.

⁴⁰ For the background of this publication, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen. Een episode uit het voorspel van de tachtigjarige oorlog', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41 (esp. pp. 25-9).

⁴¹ According to an archival document dating from 1569 in the Rekenkamer (Brussels, ARA), Mathieu Damery, a collaborator of De Laet, was responsible for printing the *Confessie*. After the confiscation, the document continues, he had the book printed in Vianen ('depuis fait imprimer icelle confession à Vianen'), see C. Rahlenbeck, 'Notes sur les auteurs, les imprimeurs et les distributeurs des pamphlets politiques et religieux du XVIe siècle, 17: Libraires bannis', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 17 (1861), pp. 106-9. The typographical differences in the book were first pointed out by H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Bibliografie en geschiedenis. Een episode uit het "Wonderjaar" 1566', *Historiunculæ. Orgaan van studenten in de geschiedenis aan de Stedelijke Universiteit van Amsterdam*, 10 (1965), pp. 117-20.

⁴² VPT, pp. 288-9.

⁴³ *Confessio fidei, exhibita Invectiss. Imp. Carolo. V. Caesari Aug. in Comitiis Augustae, An(n)o. M.D.XXX. aedita vero An(n)o XXXI. Una cum Apologia eiusdem Authore Philippo Melanthe. Nunc recens pietatis ergo accurate ac bona fide ex vero exemplari impressa* (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], 1566. 8vo); Neuser, op. cit. (n. 39), p. 104, no. 80 (read: 256 Bl.); Heijting, op. cit. (n. 37), no.

the work of Coppens, with R 22 for the text and IT 4 in the Praefatio. These were admittedly common enough typefaces, but we also find four lines in capitals of R 27 and, after the word 'Confessio' in the title, a line in capitals pointing exclusively to our printer. They are strikingly wide with respect to their height and belong to a 20/110-14 Roman of which he presumably only owned the capitals. The typeface is a modernized variant of the successful Basel Roman from the beginning of the century, and Gillis had already used this pre-Garamont typeface in books which he printed for various publishers in 1540.⁴⁴ Apart from their use by Joannes Grapheus in 1535 I have not found this typeface in any other work in the Netherlands.⁴⁵ Another peculiarity of the *Confessio* is the presence of decorated initials, two old blocks which, as far as I could ascertain, Coppens never used elsewhere.⁴⁶ In his other clandestine editions he worked exclusively with capitals as initial letters, usually with his two-line Double Pica Roman.

The Basel types can be found, again as capitals in headings, in a French confession of faith, *Confession des ministres de Jesus-Christ, en l'Eglise d' Anvers, qui consent à la Confession d' Ausbourg* (1567),⁴⁷ together with R 22 and R 20/72 as a typeface and capitals of R 17 and R 27. There can thus be no doubt that Gillis was the printer of this book too. The work was especially intended for the Lutherans in Antwerp who, in the previous year, had been the first Protestants to form a community in the Low Countries. In so doing they had the support of a number of 'eastern' merchants representing the interests of the Hansa in the town. Within a short period half a dozen ministers had been appointed, who were accompanied by as many German advisers. Until April 1567 when he had to leave Antwerp together with his colleagues, the driving force in the group was Mathias Flacius (Illyricus). He was a defender of strict Lutheranism and the main compiler of the confession of faith. At the same time there also appeared a Latin edition, *Confessio ministrorum Jesu Christi, in*

A 5.1 (I thank Dr Heijting for allowing me to use his microfilm of the book.) – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Cambridge, UL; Dublin, TCL; Halle a/S, UL.

⁴⁴ For reproductions, see VPT, p. 285, fig. 219 (a work by Coppens dating from 1544) and W. Nijhoff, *L' Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d' imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. + supplement (La Haye 1926-35): Anvers, Derniers imprimeurs VI 24, Coppens for Gregorius de Bonte; *ibid.* VI 26/7, [Coppens for] Joannes Coccius (Cock); and *ibid.* VIII 33, [Coppens for] Antonius Dumaëus (van der Haghen).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Grapheus IV 15.

⁴⁶ Although these initials almost certainly date from before 1540 they are not reproduced in Nijhoff, op. cit. (n. 44).

⁴⁷ *Confession des ministres de Jesus-Christ, En l'Eglise d' Anuers, qui consent à la Confession d' Ausbourg*. Act. 26 (10 lines). Psal. 68 (5 lines) (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], Anno M.D.LXVII. 8vo); Heijting, op. cit. (n. 37), no. A 14.5. – Copy: Wolfenbüttel HAB (2x).

Ecclesia Antverpiensi, quae Augustanae Confessionis adsentitur (1567).⁴⁸ The work is printed in the same types, this time without the Basel ones but with IT 4 as a special typeface on the title-page. This original text also appeared in a Dutch translation.⁴⁹ A little later as many as two new editions were published, but Gillis had no part in them.

Although not ascribed to Gillis, the publications discussed above have long been known. A short time ago, however, a hitherto unnoticed book came to light which must also be added to the works printed by Coppens, the *Traicté de quelques poincts de la sincere religion Chrestienne et Evangelicque doctrine* [...] naguères composé en bas Aleman par Theodore Philippe (1567).⁵⁰ Both the Basel Roman on the title-page and the use of R 33 prove that it came from his press, although the main typeface is now Tavernier's R 26. Gillis had obviously decided to replace his old Pica Roman of Guyot with a more modern typeface and to melt down what remained of his R 27. The translator's foreword, moreover, is also set in R 20 and that of the author in R 22, a type which, together with five lines in IT 4, also occurs on the title-page.

But who is the Theodore Philippe, named as the author of this previously unknown work? It is not a pseudonym, as we might suppose, but the name of the most important dogmatist of the Dutch Mennonites, Dirk Philips, the friend and close collaborator of their recently deceased leader Menno Simons. The work, no edition of which is known in the original language, gives a far more concise summary of the main doctrines of the Brethren than Dirk's *Enchiridion* (1564), a translation of which would appear in Amsterdam in 1626 under the same French name of the author.⁵¹ The translation, however, includes a reprint of the last chapter of this earlier edition, 'Claire et manifeste remonstration de l'excommunication

⁴⁸ *Confessio ministrorum Jesu Christi, in Ecclesia Antuerpiensi, quae Augustanae Confessionis adsentitur*. Cum Indice. Act. 26 (9 lines). Psal. 68 (4 lines) (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], Anno M.D.LXVII. 8vo); BT 687; *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as BB, vol. I, pp. 688-9, C 150; Heijting, op. cit. (n. 37), no. A 14.1. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, KBR; Cambridge, Emmanuel College; Dublin, TCL; Halle a/S., UL; Kortrijk, Stadsbibliotheek. The book was published shortly before the end of 1566.

⁴⁹ BB, vol. I, pp. 686-8, C 151 (= BT 686), and C 152 respectively. Heijting, op. cit. (n. 37), nos. A 14.3 and A 14.4 respectively.

⁵⁰ *Traicté de quelques poincts de la sincere Religion Chrestienne, & Evangelicque doctrine, pour l'instruction de tous ceux qui ayment la Verité*, naguères co[m]posé en bas Alema[n] par Theodore Philippe. Et De nouveau traduit du bas Aleman en langue François. I. Thess. 5.c.19 (4 lines) (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], M.D.LXVII. 8vo). – Copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

⁵¹ *Enchiridion ou Manuël De la Religion Chrestienne*. Premièrement composé par Theodore Philippe. [...] Traduit du Bas-Aleman en vulgaire François [...] Par Virgile de Las Lionnois. Imprimé l'an [...] 1626 (s.l. [Amsterdam, Abraham Biestkens]. 4to). For a list of contents, see M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips 1504-1568. A Catalogue of his Printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1975), pp. 59-60, no. 8.

evangelique et institution d'icelle.⁵² This tract about the ban and shunning contains a new formulation of the author's views on the punishment of sinners in the community, intended to replace his earlier treatise on the controversial matter. Two fragments have survived of the Dutch text, but the texts of the earlier chapters of the *Traicté* were hitherto entirely unknown.⁵³

The manner in which the name of the author is placed on the title-page and the presence of a 'Préface de l'auteur' show that we are indeed dealing with a work by Dirk Philips and not with a selection from his writings.⁵⁴ It is impossible, however, to deduce with any certainty from the words of the translator whether he was basing himself on a Dutch printed text. There may have been an edition which has since been lost, but he may also have been using a handwritten text composed by the author some time before his death in March 1568 for this or a similar purpose. What is certain is that, even if this was his declared objective, the revised ban book was not included in the editions of the Dutch *Enchiridion* which appeared after 1567. This makes the appearance of a Dutch original of the *Traicté* less likely.⁵⁵

In addition to its being an unknown work by Dirk Philips, the book is of interest as additional evidence for the suspicion that the Mennonite movement also had Walloon members. No proof of this has ever come to light, but it would seem odd that the great spread of Mennonite belief in Western and Central Europe should have occurred entirely outside the French-speaking area.⁵⁶ Although the existing archival material provides no information about the matter, it emerges from the appearance of the translation in Antwerp that attempts were indeed made to win

⁵² Reproduced in facsimile in J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, *Dirk Philips, vriend en medewerker van Menno Simons, 1504-1568* (Haarlem 1964), pp. 207-23 (= Appendix 3). For a summary and discussion of the contents see pp. 168-74. In 1602 the tract was published in a translation from the French by Carel van Mander; see *ibid.*, p. 228, no. 21.

⁵³ The first fragment was already known to Ten Doornkaat Koolman, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 170 and p. 187, n. 19; the second was discovered by Keyser, *op. cit.* (n. 51), pp. 19-28: 'Op die grouwelijke [...] lasteringe etlijcker Sch. broeder' and the 'Tweede banboek'. A bibliographical note'.

⁵⁴ Apart from the 'Claire et manifeste remonstrance' (ff. 115 ff.) the content is divided as follows: (f. 7) La confession de notre foy, touchant la Divinité; (f. 11v.) Confession de la creation, redemption et salut des hommes; (f. 14v.) Du Baptisme de nostre Seigneur Jésus Christ; (f. 55v.) Confession de la Cene du Seigneur Jésus Christ; (f. 78, inserted title:) De l'Incarnation de Jésus-Christ, l'unique Fils de Dieu le Père, briefve confession; (f. 94) De la vraye cognoissance de Jésus Christ, Fils unique du Dieu vivant [...] aussi Du fondement invariable de sa doctrine salutaire, briefve admonition par Theodore Philippe.

⁵⁵ This is even suggested by the title of Van Mander's translation (see n. 52): *Naeghelaten Schrift van den Euangelischen Ban ende Mijdinghe [...] Wt den Fransoyschen vertaelt door C.V.M. ...* (Haarlem 1602). Keyser, *op. cit.* (n. 51), no. 50, p. 141.

⁵⁶ A.L.E. Verheyden, *Geschiedenis der doopsgezinden in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw* (Brussel 1959), p. 92.

over followers in French-speaking circles. The expense which this entailed suggests that they had, or were thought to have, an interest in Mennonite teaching. The book consequently adds a valuable element to the history of Anabaptism in the southern Low Countries.

As the result of our investigation we can establish that Gillis Coppens van Diest was the most active printer of prohibited books in Antwerp in these turbulent years. He had certain colleagues who also undertook the same dangerous task, but none produced as much as he did. In 1566/7 his printing was almost exclusively clandestine. The bibliographical sources only mention a single edition which appeared in his own name in this period – a news report containing no more than a couple of leaves (BT 1679). The year 1567 was a turning point for, as we saw, he was in serious trouble in the course of it. It is difficult to see his rapid release as anything other than an indication that the city magistracy was ready to forgive his sins, obviously on the condition that he would mend his ways. Gillis complied and the events of that year also sent out a signal to other Antwerp printers similarly involved to end their illegal practices. The authorities seem to have issued the warning that, under pressure from the government in Brussels, no mercy would again be shown.

Thereafter the subversive production moved entirely to Emden and Wesel, and, for Orange's propaganda, also to Cologne. As faith in the chances of the Revolt diminished, however, the number of publications in the following years decreased sharply. Despite his advanced age Gillis remained active and continued to carry out a number of commissions for colleagues which included several editions of Ortelius' atlas. In 1570 Plantin renewed his printer's patent.⁵⁷ He died in 1572, two years before his eldest son and successor, Anthonis. The latter's younger half-brother, named after his father, was unable to carry on the press in its existing form on account of his limited knowledge – he did not know a single foreign language. Some woodcut initials belonging to the firm can be found later in the inventory of Gillis van den Rade.

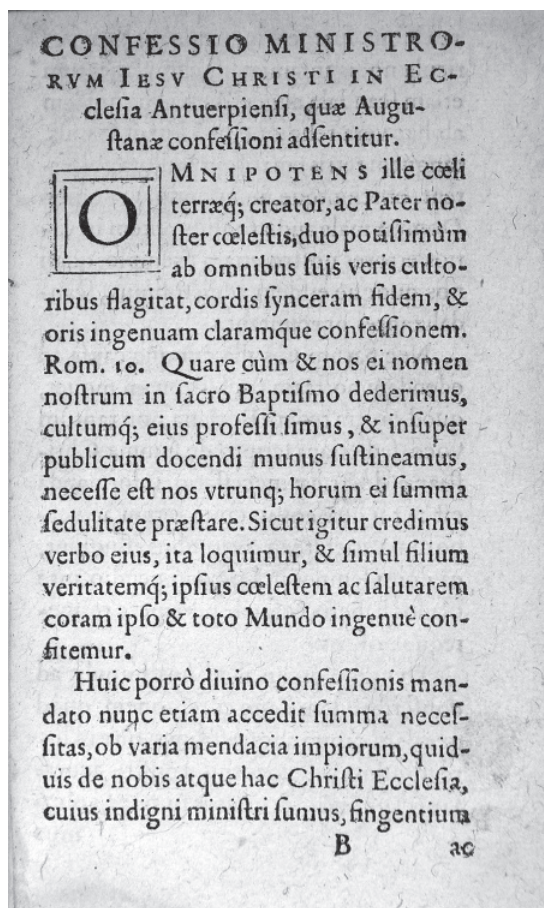
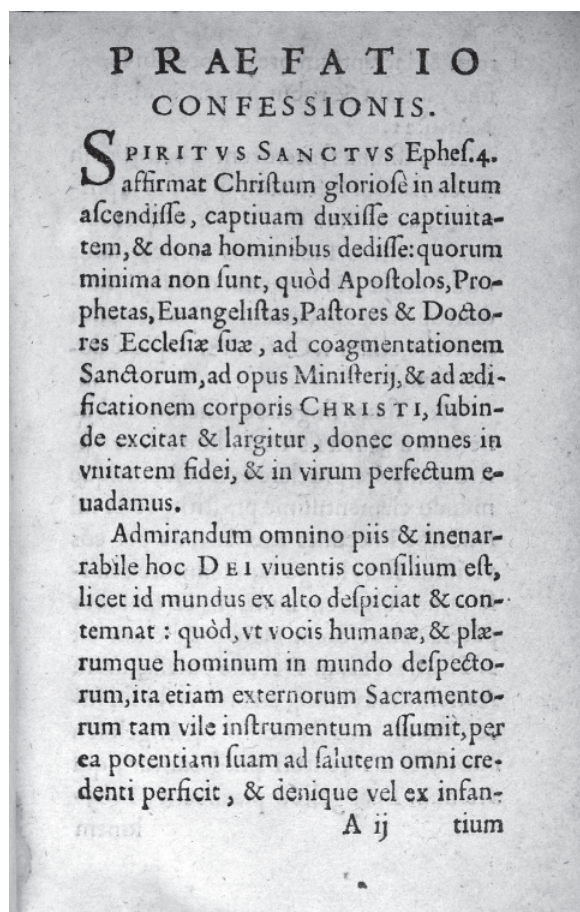
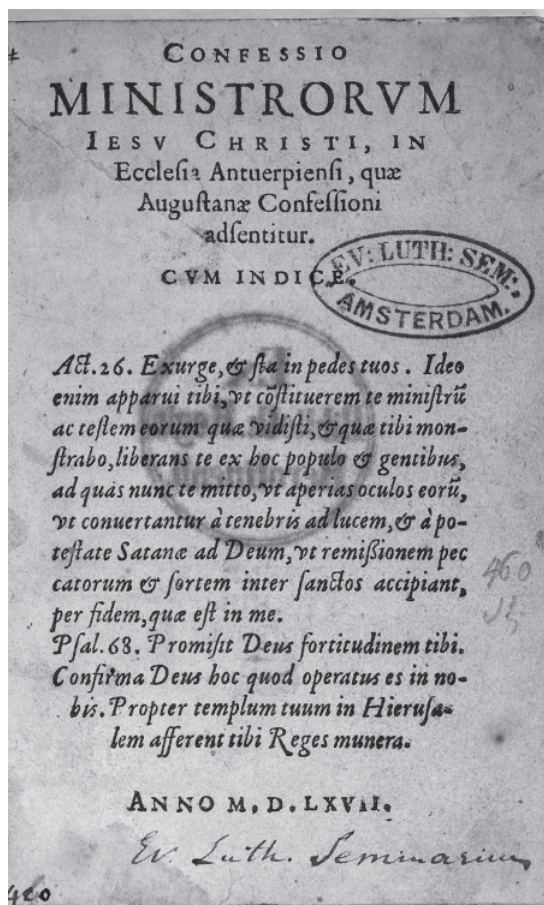
But there is yet another forbidden publication printed by Coppens which we can probably place in the period I have described. It is a translation of Luther's last sermon, 'translated in our Dutch language anno 1554-8' ('overgesedt in onser duytscher spraken Anno 1554-1558'). This is what we read halfway down the title-

⁵⁷ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), pp. 27, 36.

⁵⁸ *Dat leste Sermon D. Martini Lutheri saligher ghedachten*, gheschiet tot Wittenberch, opten tweeden Sondach naer Dertiendach den xvij. Januarij M.D. ende xlvj. Ouergesedt in onser duytscher spraken Anno M.D.Liiij. Rom. 1 (4 lines) (s.l. [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van Diest], s.d. [c.1566?], 8vo). – Copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

page, but the book has neither imprint nor colophon. It is printed in Coppens' Pica Textura, which establishes the attribution. The date, however, is uncertain. Since we do not know of a single clandestine publication by him in the 1550s – as far as we know he only started to produce them in 1566 – the chances are good that this publication, too, was intended for the Lutheran community in Antwerp. The implication that the edition was already twelve years old suggests an attempt to avoid prosecution.

From all that has been said we can conclude that the role of Gillis Coppens in the world of Antwerp printers was far more significant than has hitherto been suspected. His production was also much greater than was once thought. Now that we are familiar with his typefaces and initials, we can see that he printed numerous books for others without ever giving his name. If we include these publications he emerges as one of the two or three most prominent printers from the generation preceding Plantin. For this reason, too, he deserves more attention than has so far been bestowed on him. For anyone wishing to supply this deficiency Vervliet's *Printing Types* will be an essential guide and source of typographical, as well as bibliographical, information.



I
Confessio ministrorum Iesu Christi, in ecclesia Antuerpiensi, quæ augustanæ confessioni adsentitur ([Antwerp, Gilles Coppens van Diest], 1567), BT 687
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: K 61-687)

PLANTIN'S RELATIONS WITH HENDRIK NICLAES



To what extent would our view of Plantin change if we knew all the facts relating to his career? To give a conclusive answer to this question is impossible. Despite the unique contents of his archives and the abundance of information they contain we must fear that a number of his dealings will always remain undocumented. That the proto-typographer of King Philip II had a hand in clandestine activities is certain. Well over a century ago, it became clear that he did not always bide by the rules imposed by Church and state. Ever since then his relations with 'heretics' such as Hendrik Niclaes and Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël) have been the subject of both serious study and much speculation.¹ In the course of time Plantin has been attributed with an ever greater role within the Family of Love – so much so that some scholars have even regarded him as a leading figure in this sectarian movement.²

The development of these and other far too extreme views was made possible by the all but total lack of reliable sources concerning the nature and range of Plantin's clandestine activities. The small quantity of authentic information that survives

¹ In writing this article I have assumed that the reader is acquainted with the state of research as it is presented in L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), hereafter cited as Voet GC, esp. vol. 1, pp. 21-44 and 50-2. The same applies to the references to the existing literature in the notes of that work, which will not, as a rule, be included here.

² The formation of this myth occurred above all under the influence of B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano, 1527-1598* (Groningen 1961; thesis Amsterdam; English translation London/Leiden 1972), pp. 137-84: 'De secte der spiritualisten'. The author provides a thoroughly distorted image of the relations between Hendrik Niclaes and Plantin by including almost everyone in Plantin's circle, Catholic or Protestant, among the adherents of the Family of Love, or, in later years, as members of a sect allegedly led by Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël). He also projects the latter's close friendship with Plantin onto the earlier relationship between the printer and Hendrik Niclaes. Equally speculative are a number of conjectures in J.-F. Maillard, 'Christophe Plantin et la Famille de la Charité en France: Documents et hypothèses', *Mélanges sur la littérature de la Renaissance, à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier* (Genève 1984), pp. 235-53. See, on the other hand, the more balanced treatment of the subject in A. Hamilton, 'The Family of Love in Antwerp', *Religieuze stromingen te Antwerpen voor en na 1585* (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis, 70; Antwerpen 1987), pp. 87-96, and above all the same author's introduction to his recently published edition of the manuscripts of the Family of Love (see n. 7).

allowed all sorts of conjectures and hypotheses to develop, which, in the absence of any contrary evidence, soon led a life of their own. Even the thorough research into Plantin's archives performed in the last few decades has produced next to no new evidence concerning illegal business deals.³ Nevertheless, we could suppose that the printer, manoeuvring his way between the limitations imposed by the circumstances of the moment, produced more than is known, and often pursued a highly independent course in order to create the conditions to do what he wanted to do. The dangers entailed obviously demanded the greatest caution. The authorities did not hesitate to make use of informers and *agents provocateurs* in their pursuit of culprits. Every deal that was not specifically permitted by law consequently had to remain concealed. Even in the most detailed records surviving from the days of his partnership with the Van Bomberghens – at the time a model of modern administration – nothing can be found concerning clandestine publications. Yet all the registers and documents were meticulously preserved by Plantin's successors, and there is no reason to believe that anything was destroyed posthumously. We must thus conclude that Plantin himself was determined from the outset to avoid any risk and kept certain transactions out of his books. However worthwhile the results might be, further archival investigation is most unlikely to provide any evidence in this domain.

The lack of documentary evidence can, however, be remedied to some extent by another side of Plantin's legacy: his printed work and the information it yields about his typefaces. The use of typological criteria in bibliographical research is not new and has long been part of the standard equipment of the incunabulist. Strangely enough, however, after Rooses and Vervliet the method has only rarely been applied to the production of the *Officina*, whereas the various elements of the type stock provide every opportunity to do so.⁴ In such an approach we must first turn to the specific characteristics of the book as a typographical product. It is not the content of the text but the material appearance which becomes an object of

³ Despite the formidable quantity of facts and information published in the standard work of L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle, 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), hereafter cited as Voet PP.

⁴ Rooses was the first scholar to use typographical information when studying Plantin. He recognized a German typeface in a book by Hiël (Voet PP 627) as being identical to a Fractura which the printer used in 1581 for his edition of Lobelius' *Kruidtboeck* (Voet PP 1579). See M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversoïs* (Anvers 1882), pp. 87-90, with a reproduction opposite p. 90, and *id.*, *Le Musée Plantin-Moretus* (Anvers 1914), p. 52. On the basis of the typefaces used Vervliet showed that Plantin could not possibly have published his edition of *La theologie germanique* (Voet PP 2309), dated 1558, before 1579. See H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana I. Ter inleiding: De studie van het zestiende-eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La théologie germanique" (Plantin, 1558)', *De Gulden Passer*, 37 (1959), pp. 170-8. Other attributions to Plantin of anonymous publications rest on the recognition of his woodcut initials.

investigation. Scholars must thus concentrate on the typefaces applied and, if there are any, on the initials and other ornaments which combine to give a picture of the material that served to produce the work. The recognition, by comparison, of identical elements in other signed publications now makes it possible, without any further evidence, to attribute all sorts of anonymous printed work to the press from which it came. If applied with the necessary caution this is a particularly reliable means of establishing who was responsible for certain underground practices in the printing world. Typographical analysis could even rank as an exact discipline since, as in the other natural sciences, the results can always be checked visually. What is important in all this is that our knowledge of historical typefaces has been greatly increased by a number of publications over the last thirty years.

In the case of such an investigation into Plantin, the exclusivity – at least in the Low Countries – of a substantial part of his typographical material is of decisive significance. What is also of value are the notes in his records concerning specifically the periods in which his collaborators, and above all his compositors, worked for him, and the nature of their activities. This very different evidence, which has seldom been consulted, allows us to attempt to elucidate a few of the still obscure episodes in Plantin's career. One of the most intriguing is undoubtedly his long relationship with the leader of the Family of Love. This is a reason for turning our attention once more to what is still in many respects a puzzling matter. The bibliographical analysis used, with its technical peculiarities, is described elsewhere. What follows is a summary of the results, supplemented with a few more general considerations.⁵

As one of the most fascinating figures of the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century Hendrik Niclaes has been an object of increasing attention in recent years.⁶ After abandoning the traditional dogmas he, like many other reformers, felt he was called upon to assume the role of a prophet, whereupon his ideas about religion and society converged in a doctrine which sought eternal salvation outside the Church.

⁵ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72; *id.*, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90 (pp. 175 ff.); *id.*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *ibid.*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (pp. 96 ff.). This general list also applies to what follows. With a few incidental exceptions I have not referred to these articles.

⁶ The standard work on Hendrik Niclaes and the Family of Love is now Alastair Hamilton's *The Family of Love* (Cambridge 1981). The same year saw the publication of J. Dietz Moss, 'Godded with God'. *Hendrik Niclaes and his Family of Love* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 71, pt. 8; Philadelphia 1981), which provides new information about the history of the sect in England. A number of historical details are to be found in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The Family of Love', *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), pp. 219-71, with a survey of earlier literature. See also *id.*, 'Het Huis der Liefde en zijn publicaties', *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 1: *Humanisten, dweppers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1975), pp. 85-111, and the literature mentioned in Voet GC, pp. 21-2.

His place in the spiritual developments of his time need not occupy us any further. All we must do is recall certain events in the life of this remarkable man. Born in about 1502, he went into trade at an early stage and settled in Amsterdam. In, or about 1540, however, he left the city, probably for religious reasons. Together with his family and certain trusted followers he then went to Emden, also a port, where he carried on his business under the name of 'Hendrick van Amsterdam' and became a prominent citizen. The principal source for our knowledge of his life, the *Cronika*. *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Liefsten*, hereafter cited as *Chronika* refers to his business dealings 'so-wal tom Oosten also tom Westen', 'both eastwards and westwards'.⁷ This implies that he had a hand in Baltic trade as well as in commerce with the countries of Western Europe, a fact confirmed by documents in the Emden archives.⁸ The chronicle, which survives in an early copy, was compiled by the 'mede-older' or 'elder' Daniel, one of his first followers, who can be identified with his brother who owned a brewery in Emden and was regarded as one of the richest citizens of the town. In the proceedings of a trial held in Amsterdam in 1545 Jan van Amsterdam in Emden was described as being 'of the sect of David Joris' ('van Davidts Joryszs secte').⁹

What was known hitherto about the relations between Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes rested almost exclusively on what the *Chronika* tells us in passages which were collected and published by Max Rooses, at a time when research into the Family of Love was still in its infancy. As we shall see, the chronicler was in good faith, but not without a certain prejudice in his judgement concerning members who had left the sect or who, in his opinion, had not lived up to their leader's expectations in other respects. What he says about all sorts of historical details, on the other hand, would seem to be correct in so far as it can be checked. This emerged almost immediately from the information about the personal circumstances of Plantin, which could subsequently be confirmed by other sources. What he writes about the printing history of the prophet's writings has also turned out to be reliable. By and large the chronicle follows the events in chronological order, but unfortunately it does not give any dates. At times we find a reference to HN's age at one particular moment, but otherwise we only have hints such as 'in the meantime' ('in dessen middelen tyde'), 'some time afterwards' ('over ein tydt daernae'), and so on.

⁷ A full edition has now appeared of the *Cronika*. *Chronika des Hüsgesinnes der Liefsten [...] dorch Daniel, ein Mede-older [...] am dach gegeven* (the copy in Leiden UL, LTK 620) and the other manuscripts of the Family of Love: *Cronica, Ordo sacerdotis, Acta HN. Three texts on the Family of Love*, ed. A. Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden 1988).

⁸ I. Simon, 'Hendrik Niclaes. Biografische and bibliografische Notizen, Emden (1540-60)', *Niederdeutsches Wort*, 13 (1973), pp. 63-77 (esp. p. 67).

⁹ *Amsterdam (1536-1578)* (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 2: ed. A.F. Mellink; Leiden 1980), no. 52, p. 62.

PLANTIN PRINTS FOR HENDRIK NICLAES

We do not know when or under what circumstances Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes first met. Nor do we know in what year the agreement was reached to print *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* and other writings produced by Plantin's press. The *Chronika* does indeed give certain details about the production of these books, such as the large sums needed to acquire the typefaces, woodcuts and paper. All these purchases were paid for by the author, who, also at his own expense, dispatched two of his own men – presumably Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt and Augustijn van Hasselt – to Cologne to obtain supplementary material.

The publications were naturally a matter of particular importance for the Family of Love and it is understandable that the chronicler should have devoted so much attention to them, even if he does not tell us by any means everything we would want to know. His account of the events served another special purpose: he wanted to publicize Plantin's disloyalty towards the leader of the sect in the entire episode. He accuses the printer in no uncertain terms of having had nothing but his personal interests at heart in his work for the movement. By having Hendrik Niclaes pay all expenses, he managed to use for his own benefit the financial support he had obtained from Paris for the production of the editions. This representation of the events led to the view that Plantin set up his printing-press with money which had in fact been sent from France for the purpose of producing Hendrik Niclaes' work, and consequently that he took advantage of HN's interests. I believe that Leon Voet questioned this interpretation on good grounds.¹⁰ The complaint of the chronicler about what he regarded as the excessively practical attitude of the printer does not necessarily mean that that was how the *Officina* came into existence. It would appear, rather, that Plantin had already been working as a printer for some time before Hendrik Niclaes applied to him. Hendrik Niclaes was looking for someone to replace the Deventer printer Dirk (II) van den Borne, who had hitherto worked for him but was no longer able to carry out such a large order on account of his age and his health. He must have encountered Plantin on the occasion of a visit to his son François, who had settled in Antwerp as a merchant. Because of a serious wound in his right arm, Plantin had been obliged to substitute his activity as the maker of book bindings and other objects in gold-tooled leather by another source of income in or about 1554.¹¹ His existing connections with the book trade made the

¹⁰ Voet GC, pp. 23-4. It is surprising, however, that the author could nevertheless conclude that 'Plantin's career as a printer undoubtedly has its origin in his religious convictions.'

¹¹ The report about Plantin's wound as the cause of his decision to become a printer has been doubted – wrongly, as I believe with Voet and others. The impression of tools and rolls required so much physical strength that the story seems plausible. Whether he had already had ambitions to become a publisher at an earlier stage but only took the decision when circumstances forced him to change his trade is another matter.

decision to turn his hand to printing an obvious one, even if there is no indication that he had had any previous training.¹² But, as we see from the first years of his production, he had every opportunity, particularly in the French market, to get started, partly with pirate editions, and he obviously also had enough connections in his own immediate circle to dare to take such a step. The recruitment of expert collaborators, as the results show, did not pose any problem of significance.

The assumption that large sums were dispatched from France to subsidise HN's publications seems questionable. But the printing orders from French publishers did indeed entail considerable amounts of money and we should perhaps see the payments from Paris, which the *Chronika* claims were intended for the production of *Den Spiegel*, in this light. However this may be, and despite the accusations of the chronicler, there is no reason to doubt that Plantin carried out the order correctly. In those days, too, especially in the case of such an expensive enterprise, the agreements of the parties involved were obviously set down in a contract which regulated all the details.¹³ That both men observed the agreed terms can also be deduced from the fact that after this agreement, others followed. A businessman would have thought twice about again entering into partnership with someone who had cheated him. But at the same time it is also clear that, whatever the members of the Family of Love may have expected from Plantin's sympathy for the movement, Plantin himself was swayed largely by his own business interests.

Hendrik Niclaes spared neither money nor energy in turning his main work into an impressive book. A comparison shows that both the choice of language and the external design were heavily influenced by the *Wonderboek* of David Joris. That work by Hendrik Niclaes' greatest rival, whose recent death meant that his followers had lost their leader, was printed in Deventer in 1542-4 by Van den Borne.¹⁴ It appeared in a dialect of the northeast Netherlands which contained

¹² It has so far been assumed that, after his apprenticeship with Robert Macé in Caen, Plantin worked for a few years with one of the Paris printers (perhaps with Jacques Bogard, the predecessor and father-in-law of Martin le Jeune). There is nothing to confirm this hypothesis, however, and it seems unlikely. Why would a binder of his stature want to become a compositor? Bindings of the quality which he could make, were undoubtedly better paid than typesetting. But he was indeed trained in the book trade and for such a good organizer and businessman the change over to another side of the trade could hardly have presented any great problem. There are plenty of examples of people who started a press without any previous typographical experience. For anyone with sufficient means and business capacity, it was relatively easy to attract a skilled staff. Compositors often worked on yearly contracts and were free to look for a new job when these expired.

¹³ For Plantin's care in drawing up a contract of this sort, see his detailed agreement in 1558 with the artist Lambert Suavius, in *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durme (Anvers 1955), pp. 255-6, no. 228.

¹⁴ A. van der Linde, *David Joris. Bibliographie* (s-Gravenhage 1867), no. 14; *id.*, 'La première édition

enough German elements for it to be accessible to large areas across the border.¹⁵ This literary language, which may have been closer to various Low German dialects in spelling rather than in vocabulary, was the one also selected by Hendrik Niclaes. For the necessary transcription of his manuscripts he took into his service a certain Augustijn, who originated from Hasselt near Liège.¹⁶ Augustijn had probably once lived in Münster in Westphalia. At all events, a letter he wrote to Plantin shows that he mastered the language of the area.¹⁷ After the copy had been completed Hendrik Niclaes sent him to Antwerp to supervise the printing. Augustijn must have seen to the correction of the work in the *Officina*, but at the same time he himself turned into an excellent compositor. He also grew to be on such good terms with Plantin that the printer subsequently gave him a job in his own firm. According to an incidental entry in the account books (Arch. 35, f. 190v.) he was paid five days' salary on 2 September of an unspecified year [1558 or 1559?].

The appearance of *Den Spiegel* was also adapted to the readership the author had in mind. For the printing of the book he acquired three Fractura typefaces, and for the decoration a series of calligraphic initials and various large woodcuts. He also chose a typographical design the late Gothic exuberance of which makes a particularly German impression. The contrast with the measured French style of Plantin's own publications is so striking that some of his biographers have had difficulty in accepting the book as a product of his press.¹⁸ But then it was hardly a publication of his own, since all he provided was the use of his printing shop. Otherwise it was a creation of Hendrik Niclaes, who had not only written the work but had apparently also established its external appearance, had borne all the costs

du Wonderboeck de David Joris de Gand (1542)', *Annales du bibliophile belge et hollandais*, 1 (1864-6), pp. 137-41, 158-60.

¹⁵ For this usage, see J.A. von der Hake, 'Een zestiend' eeuwse taal voor literair verkeer', *De Nieuwe Taalgids*, 5 (1911), pp. 225-45; G.A.R. De Smet, 'Hendrik Niclaes. Ein vergessener niederdeutscher Dichter. Die Sprache seiner Comoedia und die sogenannte ostniederländische Literatursprache', *Festschrift für Gerhard Cordes zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. F. Debus & J. Hartig, vol. 2 (Neumünster 1976), pp. 389-402.

¹⁶ For what is known about his life, see the information given in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1986), pp. 83 ff.

¹⁷ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. Max Rooses, vol. 1 (Anvers 1883), pp. 72-3, no. 26; reprinted, with a facsimile of the document, in H.F. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied', *De Gulden Passer*, 18 (1940), pp. 87-141 (esp. p. 112). Rooses' transcription is careless in over ten places; the most inaccurate readings are (l. 4) 'werken' instead of 'trecken', and (l. 9) 'onmidelick' instead of 'mundelick'.

¹⁸ See C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), p. 246, with a reproduction of the title-page opposite p. 33; H.D.L. Vervliet in a book review in *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), p. 72. Reproductions are also in De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6: 1976), illus. 2 and 3, and in *id.*, op. cit. (n. 6: 1975), illus. 25 and 26.

of publication, and had organized its distribution – probably outside the existing book trade.

The printing process of this vast and carefully produced volume must have taken at least a year and can be ascribed to 1556/7 – or anyhow to before 1558 when Plantin replaced one of the typefaces by another. This date finds some confirmation in the particularly meagre production of the *Officina* in 1556, when, apart from this particular order, no more than eight publications appeared, mainly of small dimensions.¹⁹ Even the watermarks in the book's paper point to this period.²⁰ At about the same time Plantin, as far as we know, also produced two shorter writings by HN, a collection of rhyming psalms and songs,²¹ and the treatise entitled *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes ...*²² (illus. 1 and 2).

HENDRIK NICLAES' PRINTING-PRESS IN KAMPEN

In the course of 1561 there was a further business agreement between Plantin and the leader of the Family of Love – the result of Hendrik Niclaes' wish to see a number of his hitherto unpublished writings in print. For Plantin, however, it was no longer possible to carry out work such as this in Antwerp. The circumstances had changed too much. The fact that he now had four presses in action meant that he needed a growing number of collaborators and that in turn made it difficult to

¹⁹ Voet *PP*, vol. 6, pp. 2452–3. Of the publications given for the year 1556 no. 2070 must be removed; the typographical appearance shows that this book was only produced by Plantin's press far later, probably in the period when he was printer to the States General. The reference to no. 1731 (*Den Spiegel ...*) should be changed to no. 1732 (*Den Spiegel ...*). *Den Spiegel* does not exist as an independent publication; it is the title (reproduced in Voet *GC*, vol. 1, Pl. 4) of the first part of the text of the work. In a complete copy 26 leaves, containing a list of contents and errata, precede the main text with the general title *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*. The mistake can be traced back to the *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, vols. 1–3 (Neumünster 1931–57; repr. 1976), nos. 1651A* en 1546P (with the incorrect date 1549), where an incomplete copy of *Den Spiegel* in Berlin is described as a separate edition. See Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1984), p. 252, n. 18.

²⁰ Watermark: a sphere with a five-pointed star. The closest similarity is to the illustrations in C.M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu' en 1600*. A facsimile of the 1907 edition ... , ed. A. Stevenson, 4 vols. (Amsterdam 1968), no. 13,995 (Bordeaux 1550) and 13,999 (Pau 1553).

²¹ H[endrik] N[iclaes], *Psalmen unde Ledern ...* (s.l., [Antwerpen, Christophe Plantin, c.1556]) – illus. 1. For a full description of the title, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1984), p. 272. Watermark: a heart with a stylized crown, resembling Briquet, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 4318 (1554–6), also in A. Nicolai, *Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France, 1300–1800*, 2 vols. (Bordeaux 1935), vol. 2, Pl. XLI, no. 5 (Navarreinx 1555).

²² [Hendrik Niclaes], *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes ...* (s.l., [Antwerp, Christophe Plantin, c.1556]) – illus. 2. For the full title and the watermark, see the bibliographical references in the previous note.

achieve the necessary secrecy.²³ The supervision of book production exercised by the government in Brussels had also become much stricter.²⁴ After discussing the matter the two men agreed to a different and safer solution: the establishment of a printing-press in a town where their plan would not be obstructed by the attitude of the authorities. This town was Kampen, at the mouth of the IJssel, where Hendrik Niclaes had settled when the magistrates in Emden had discovered the identity of the man concealed behind the initials HN in his publications. After his flight, and the death of his wife, which occurred soon afterwards, he had moved into premises belonging to a kindred spirit and led as unobtrusive an existence as possible. With the assistance of Plantin, who provided a number of Roman typefaces which he did not possess himself, he set up a press. Augustijn van Hasselt was placed in charge of the day-to-day management. His expertise, experience and commitment were sufficiently proven to make him the most suitable person. For the outside world the press was his: Hendrik Niclaes remained entirely in the background.

We do not know whether Augustijn travelled straight from Antwerp to Kampen or whether, on this occasion too, he had first collaborated in the preparation of HN's manuscripts. On 24 July 1561 he applied for citizenship in his new place of residence and, after examining his credentials, the magistrates decided to accord it to him on 4 September.²⁵ Production could start with the typefaces and ornaments which had already been used in Antwerp and which were now supplemented by a German type on a smaller body that had probably also been bought at Hendrik Niclaes' expense. A new series of his writings appeared in print, in the same linguistic form as the earlier ones even if the spelling was occasionally adapted to the eastern Dutch current in this particular area.

In the marginalia of these publications a small Roman typeface, a 'Brevier' or 'Bible' Roman which had never appeared in any of HN's books before, is striking. It was made by the French punchcutter Garamont and was owned in the Low

²³ See Voet's correction, Voet GC p. 32, to the number of eight presses mentioned earlier by Rooses.

²⁴ Whereby research into typefaces, as well as into the manner of binding, was already being practised in order to discover the origin of certain publications. Viglius ab Aytta, the chairman of the Secret Council, and Joachim Hopperus, a member of the Great Council in Malines, were particularly active in this domain, as we see from a memorandum by Joachim Hopperus, printed and reproduced by C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes Plantiniens', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 33 (Mainz 1958), pp. 155-63 (esp. pp. 155-6). For another intervention by Hopperus, see D. Grosheide, 'Twee protestantiserende werken door Plantin in 1558 gedrukt: *L' A.B.C. ou instruction chrestienne*, en: *Instruction chrestienne par F.J. Pierre Ravillan*', *Liber amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer* 61-3; Antwerpen 1985), pp. 77-95 (esp. pp. 77-9).

²⁵ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes. Prolegomena eener bibliographie', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. 161-221 (esp. p. 175); *id.*, art. cit. (n. 6: 1975), p. 94.

Countries at the time exclusively by Plantin.²⁶ The same applies to another French typeface, Haultin's 'Saint Augustin' (English),²⁷ used in about the same period in the Latin edition of one of HN's tracts, *Evangelium, seu laetum regni Dei ac Christi nuncium*, published, like the others, without an imprint or date.²⁸ The firm also produced, in HN's German typographical material, a reprint of *De secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois*, a book of remedies originally written in Italian but popular in numerous languages, which Plantin had published in Dutch in 1558 (Voet PP 38) after having issued it in French in the previous year (with reprints in 1559 and 1561; Voet PP 33-5). The unaltered new edition (Voet PP 39), with Plantin's address on the title-page and a replica of one of his printer's devices, is dated 1561 and was thus published shortly after the press in Kampen had started (illus. 3). The book differs strikingly from what Plantin printed himself, however, since it lacks the initials and other ornaments which appear in all his work produced in these years. They are here replaced by Fractura capitals in two sizes, taken from HN's material and not to be found in any other edition published by the *Officina*.²⁹

The existence of this book shows that Plantin's concern with the press in Kampen was not limited to the supply of typographical material but also led to a printing order on his own account. We may thus wonder whether the choice of an edition such as this was not intended to put the minds of the local authorities at rest with regard to the innocent nature of the new enterprise. However that may be, the production proceeded smoothly. The *Chronika* says that Augustijn printed 'publicly' ('int openbaer'), and was thus apparently quite unconcerned about observing any secrecy.³⁰ If this also applied to the publication of the works of his employer there can have been little question of supervision on the part of the municipal authorities. Like most ports Kampen, a member of the Hanseatic league, was particularly reluctant to take any religious measures which might lead to internal unrest and

²⁶ M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of punches, matrices and moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 [cited as 'Early Inventories'], pp. 9, II; *Type Specimen Facsimiles II* (16-18). *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), pp. 1-5; *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini (1567)* [cited as *Index*], no. 35 (p. 5).

²⁷ 'Augustin Rommain de Hautin', see 'Early Inventories' (n. 26), pp. 9, 14.

²⁸ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 25), no. 13.

²⁹ The 1558 edition (Voet PP 38) is decorated with Plantin's large diamond-shaped arabesque vignette and contains ten initials in all, some of which are repetitions.

³⁰ *Chronika*, cap. XVIII, 4. See op. cit. (n. 7: *Cronica*), p. 59. Previously published in Rooses, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 395.

thus discourage merchants from abroad from bringing their trade to the town.³¹ Nor had this extreme freedom, from which the publishers benefited, yet attracted the attention of the authorities in Brussels, who still believed that the main source of forbidden books was Emden. There had consequently been no danger of their intervention.

These activities can be connected with a note in Plantin's records. This is an entry in his 'Journal' (Arch. 36, f. 17v.) which runs: 'Le Premier de Januier *anno* 1562 Receu de Francoijs le fondeur des lectres [there follows, placed beneath each other]: L'Italica Cicero no. [= to the amount of] 126 [matrices], Cicero Romeyn no. 172, Romeyn Breuier no. 162 [et] Italica Breuier no. 153'. Beside that he wrote: 'le moule et autres matrices de Martin le Jeune'. According to an entry below he dispatched these sets of matrices to Paris two days later: 'Le 3e Januier 1562 Envoye A Paris les sudittes matrices escrites icij dessus avec "48" 36 Dictionarium tetraglotton sous adresse A Martin le Jeune dedans un tonneau que le St Jan bonnot [?] enuoye a Paris a Monseigneur de Cannaij'.

This would appear to be a transaction in which Martin le Jeune, a printer-publisher in Paris with whom Plantin had close connections, received a consignment consisting of a hand mould and, in all, four sets of matrices on two bodies, adjusted by François Guyot. But this looks odd. In a large printing centre such as Paris enough skilled craftsmen could be found for an operation such as this, and there is no convincing reason why someone outside the town should send strikes of typefaces to Antwerp for further finishing. The order, moreover, is unique. Only many years later did Plantin again send matrices to a third party, but those were of his own punches, by way of the Frankfurt Fair.³² It is also surprising that he should not have charged anything for his mediation, since no entry to that effect appears in his 'Journal' or anywhere else in his records.

An explanation of this strange course of events has already been sought in the past. It was then thought that the entries were really intended to disguise an attempt by Plantin to salvage a part of his matrices before losing them together with the rest of his printing-office. The sad tale is familiar enough: some of his French compositors availed themselves of a long absence of Plantin early in 1562 in order to print a Protestant book. This was discovered by the authorities in Brussels,

³¹ On the book trade in Kampen, see G.H.A. Krans, 'Kamper boekdrukkers in de 16e eeuw', *Kamper Almanak 1959/1960* (Kampen 1959), pp. 176-91; *id.*, 'Peter Warnersen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 147-69; *id.*, 'Steven Joessen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen van c. 1550-1581', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 91-103.

³² For Plantin's selling of strikes and matrices, see Voet GC, vol. 2, pp. 89-91. The author, who does not mention any transaction in this domain before one of about 1572, observes: 'In Paris, Plantin had a little chance of selling at a worthwhile profit matrices for typefaces that French printers could obtain locally'.

who ordered the Margrave of Antwerp, Jan van Immerseel, to punish the culprits with the utmost severity. He had them arrested and placed under seal the property of Plantin, who, whether he was present or not, was responsible for everything that went on in his firm. On his return he found himself obliged to rush his family to safety in Paris and to go into hiding himself. In order to avoid confiscation by the authorities, his backers initiated bankruptcy proceedings whereby, under the supervision of the town magistrates, all Plantin's property was put up for auction at the end of April 1562. It was a hard measure, but it was the only way to salvage the money of his financiers and to satisfy the demands of other creditors. He also rescued a part of his own possessions: on his return to Antwerp, after subtracting the auction and administration costs, the town paid him a substantial sum as the profits of the liquidation.

That Plantin should have sent the matrices to Paris and thus have anticipated these developments is most unlikely. If we follow his biographers in accepting that he knew nothing about the clandestine activities of his employees, he could hardly have reckoned with the consequences of what they would do in his imminent absence at the beginning of January, let alone earlier, when he sent his order to Guyot. If he did indeed know about these plans, however, and if we should see his journey as an attempt to conceal his involvement, it would then be incomprehensible that he should have taken such a limited measure and not have brought more of his possessions into safety. What could a few sets of matrices mean when compared to the total loss of the printing-office and all the rest of his property?

A more satisfactory explanation of this event can be provided by a typographical argument, derived from the identity of one of the sets of matrices in question, 'Italica Brevier' (Brevier Italic) no. 153. The only Italic of Dutch origin on this small body, an antiquated typeface which had been owned long before by the Antwerp printer Maerten de Keyser, did not consist of anything like 153 letters and signs. One typeface, on the other hand, that did indeed have the same composition is Granjon's 'Bible Cursive', a particularly attractive small type which Plantin was the first printer to use in the Low Countries in 1560.³³ Apart from its use by his firm, this Italic only appears, as far as Dutch books are concerned, in a New Testament

³³ For Granjon's 'Bible Cursive' belonging to Plantin see *Index* (n. 26), no. 36, and 'Early Inventories' (n. 26), pp. 9, 11 ('Breuiere Italique').

of 1562/3³⁴ and in *Den Bibel* of 1563,³⁵ both printed by Lenaert der Kinderen, 'ghedruc(k)t by Lenaert der Kinderen', without any indication of place. These are two publications which have always been assumed to have come from Emden (illus. 4 and 5).

LENAERT DER KINDEREN'S BIBLES

Lenaert der Kinderen is a curious figure. Already in the eighteenth century scholars had started to wonder who he was and where he had worked. For lack of any factual information – none of his books give a place of printing – a myth developed according to which he even used to print with silver typefaces on a ship which sailed on the Rhine or, according to others, in the North Sea. It was later thought that *In de Noordsee* referred to the name of a house in Emden, a house which did indeed exist, but which turned out to have been built much later; that he had worked together with the equally puzzling printer Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest; and that he published Bibles in the East Frisian dialect. How wrong these and other hypotheses were was established in the 1960s by the historian and bibliographer Dr H.F. Wijnman.³⁶ His study, which is of value to this day, was nevertheless the cause of further confusion since the shadowy image of Lenaert der Kinderen induced the author to regard his name as a pseudonym concealing the Emden printer-publisher Willem Gailliart.

That Wijnman was following a mistaken trail with this hypothesis soon became clear when another scholar encountered the man in Plantin's staff records, the 'Livre des ouvriers' (Arch. 31). An entry on f. 48v. states what he did as a compositor and what he earned in the first nine months of 1566.³⁷ A little later it emerged that Lenaert was already mentioned in the records of October 1563 (Arch. 3, f. 2r.-v.), on an unspecified date, as the seller of a number of old types and four used type cases.³⁸

³⁴ Three different dated editions of this New Testament appeared: (a) with 1562 on the title-page and in the colophon; (b) with the same date on the title-page but 1563 in the colophon; and (c) with 1563 both on the title-page and in the colophon, see H.F. Wijnman, 'Grepn uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (2): De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51 (esp. pp. 140-1, 145-6); M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emder Buchdrucks 1554-1602. Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), no. 142 (b) and nos. 159-60 (c); P.H. Vogel, 'Der niederländische Bibeldruck in Emden 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), pp. 162-71, no. 10 (b) and 13 (c).

³⁵ Tielke, op. cit. (n. 34), (pp. 26-7) and no. 156 (p.84); Vogel, art. cit. (n. 34), no. 11.

³⁶ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 34), pp. 141-3.

³⁷ D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellingsa Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225-31 (esp. p. 231, n. 25).

³⁸ Voet GC, vol. 2, p. 144, n. 1.

Finally a list came to light of salaries paid between 12 July and 20 September 1561 (Arch. 35, ff. 125r.-127r.) which shows that he was already working as a compositor for the *Officina* in that period.³⁹

This information proved not only that Lenaert truly existed but also that he was working as a typographer for Plantin shortly before he produced his first Bible editions. Soon after they had appeared he again got into touch with Plantin and in 1566 he was in the service of his former employer for a second time. Meanwhile he had published a reprint of *Dat Nieuwe Testament* in the previous year and, after his final departure from Antwerp, two other editions of the same translation under his own name, both dated 1567 but printed with material which was completely different from what he had used earlier. All in all this was a remarkable career for a printer-publisher.

The first two of these series of publications, from 1562 to 1563, are of particular relevance to our subject. They are unique phenomena in the history of Bibles printed in the Netherlands since they are set in a typeface which is most unusual for this category, an Italic. Not only had such a typeface never been used before, but it was never used again in the many hundreds of editions of the Scripture which would follow. Until late in the eighteenth century it was the Dutch Textura which remained the standard typeface, and Lenaert, too, went over to it in his subsequent editions, which were produced with less care than the first ones. Above all *Den Bibel* is a particularly felicitous product, with an excellent layout and a division of the text whereby the books of the Bible nearly always follow on from one another in such a way that there are no disturbing white spaces. The care of the layout and printing, and the quality of the paper, compare most favourably with other similar editions. All along the line the work displays a standard rarely attained in the Netherlands at that time. Furthermore, by no means every publisher was in a financial position to produce such an edition. The necessary investments in material and manpower were considerable. Besides the acquisition of paper, which amounted to about half the total costs, it was necessary to pay the salary of two competent compositors and, depending on the size of the print run, at least a first and a second printer before the book could be placed on sale. And of course it was also necessary to have a well-furnished printing-office with the requisite equipment and a capable staff.

In view of these circumstances it is clear that, even if his name is on the title-pages of the books, Lenaert der Kinderen cannot have been the true publisher. A man who had to interrupt 'his' publications in order to earn his living as a salaried compositor cannot possibly have had the capital needed to produce an edition the size of *Den Bibel*. His activities for third parties, moreover, suggest that he never had a press of his own. His services and his name must have been used, rather, by one

³⁹ The discovery was made by Dr D. Grosheide, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1987), pp. 125-6.

or more other individuals directly involved in the publications but who chose to remain in the background and thus out of harm's way.

Who was, or who were, these other individuals? After what has been said the answer to this question can be given without too much hesitation. One of them, I believe, was Christopher Plantin. Nobody else answers so perfectly to the image of a printer who, in 1562, owned the typeface of the books, Granjon's 'Bible Cursive' (Brevier Italic), who chose this typeface for editions of the Bible instead of the Textura used everywhere else (just as he himself had so far always used Roman and Italics in his books in the Dutch language), who had the style and personality needed to produce a Bible so beautifully and so carefully, and who had the technical and financial means necessary for an enterprise of this calibre. But to these general arguments can be added more specific indications of Plantin's involvement. Besides the 'Bible' yet another typeface which he pretended to send to Paris appears in the 1562/3 Bibles. The number of 126 matrices which he noted for 'L'Italica Cicero' (Pica Italic) corresponds precisely to that of Guyot's Italic used in the books. We know that because the punchcutter compiled a specimen of his typefaces containing every letter and sign of each one of them, and these do indeed amount to 126 for his Double Pica Italic.⁴⁰

An indisputable proof that Plantin was connected with Lenaert's Bibles is finally contained in an alphabet of capitals used which display all the characteristics of a design by the celebrated punchcutter Claude Garamont. The narrow E, F and N, the open P, the R with a tail which protrudes below the line, and the diagonal stress of the O are so typical of his later style that no other attribution seems possible. The letters, here reproduced in their true size (see illus. 6),⁴¹ are cast on a body of two-line Brevier and are part of the 'Bible' (or Brevier) Roman of Garamont which, as we saw, was also part of Plantin's consignment. It emerges from his inventory of 1563 that he had obtained the punches as well as the matrices of that small typeface, after the death of the designer in 1561.⁴² Although they are no longer in the Plantin-Moretus Museum – they are still mentioned in the 1652 inventory of the *Officina*

⁴⁰ *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. I [1-15]. *Reproductions of fifteen type specimen sheets issued between the 16th and 18th centuries ...*, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1963), (I): 'Anonymous Netherlands sheet, c. 1565', after the only known copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC. The sheet gives a full specimen of six typefaces in all, three of which were definitely designed by Guyot. It is generally believed that this also applies to the other three.

⁴¹ The reproduction in my article on Lenaert der Kinderen (n. 5: 1987), p. 107, only gives 19 of these capitals. Prof. Johan Gerritsen was so kind as to point out to me that three more appear in the register of *Den Bibel*, so that we can now reproduce an alphabet in which the only letters missing are X and Y. The capitals are all the same size, but not the same, as those of Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne' (*Index* 20). Cf. the type specimen of these in H.D.L. Vervliet, 'The Garamont types of Christopher Plantin', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1 (1965), pp. 14-20 (illus. 4).

⁴² Op. cit. (n. 26: 'Early Inventories'), pp. 17-18: 'Poinçons de la lecture de Breuiaire Garamont, 162'.

– it follows from the reported number of 162 matrices that these included the large capitals which also fitted into matter printed with Granjon's equally large 'Bible Cursive' (Brevier Italic). In Lenaert's Bibles we consequently find an alphabet of two-line Roman capitals of which, we see from his inventory, Plantin owned not only the matrices but also the punches. And there is absolutely no evidence that he ever sent strikes, matrices or cast type of this typeface to anyone else.

Not only does this typographical evidence point emphatically to Plantin as the man directly involved in this production, but, in the circumstances, it also indicates the town where the production took place – Kampen. For, of the four typefaces of which Plantin dispatched the matrices in the first week of 1562, we already find Garamont's Brevier in the marginalia of Hendrik Niclaes' publications. The two-line capitals belonging to that type also appear in the work of Lenaert together with two other Italic typefaces which were equally part of the consignment in question. Although this combination cannot be regarded as an absolute proof of their common use in any particular firm, the indication, as well as the lack of any visible alternative, carries such weight that we can probably conclude that the Bibles of 1562/3 were produced by the same press set up by Hendrik Niclaes.

So the production did not take place in Paris, where, according to the entry in Plantin's own hand, the matrices were supposedly sent. And indeed, it would appear to have been impossible for a non-resident to establish a press in a city where the printers formed so compact a guild. External competition, especially from someone who had gone in for pirating Paris publications, was far from welcome. It is also most unlikely that any Dutch-speaking compositors could be found there. But above all we can object that to print a Protestant Bible in Paris in 1562 was no less dangerous than in Antwerp: it would take three more years before a colleague actually dared to do so.⁴³ We should thus regard the mention of Martin le Jeune as the recipient of the matrices as an alibi, a deliberate attempt on the part of Plantin to take the precaution of camouflaging the true destination of the consignment. For, in certain circumstances, the authorities were prepared to regard administrative entries as legal evidence.

PLANTIN AND HENDRIK NICLAES AS PARTNERS

This main line of investigation allows us to reconstruct the collaboration between Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes in Kampen – albeit with reservations

⁴³ The first edition of the Geneva Bible, printed in Paris, dates from 1565, cf. B.T. Chambers, *Bibliography of French Bibles. Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century French-language Editions of the Scriptures* (Genève 1983), pp. XIV-XV and nos. 359-60: 'the first Parisian New Testament since 1525', which appeared as a joint publication of Oudry Petit and André Wechel.

about the exactitude of certain details. When, in the course of 1560 or early in 1561, Hendrik Niclaes conceived the plan of publishing the hitherto unprinted part of his work, he got in touch with Plantin. In view of their friendly relations and their earlier association, the production of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* and certain shorter works, the choice seems fairly obvious. Plantin had to disappoint him, however. As we have seen, it had become too dangerous to print such works in Antwerp. Another solution had to be sought and, after mutual deliberations, this too was found: the establishment of a printing-press in HN's new town of residence, where the official policy still meant that it was possible to produce that sort of publication. The tolerant attitude of the magistrates also allowed printers in Kampen a certain amount of leeway in religious matters from which they had profited gratefully in previous years. Thanks partly to a growing desire of the reading public for books imbued with the new faith, the town had quickly turned into one of the most active centres of publication in this domain. The establishment of the printing-press for the writings of HN would indeed have been an expensive undertaking, but the two men had in fact hatched a far broader plan: they would also print Bibles.

Ever since 1556 when, after a long interruption, a complete Dutch Bible had again been published, the demand grew rapidly. In a few years the sale of Bibles turned into the most important sector of the book market. This astounding growth led to large print runs of relatively expensive books which were sold quickly – an ideal combination of factors from a commercial point of view. Hitherto it was above all the printers in Emden who had profited from it since, out of reach of the Inquisition and the authorities in Brussels, they could proceed unhindered. For an ambitious printer such as Plantin to have to leave this sector to others must have been a constant source of frustration and it was consequently obvious that he should seek a chance of circumventing the handicap entailed by his place of residence. That possibility now presented itself. Practice had proved that a printing shop in Kampen had little to fear from any limitation imposed by the law. There was thus a solid commercial basis for the establishment of a new firm to which each of the two partners would contribute. Besides special orders, both a New Testament and a full-length Bible on joint account were on the programme. It would be particularly interesting to know more about the details of this agreement, such as further financial details and the extent of the share of the associates (who may also have included sleeping partners such as the Van Bomberghens).

We saw that the firm worked partly with the typographical material belonging to Hendrik Niclaes and partly with typefaces supplied by Plantin. Plantin also sent one of his Dutch compositors to Kampen in order to assist Augustijn van Hasselt – Lenaert der Kinderen. The Bibles ultimately appeared under his name, just as

Plantin had used the names of other collaborators.⁴⁴ He seems to have taken this measure in order to avoid being accused of publishing books without an imprint – something which was punished with particular severity – when, for some reason, he wanted to keep them outside the list of the *Officina*. As the text, both of the Bible and of the New Testament, recent Protestant translations were chosen which had already had a wide success. By having an Italic as the typeface the editions were distinguished from those of competitors in Emden, who printed the same texts in Texturas. This made the new publications especially attractive for purchasers in the southern Low Countries where, in contrast to the north, Italics had already been used for books in Dutch.

The Antwerp designer Arnold Nicolai, a specialist in book ornamentation who had worked frequently for Plantin, was ordered to cut an ornamented compartment for *Dat Nieuwe Testament* as well as two versions of a fine publisher's device, both with the Biblical quotation 'As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters. Song 2' ('Gelijck een lelie onder de doornen, So is mijn Vriendinne onder de dochteren. Cant. 2'). Judging from the relatively large number of surviving copies the print runs were very considerable: *Den Bibel* is by far the least rare of all Protestant Bibles of the time. Where the marketing was concerned use could be made of the 'bijbelschippers' (Bible skippers) for transport to other areas and also, as we see from various sources, of an already existing network of salesmen, established booksellers and others. Lenaert may even have been involved in the distribution himself, and did indeed appear to the outside world as the publisher of the books.

What Plantin contributed personally to these activities apart from his aforesaid share in the venture cannot be ascertained. It is thus uncertain to what extent he decided on the design of the editions, even if the style of the layout makes it seem likely that he contributed in some way, and whether he himself, at least in the initial phases, actually supervised the production of the work. What is certain is that he spent some time in Kampen, staying with Augustijn van Hasselt, who, in contrast to Hendrik Niclaes, lived there independently, presumably in the premises which housed the printing-press. The *Chronika* informs us that the visitor was entertained as HN's guest and refers more than once to the many conversations which the two men had together.⁴⁵ The chronicler also found it necessary to mention the large

⁴⁴ The members of Plantin's immediate circle who lent their names were Frans van Raphelingen (his future son-in-law), Guillaume Rivière (a brother-in-law), Nicolas Spore (his foreman in the press from 1579 to 1589), and Cornelis de Bruyn. In Leiden the book dealer Thomas Basson was prepared to do so when Plantin printed a number of political publications there for the French market in 1585.

⁴⁵ *Chronika*, cap. XXI, 21. Cf. op. cit. (n. 7: *Cronica*), p. 71. Previously published in op. cit. (n. 13: Supplément), p. 285, and in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 17), p. 137.

wine bill which the host had to pay – yet another remark which suggests a longer stay and thus Plantin's presence during the production. Whether Plantin visited Kampen more than once in the eighteen months of his exile and, as has been assumed, made the French translation of one or more of HN's treatises which the chronicler claims were published there, is something about which we are not told.

The same source does indeed give a somewhat garbled account of a legacy left to the prophet by a French follower. It consisted of a casket with jewels and precious stones of great value, which turned out to have disappeared when it was supposed to be brought to him from Paris. The author mentions a certain suspicion which HN felt towards his guest when Plantin enquired about the best way of selling some expensive jewellery which he had received from the deceased in settlement of his claims. The subsequent course of events, however, shows that this episode did not have a particularly damaging influence on their relationship, and it does indeed seem most unlikely that Plantin was at fault. But the chronicler does not appear to have been convinced of this, and his account reveals an undeniable antipathy towards the printer.

With the printing of the last sheet of *Den Bijbel* in 1563 the agreed programme was completed and the joint enterprise came to an end. It also meant the end of the printing-office. In the years following we find a number of the typefaces, including all the German ones, in the possession of Peter Warnersen, the largest printer in Kampen. We can thus conclude that he had taken over the inventory, including the supply of cast type in so far as it belonged to Hendrik Niclaes. In 1565 Warnersen reprinted one of HN's tracts and even dared do so under his own imprint.⁴⁶ This, too, shows that neither HN's stay in the town nor Augustijn's activities there had caused the magistrate any alarm. Hendrik Niclaes presumably kept the matrices of his typefaces, and in any case the blocks of the ornamental letters used in his books, a number of which recur in his later Cologne publications. Plantin also took back some part of his material. In October 1563 Lenaert der Kinderen delivered to him 396 pounds of old type together with four used type cases. Since the material had belonged to the *Officina* before Plantin entered into partnership with the Van Bomberghens, that which returned had to be entered as a purchase by the firm and, via Lenaert, to be settled with the former sole owner.

We find other types from the Kampen editions in Emden, however, together with the initials acquired for the Bibles. Lenaert used them in 1565 to publish a reprint of *Dat Nieuwe Testament*, and he then seems to have owned the Italics as well

⁴⁶ *D' anderde Vormaninge H.N. to syne Kinderen unde Hüsgeſinne der Liefſten ...* (Kampen, Peter Warnersen, 1565). De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 25), no. 35. The only known copy is in Amsterdam UL. For Warnersen, see Krans, art. cit. (n. 31); S. Elte, 'De rechtzaak tegen Peter Warners, boekdrukker te Kampen (1566-1567)', *Kamper Almanak 1951/1952* (Kampen 1951), pp. 148-73.

as all the ornaments, including the two printer's devices.⁴⁷ A closer investigation shows that he had already obtained that material from Plantin in 1563 and that he had worked with it in that year on the press of the Emden printer Willem Gailliart. Whether he remained in touch with his former master in Antwerp, or even with Hendrik Niclaes, cannot be ascertained, but what is certain is that in the first week of 1566 he once more entered the service of the *Officina*. But he left again in October to manage a Dutch printing-press in Sedan.⁴⁸ This improvement of his position appears to have put an end to his relations with Plantin. Plantin was furious and, when he closed his account in the 'Livre des ouvriers', he called Lenaert a cunning swindler.

THE LAST CONTACTS

After their partnership in Kampen a few years elapse before we hear anything more of contacts between our two protagonists – something which does not, of course, mean that there were none. Indeed, a letter of 2 August 1567, the draft of which has survived, makes it seem very likely that their business dealings did indeed continue.⁴⁹ Plantin writes to Hendrik Niclaes in such detail about questions concerning the sale of Hebrew Bibles that we can assume that he was financially involved in the matter. Recently, moreover, a copy of the smallest of the publications which appeared in 1566 (Voet PP 651) has come to light with 'Henricus. Nicolas.' stamped on the covers. It can probably be regarded as a present from the publisher to someone involved in the publication.⁵⁰ Three editions were produced in all, in various formats and partly intended for Jewish communities in Morocco ('Barbarije').⁵¹ It was a large venture which would have required a substantial investment. Various financiers participated. Besides the Van Bomberghens – who also provided some of the types which came from their father and uncle Daniel, the printer in Venice – they included Gaspar van Zurich, the Antwerp businessman Johan Radermacher, and probably Hendrik Niclaes.

The letter is informative in other respects too. In the first place there is an indirect reference to another of Plantin's large-scale plans: his establishment, yet again, of a printing-office outside the reach of the authorities in Brussels. After

⁴⁷ Tielke, op. cit. (n. 34), no. 174; Vogel, art. cit. (n. 34), no. 19.

⁴⁸ On this press, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden (1561-1569)', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pt. 1 (pp. 225-50, pt. 2 (pp. 253-98).

⁴⁹ Op. cit. (n. 17: *Correspondance*), pp. 157-9, no. 74.

⁵⁰ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 6: 1976), p. 237 and illus. 5; *id.*, art. cit. (n. 6: 1975), p. 95 and illus. 28.

⁵¹ Voet PP 649-51; see above all the information in the notes to PP 649.

the positive experiences in Kampen, that town was the obvious choice as the place in which to print Bibles and other books too dangerous to produce in Antwerp. Augustijn van Hasselt, already a citizen of the town, was placed in charge of the firm and set out for the north a second time early in November 1566, with a printing-press equipped for the purpose. Owing to an unforeseen change in the attitude of the magistrates, however, he could no longer carry out his plan in Kampen but had to look elsewhere. He settled in Vianen, the seat of Hendrik van Brederode, who, as lord of the area, behaved with total independence of the government and rejected any intervention on the part of the authorities. It was under the protection of this leader of the Dutch revolt that Augustijn embarked on his production and started to carry out the agreed orders: the printing of a New Testament and of another book in great demand, a Dutch Psalter in verse. He also published two important political pamphlets, which reached him from Antwerp and to one of which we find a guarded reference in Plantin's letter to HN – a reference which provides an essential indication for the identification of the press.

But these activities were of short duration. It suddenly became necessary to flee before an attack by Spanish troops. They had orders from the Governess to put every printing-press in Vianen out of action and occupied the town on 5 May 1567. Augustijn managed to salvage the sheets he had already printed and could later resume production in Wesel, a haven of so many refugees where Plantin provided him with a new type-stock.⁵² In the two years or so in which he could work there he managed to build up an interesting list: books and tracts serving the new religion and the desire for political freedom, but with a clearly unitive and irenic tendency. They thus corresponded to the attempts of William of Orange to reconcile mutual contrasts, and it was for him that the press printed his *Verantwoordinge* or *Apology* in 1568, in both Dutch and French – something which reveals the hand of the Prince's publicity agent Jacob van Wesembeke, who was in Wesel at about this time. Although none of Augustijn's books bear his name, seventeen, or perhaps even eighteen, of his publications are known.⁵³ According to the *Chronika* one half of the profits went to him and the other to Plantin, but here again we find nothing about the financial results in the records of the *Officina*. Nor can we establish whether Plantin's associates were in some way involved.

There is no reason to examine this production in greater detail, however, since

⁵² For the typefaces used by the press and an analysis of which ones were to be found in Vianen and which in Wesel, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1986), pp. 101-4, 167-70.

⁵³ The list of his publications in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5: 1986), pp. 184-90, could later be supplemented with a new discovery. See *id.*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

our second protagonist had nothing to do with it. The *Chronika* explicitly states that the two printers carried out the plan between themselves and without HN's counsel ('met ere beiden, buten den Raedt HN. anheven unde also ansloegen').⁵⁴ Plantin did not need anybody else's advice for his business decisions and could have predicted what Hendrik Niclaes would have thought of the plan: his determination to avoid any political involvement under all circumstances was well enough known.⁵⁵ He may only have found out about the existence of the press after it had been moved to Wesel. But that he had indeed heard about it emerges from the fact that, probably in the first half of 1569, the firm was taken over from Plantin by the Family of Love.

The version given by the *Chronika* of the motives of the two parties in this transaction is one-sided to say the least.⁵⁶ According to the chronicler Plantin was extremely worried about so dangerous a possession and all too glad that HN was prepared to relieve him of it. HN thus performed an act of friendship for which Plantin was deeply grateful. The truth was most probably different. Together with a group of followers, the prophet had just gone through a period of deep spiritual reflection which led to the decision to leave the Netherlands and to search for a more peaceful place of residence. At the same time it was agreed that his work should be subjected to a complete revision and that this revision should be published. The sect no longer had a press of its own, however, or a printer who could be entrusted with the responsibility and depended upon for the secrecy which the task demanded.

In this situation Augustijn van Hasselt in Wesel, the most obvious choice, must immediately have come to mind. Hendrik Niclaes sent one of his followers ('synen Dener', who may have been Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt) to Plantin in order to discuss a possible purchase of the firm. Plantin seemed ready to sell, not so much out of fear of discovery, as the chronicler writes – he would otherwise never have embarked on the venture – as out of both political and commercial considerations. With the dismal conclusion of William of Orange's invasion of Brabant and the destruction of the troops of Louis of Nassau in the north, the Dutch revolt seemed to have failed. But at the same time the supply of Bibles and Psalters had

⁵⁴ *Chronika*, XXIV, 3, see op. cit. (n. 7: *Cronica*), pp. 79-80: Published previously in op. cit. (n. 13: *Supplément*), p. 288, and in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 17), p. 140.

⁵⁵ For a discussion by Hendrik Niclaes himself about his attitude towards secular power, see his letter to the magistrates of Emden written shortly after his flight in 1560. Published in A. Hamilton, 'Three epistles by Hendrik Niclaes', *Quaerendo*, 10 (1980), pp. 47-69 (esp. pp. 54-8).

⁵⁶ The only source for the sale of the press and the course of the transaction is *Chronika*, XXXVII, 9-12, see op. cit. (n. 7: *Cronica*), pp. 121-2. Previously published in op. cit. (n. 13: *Supplément*), pp. 289-90, and in Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 17), pp. 140-1.

increased to such an extent that the market was glutted and began to stagnate.⁵⁷ In these circumstances the prospects for the immediate future seemed bleak and the maintenance of a printing-press across the border was less attractive. Hendrik Niclaes' offer consequently came at a good moment. Plantin took back much of the typographical material, which included all his French typefaces, and transferred the rest of the equipment belonging to the press to the prophet. We know nothing of the sums involved, but it seems unlikely, as some scholars have suggested, that no money exchanged hands.

An agreement was also reached as to the position of Augustijn van Hasselt. He would accompany the firm and again enter the service of his former master. He thus relinquished his relatively independent job as factor and had once more to write and travel on a fixed salary as HN's secretary. His duties were meticulously defined, and, to begin with at least, there was no question of printing. We have the impression that he had little choice. However that may be, he accepted his new position and, in the course of 1569, brought the press over to Cologne, where Hendrik Niclaes and a number of his followers had settled in the mean time. The sect had presumably once been a select group of members with a common attitude to religion and life, and has been compared to a sort of freemasonry *avant la lettre*.⁵⁸ Now, however, it had turned into a social organization where ever stricter rules defined mutual relations. The fundamental cause of this development was the desire of the leader and some of his 'elders' to give the movement a firmer structure. There was all the more reason for that since HN was almost seventy years old, and it was clear that, with increasing age, his decisiveness and powers of persuasion were in decline. This had consequences for the members of the movement who saw their unity come under growing threat. As HN's grip on the community began to weaken some of his followers started to lose their faith in the prophet's election. The chronicles give various indications of his diminishing strength of mind which can hardly be interpreted otherwise. What is also significant in this respect is the rigorous hierarchy for the Family of Love which Hendrik Niclaes himself devised in the last years of his life.⁵⁹ He abandoned entirely his earlier ideas about an

⁵⁷ After the dozens of editions that appeared between 1565 and 1568 the number published in 1569 dwindled to a very few which included one or two by Augustijn, and thereafter to a single Bible and a single New Testament for the entire period from 1571 to 1575.

⁵⁸ L. Brummel, *Twee ballingen's lands tijdens onze opstand tegen Spanje* (s-Gravenhage 1972), p. 127.

⁵⁹ The organization is set down in *Ordo sacerdotis. De Ordeningen des priesterlicken states in dem Hüsagesinne der Liefsten*, the text of which has been published (see n. 7). For a survey of the system, see Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 6), pp 57-61 ('probably written in the last years of the prophet's life'). How few members of the community there were, emerges from certain illustrations produced by the Family of Love itself. Cf. *Exhortatio. De eerste Vormaning HN to syne Kinderen* (s.l., [Cologne], 1573); De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 25), no. 31. For reproductions of the woodcuts, see *id.*, art. cit. (n. 6:), Pl. 29,

invisible church, and elaborated a system of organization which might have had some sense for a movement with many thousands of members but which seems totally unrealistic when applied to the limited group of followers he had assembled in Cologne.

In about 1573 the sect ran into serious difficulties, not only because of theological disagreements but also because of the oppressive rules within the community.⁶⁰ Various members rebelled against the leadership. Besides Barrefelt, there was Augustijn van Hasselt who went to Antwerp to discuss the problems that had arisen. After his return he and Barrefelt both took what can hardly have been an easy decision. Despite efforts made on various sides to prevent a rift, they broke off their links of many years standing with the sect and its leader. The account of this episode is the last in which Plantin's name is mentioned in the *Chronika*.

The available information shows that the relations between our two protagonists were, first and foremost, of a commercial nature, even if we can also assume that there was mutual respect and sympathy. Or at least to begin with, the extent to which the question of the legacy damaged this friendship is not clear. There remained a financial association, but it is quite possible that HN's suspicions had some consequences on a personal level. We can perhaps sense a cooler tone in the draft of the letter about the Hebrew Bibles, which is all that has survived of their correspondence.⁶¹ The document is not, as has been suggested, an appeal from Plantin for help in difficult circumstances. It is, rather, about the marketing of printed work and other financial matters. The tone of the letter makes a business-like, not to say reserved, impression – we only have to look at the beginning, 'Monsieur HNcs.' It suggests neither friendly feelings nor a common belief.⁶² The signature may have been less impersonal, but that is not in the draft.

The prevailing view of the nature of this letter should thus be revised. That also applies to the significance of Plantin's journey to Kampen in 1562, which has so far been seen as the chronicler describes it – the attempt of a man in almost desperate circumstances to seek consolation and financial support from his spiritual director. The truth of the matter was different: the printer went to visit an *ad hoc* business

and op. cit. (n. 6: 1975) p. 264.

⁶⁰ On this schism seen as the result of theological differences, see A. Hamilton, 'Hiël and the Hiëlists. The doctrine and followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt', *Querendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 243-86 (esp. pp. 251 ff.).

⁶¹ See n. 49. For the content of the letter in so far as it deals with financial matters in connection with the Hebrew Bibles, see Voet *PP* 649, note.

⁶² Cf. Plantin's almost contemporary letters to Guillaume Postel, 'très cher amy', where he does indeed refer to 'l' advancement du faict de la charité'; op. cit. (n. 17: *Correspondance*), pp. 80-1 (no. 30) and 86-9 (no. 33; p. 89).

associate in whose firm a large publishing project was carried out on joint account. But he may also have had a momentary liquidity problem in which HN could be of service to him.

The *Chronika* gives another misleading view of matters in connection with the takeover of the Wesel press and its factor. The author implies that HN was doing the owner a special favour and thus earned his deepest gratitude. In fact, as we saw, the purchase was of great importance for the sect and its leader in the circumstances. Despite the hagiographical interpretation, the whole episode was a normal transaction.

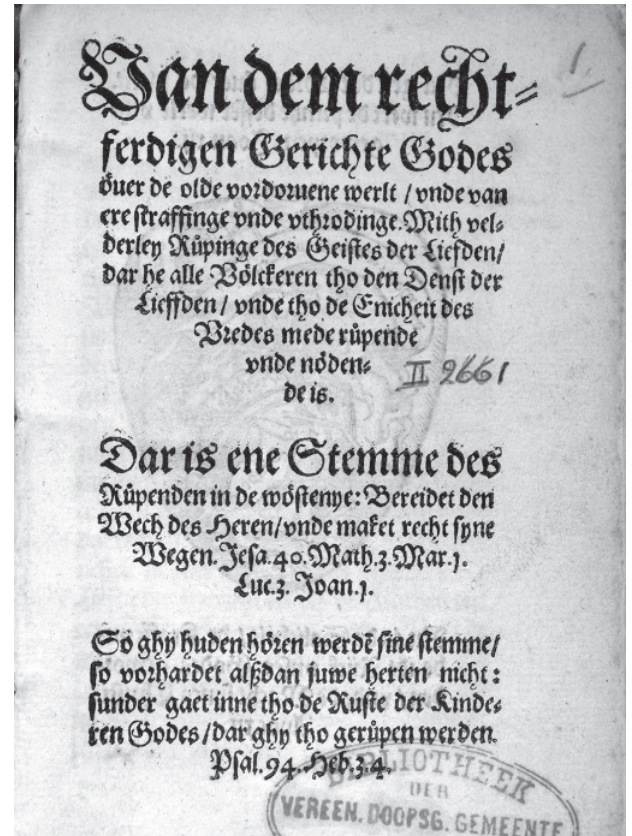
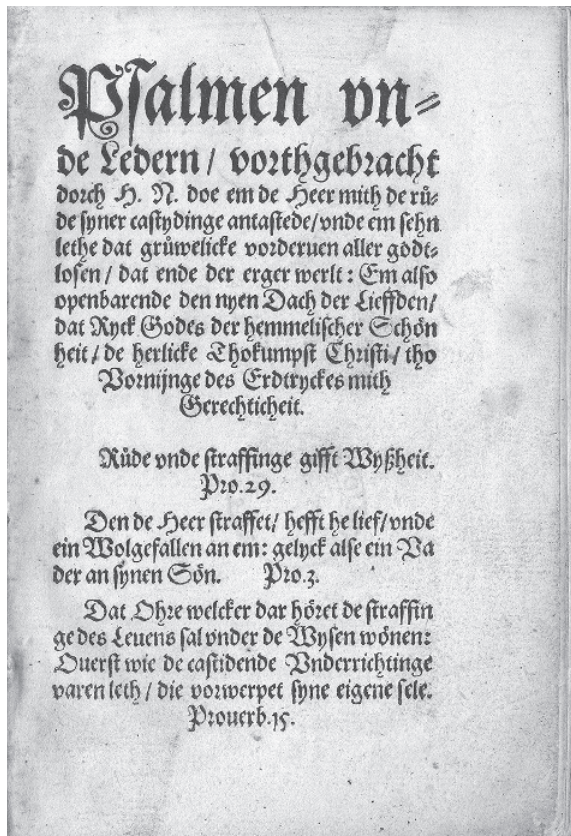
The relations between the two men were thus determined by reciprocal business interests. They thereby assume a character very different to what has hitherto been supposed. Plantin's connections with HN, which have served for over a century as proof of his involvement in the Family of Love, now appear to have had another background. From a historical point of view, there is no evidence that he was one of the prophet's followers. A further argument to that effect can also be discounted, moreover: the attitude of Plantin and of several of his friends towards Church and state, particularly in the 1560s. The readiness to comply with what the authorities expected of the citizen despite all personal belief and conviction – a certain adaptability or 'hypocrisy', to use the current term – has been taken to indicate that they were secret followers of Hendrik Niclaes who himself followed this particular line of conduct and recommended it to others. Admittedly, as far as we know, Plantin never refused a commission from the authorities, and was thus comparatively indifferent to changes of government. Other members of his circle, even in the magistracy, also made concessions in order to salvage their position and business interests as long as possible. But even if this attitude does correspond to the 'simulation' of which Hendrik Niclaes was accused, it is all too customary in uncertain and dangerous times. People tried, in the hope of a better future, to rescue what could be rescued. A form of behaviour which was so obvious and widespread in the circumstances can hardly be attributed to any particular group or movement.

I have not gone any more deeply into questions of faith in this article, although such a matter cannot be neglected if we want a more complete picture of the relations between Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes. We are certainly entitled to assume that Plantin's religious mysticism may have been influenced by his many

conversations with the prophet, which occurred almost daily in Kampen. But this brings us to an area which must be left to greater experts. It is for them to decide whether Plantin's religious convictions, as we know them from his letters and quotations by third parties, correspond so closely to HN's teaching that we can talk of derivation, or whether the similarity might simply be due to a general tendency to an inner faith which is also expressed in the writings of many other contemporaries. As long as it is impossible to prove any direct influence it would

seem to be incorrect to regard Plantin's membership of the Family of Love as certain, or even simply as probable. We know what fundamental objections his contemporary Coornhert had to the teaching of Hendrik Niclaes, whom he knew personally and from whom he even obtained *Den Spiegel* before it actually went to press.⁶³ He rejected HN's claim to be the last of the prophets, Christ's successor on earth – a mission which was an essential point of belief for HN and his followers. And then there was the demand made by the Family of Love of absolute obedience to the leader. Is it likely that a man of Plantin's character and self-awareness would have been prepared to follow a business associate so far? The chronicler charges him repeatedly with refusing to do that. Why should we doubt such emphatic statements?

⁶³ On Coornhert's reservations, see H. Bonger, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 264-70. According to the author the rift took place in about 1560. Coornhert subsequently expounded his objections to HN's religious views in *Spiegelken van de ongerechtigheid* (*Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Brussels 1964-75), vol. 1, C 103), but did not publish it until 1581, after the prophet had died.

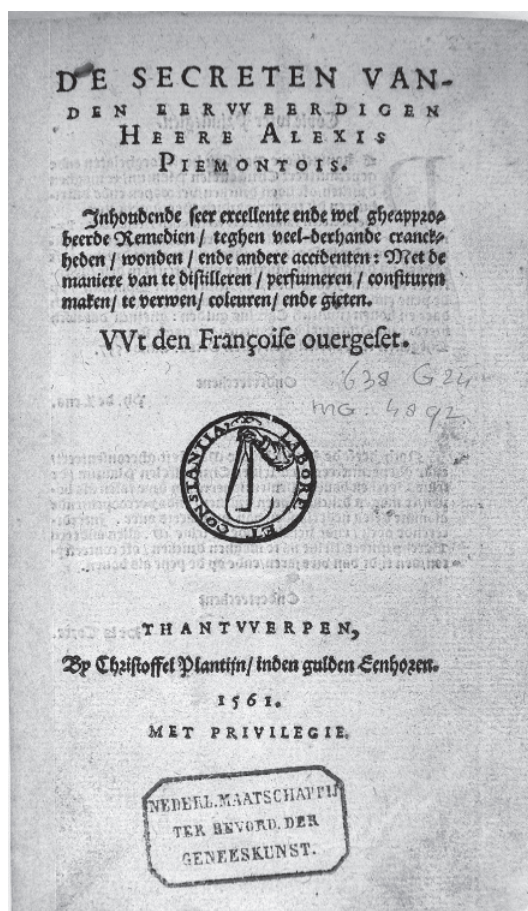


I

H[endrik] N[iclaes], *Psalmen unde Ledern* (s.l. [Antwerp, C. Plantin, c.1556]), FV 74.
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 62-9849)

2

[Hendrik Niclaes], *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes* (s.l. [Antwerp, C. Plantin, c.1556]), FV
 69.
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-555)

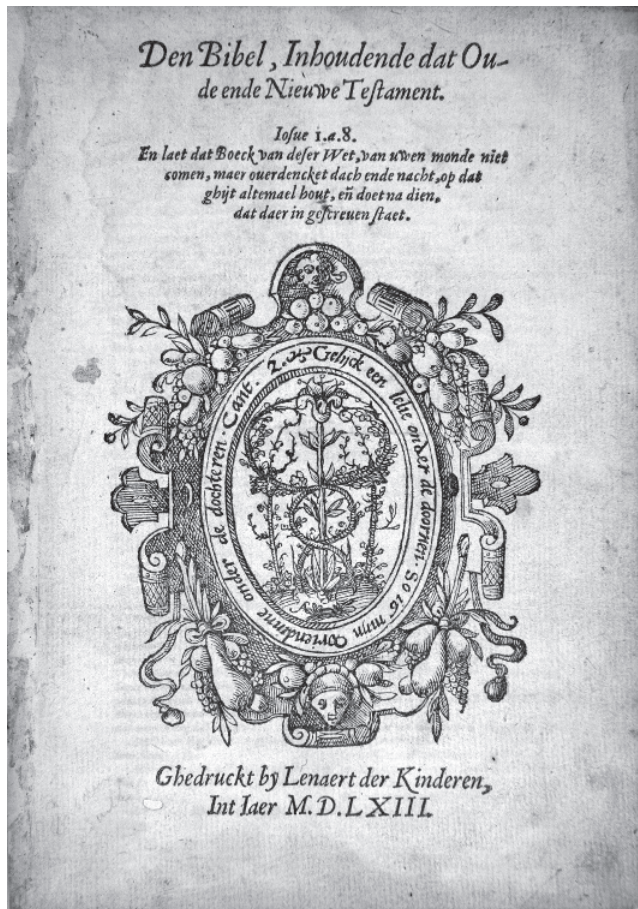


3

[Girolamo Ruscelli], *De secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois* ([Kampen, Augustijn van Hasselt], for: C. Plantin, Antwerp, 1561), Voet 39.
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 63-9393)

4

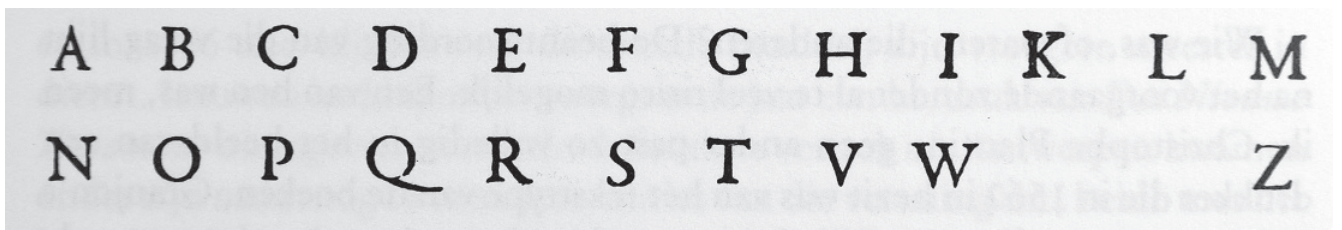
Dat Nieuwe Testament (s.l. [Kampen], Lenaert der Kinderen [and Augustijn van Hasselt, for Hendrik Niclaes and C. Plantin], 1563 (62*))
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 99-5)



5

Den Bibel. S.l. [Kampen], Lenaert der Kinderen [and Augustijn van Hasselt, for Hendrik Nicolaes and C. Plantin], 1563

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 99-5)



6

Capitals on two-line Brevier, here attributed to Garamond. Taken from Der Kinderen's *Den Bibel*, 1563

(Scan from the original publication)

A HAARLEM PRESS IN SEDAN AND EMDEN,

1561 to 1569

[Part one: Haarlem]



In 1561, after an interval of over seventy years, a printing-press was again set into operation in Haarlem. The first book to appear contained a grateful dedication by one of the publishers to the town magistracy. In it he recalled the tradition according to which printing with movable types was first invented in Haarlem. His remarks on the subject came to form the main basis of the 'Coster legend', an object of controversy for so many years, but on this particular occasion their purpose was to explain to the outside world the beneficial collaboration of the magistrates who had even contributed financially to the foundation of the new printing-office.¹

With their very first publication the manager of the young firm, Jan van Zuren, and his partners made their policy clear. They did so not only by their choice of text, a translation of Cicero's *Officia*, but also by their typographical design of the book, for it is the first work in the Dutch language to appear in the northern Low Countries in a typeface other than the customary Textura.² The Italics in which a part of the work is set had hitherto only been used in this area for Latin texts. The use of this particular typeface in an edition in the vernacular, based on models from the southern Low Countries like the publications of Plantin, indicates the public the publishers had in mind: the better educated part of the population. The choice of what, for many, was a still unusual modernity limited the potential market of the book in wider circles. This also applies to the translation of the first twelve books of Homer's *Odyssey* which was printed entirely in Italics in the same year. That Van Zuren and his friends should have placed themselves at this disadvantage illustrates both their humanist ideals and their lack of experience of the practical problems of publishing.

In another respect, too, the foundation of the press marked a turning point. The founders might justly have hoped that it would put an end to the continuous

¹ My thanks are due to Prof. Johan Gerritsen who was so kind as to read this article with a critical eye. I have benefited from his suggestions. The text of the dedication in question is reproduced in full in H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* ('s-Gravenhage 1951), pp. 174 f. This work, a topo-bibliography which occupies a unique place in the literature on the Dutch book on account of the extent of both the historical and the typographical documentation is henceforth quoted as Laceulle.

² Cf. B. Kruitwagen's comments in *Het Boek*, 8 (1919), p. 302.

decline of book production in the northern Low Countries. For thirty years printers in this area had seen their output receding steadily and the prospects were far from promising.³ There were various causes for this deterioration of a once flourishing line of business and the ensuing consequences for local cultural life. In the first place, of course, there was the increasing expansion of Antwerp, the largest centre of trade and finance in western Europe. In Antwerp such active publishers as Plantin and Willem Silvius found the necessary cultural and economic climate for expanding their businesses and their dealings ever further, even in the north. Another factor was the diminishing reputation of the existing educational system. The Dutch schools, which had once had such a good name partly because of the charitable support given to the students by the Brethren of the Common Life, had lost their most prominent rectors, their fame, and their flow of external pupils.⁴ This had an immediate influence on the production of textbooks, a particularly important export article especially for the publishers in Deventer, the town which up to 1540 had played a leading role at an international level in this field for fifty years.⁵ This was now over and the printing that was still going on was simply for the

³ Many towns in Holland, some of which had occupied a place of eminence on an international level in fifteenth-century printing did not have a single press in operation around 1560: Gouda, Haarlem, Zwolle, Schiedam, Schoonhoven, Hasselt, Culemborg and Nijmegen had lost theirs. Other places, like Alkmaar, The Hague, Zutphen and a few more, where printing had started after the turn of the century, were in a similar position. Virtually nothing remained of the versatile and qualitatively distinguished production of woodcut books in Leiden, Delft and Utrecht. The only towns where publishing was still truly being practised were Amsterdam (with Willem Jacobsz and notably Jan Ewoutsz, who produced, almost every year, reprints of currency ordinances and valuation books) and Kampen. In the latter town Steven Joessen, and especially Peter Warnersen, printed a growing number of all kinds of more or less controversial publications, some of which were aimed directly against the Church and the government, until the town magistracy put a complete stop to their activities in 1566. In Deventer, where Richard (II) Pafraet printed little more than school textbooks for regional use, Simon Steenberghe had just started his career as a publisher in 1557. In Delft and Leiden respectively, Simon Jansz and Jan Matthijsz were trying to keep their firms going by printing almanacs and ordinances for the authorities. In 's-Hertogenbosch Jan (I) Scheffer and Jan (I) van Turnhout were dependent on orders from the town school and the local convents. Finally, in Utrecht, the press of Herman (I) van Borculo had all but come to a standstill, after an active beginning, when he had published such works as Janus Secundus' *Basia* and various books and school plays by Georgius Macropedius.

⁴ For the history of Dutch schools in the sixteenth century, see P.N.M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht 1955; thesis Nijmegen); for the preceding period, see R.R. Post, *Scholen en onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht 1954).

⁵ Before 1500 Deventer was by far the largest centre of publishing in the Low Countries. In the years following the town was overtaken by Antwerp but managed to occupy the second place in order of importance until about 1530. Judging from what has survived, at least 1,300 publications appeared in Deventer up to that year, a good fifty years after its presses had started to work. In view of the fact that the production consisted largely of textbooks for use in schools, whose chances of survival

local market. Besides this setback in the school system, the lack of any institute for higher education in the northern Low Countries had led to a continual emigration both of teachers and of students. The limited number of public and ecclesiastical offices also played a part, since the supply of academics for the few free posts far surpassed the demand. The central government was in Brussels and in the north only Utrecht had an episcopal court. Consequently numerous young men who had completed their studies abroad remained there in order to embark on a career. North Netherlands were thus to be found all over Europe working in both ecclesiastical and civil stations. As we might expect they usually sought, and found, publishers for their writings in their new surroundings.

Their prospects limited by such disadvantages as well as by general economic conditions, only a very few publishers could survive with any degree of success: the growth and increase in scale which we perceive elsewhere in the book market passed them by.⁶ In the choice of their publications they were obliged to focus ever more on their own region, and before long they encountered radical changes even

are notoriously small, the true quantity was undoubtedly far larger. On the work of the Deventer printers, cf. L.A. Sheppard, 'Printing at Deventer in the Fifteenth Century', *The Library*, 4th S., 24 (1944), pp. 101-19, and the lists of their production in M.F.A.G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XVe siècle* ('s-Gravenhage 1874, with 4 supplements, *ibid.* 1878-90), supplemented by W. & L. Hellinga, *The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam 1966); and continued by W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71). For a comparison of the Deventer production with that of the other centres in the Low Countries, cf. H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Het landschap van de Nederlandse incunabelen: een verkennend onderzoek naar publikatiepatronen', *Liber amicorum Herman Liebaers* (Bruxelles 1984), pp. 335-53 (esp. pp. 350 f.).

⁶ There is no better illustration of the sad state of publishing in the northern Low Countries in the decades preceding 1560 than the fact that, between 1530 and 1560, only one of the countless editions of the works of Erasmus was published in the country of his birth, and even that was one of the numerous reprints of a school book (*De civilitate morum puerilium*) which was printed in 1550 for the school in 's-Hertogenbosch. Another Dutchman of international fame, Hadrianus Junius ('the second Erasmus') published at least thirty works before 1560, not a single one of which appeared in his own country. We encounter the same situation where less widely known authors are concerned: in the same period over 40 editions of Alardus Amstelredamus appeared, but only one or two of these in Holland, and out of some eighty editions of writings by Cornelius Crocus nothing but a single school song was published in the northern Low Countries. For these two Christian humanists, cf. the bibliographical lists of their works in A.J. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus, twee Amsterdamse priester-humanisten* (Nijmegen/Utrecht 1963). A very characteristic example, finally, is also provided by Johannes Murmellius, the Alkmaar rector whose writings were nearly all originally published in Deventer. According to the bibliography in D. Reichling, *Johannes Murmellius. Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Freiburg i/B. 1880; repr. Nieuwkoop 1963), some 120 editions of his works appeared between 1530 and 1560 – all across the border. And according to G.C. Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola. A bibliography of printed works and translations* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 20; Nieuwkoop 1985), not one of the 130 editions of his works issued in this same period was published in his native country!

there. Owing to changes in the religious landscape, most notably the advance of the Reformation, the demand for traditional popular religious literature decreased and shifted to other books, particularly Protestant Bibles, the printing of which was prohibited and became so dangerous that no-one dared to take the risk of doing so any longer. As a result of the success, even outside France, of the new typefaces by Garamont and Granjon, there was also a danger of Dutch typography becoming obsolete. Punchcutters in Antwerp and Ghent adopted the new style and launched types which were so successful in the southern Low Countries that they were soon acquired by the majority of printers.⁷ The 'pre-Garamont' Romans and the 'Aldus' Italics used in the north thus rapidly became outdated and this entailed another handicap in the competition with printers working abroad. In the 1550s production receded still further. Only very few printers managed to accumulate a stock of publications, while most of them were obliged to limit their activities to the execution of printing orders from the magistracy and the Church.

For writers who wanted to have their work published, this was a cause for despair. An author who did not have at his disposal the means necessary to pay for a considerable part of the printing costs of his work had the greatest difficulty in finding a publisher and only very few of them had connections which could ensure publication abroad. There was thus every reason to expect a wide interest in a modern publishing business which could produce books comparable to what was being printed over the borders. In view of the impasse in which the book trade found itself, it is hardly surprising that the initiative in this domain should have come not from professional circles but from outsiders. This is what happened in Haarlem, one of the largest and oldest towns in the region of Holland, an important cultural centre which had recently, in 1559, been designated as the seat for a newly instituted diocese.⁸ The press was not the first of its kind in the town for, quite apart from the proto-typographical experiments attributed to the name of Coster, the printer Jacob Bellaert had, since 1483, published various splendidly illustrated

⁷ On this subject, see the standard work by H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), quoted as VPT, esp. pp. 62 ff.: 'Development of Roman in the Low Countries during the 16th century', and pp. 70 ff.: 'Italic in the Low Countries'. For the development until c.1540, cf. *id.*, 'Humanisme en typografie: de introductie van de romein en cursief in de Nederlanden (1483-c.1540)', *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen. Opstellen door vrienden en collega's van dr. C. Reedijk ...* (Hilversum 1986), pp. 316-30.

⁸ Cf. M. Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II, 1559-1570* (Antwerpen/Utrecht 1950), Haarlem: pp. 137 f. The letter patent nominating the first bishop of Haarlem, Nicolaes van Nieuwland, dates from 26 May 1561, but the consecration did not take place until 1 February 1562. On his episcopacy, see A.[H.L.] Hensen, *De twee eerste bisschoppen van Haarlem in de zestiende eeuw* (Hilversum [1928]), pp. 27 ff. – For the town's economic problems, see P.H. Trembath, 'Haarlem in de 16e eeuw: voorspel van een opstand', *Haarlem. Jaarboek 1974*, pp. 187-266, chapter 2 (pp. 207 ff.): Het economische leven in Haarlem.

books, even in the French language. His activity only lasted four years however, and it was followed by many decades in which Haarlem did not possess a printing-office.

THE HAARLEM PERIOD OF THE PRESS, 1561-4

The new proprietors were four in all. Besides Jan van Zuren, in whose name the press was founded, the main participant was Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert (1522-90), a versatile humanist who was to become the most original writer on religion and ethics in the Seven Provinces and a great champion of the freedom of worship and of thought.⁹ He was the son of a rich cloth merchant in Amsterdam, but was not attracted by trade. Instead he followed his artistic bent and worked for many years as an engraver in close association with the painter and draughtsman Maarten van Heemskerck, who had settled in Haarlem after the years he spent in Rome.¹⁰ Besides this source of income, Coornhert indulged in literary activity, writing poems and plays which remained provisionally unpublished, and, after studying Latin, he turned his hand to translating the classical authors. Hitherto only one of his translations had appeared in print and he was so disappointed with the manner in which it was published¹¹ that he can be said to have had a personal motivation for his interest in the new enterprise. His eldest brother Clement (1517-79) carried on the family business and was mentioned in 1543, a few years after his father's death, as one of the five richest merchants in Amsterdam.¹² The second son, Frans

⁹ See above all the standard biography by H. Bonger, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), which also provides an annotated survey of the earlier literature (pp. 390 ff.). The extensively annotated documents published by Bruno Becker in *Bronnen tot de kennis van het leven en de werken van D.V. Coornhert* (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Kleine serie, 25; 's-Gravenhage 1928), are of great importance for the knowledge of his life and surroundings. The bibliography of his works is to be found in *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter quoted as *BB*, vol. 1, pp. 694-767. For the editions of his works printed by Jan van Zuren, see Laceulle, op. cit. (n.1), pp. 173-89.

¹⁰ For this intensive collaboration between a man of letters and an artist, see I.M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch humanism in the sixteenth century* (Maarssen 1977), pp. [53]-93: 'Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert and Heemskerck's allegories'.

¹¹ This was an anonymously published adaptation of an earlier translation of Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae*, under the title *Die vertroestinghe der wyssheyt* (Deventer, Simon Steenbergen, 1557) – *BB*, vol. 1, p. 699, no. C. 641. On this edition, cf. B. Becker, 'Coornhert's "verduytsching" van de Vlaamsche vertaling van Boethius (Deventer 1557)', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde*, 57 (1938), pp. 241-58. For Coornhert's negative judgement on the work of the printer, see pp. 244 ff.

¹² Cf. P.A. Meilink, 'Gegevens aangaande bedrijfskapitalen in den Hollandschen en Zeeuwschen

Coornhert (1519-1605), also a man of means, was first active in business and then held an office in the Amsterdam magistracy.¹³ The elder brothers quickly converted to the new religion and were active in Reformed circles. Dirck did not follow suit. He remained in the Church of Rome, but assumed a highly independent position where freedom of worship and other articles of faith were concerned.

Jan van Zuren (1517-91) was still less of a professional businessman than Coornhert. He belonged to a distinguished Haarlem family and, like his father before him, was almost continuously given one or another post in the local magistracy.¹⁴ In 1560, the year of the foundation of the printing-office, he was an alderman, and for the next two years he was burgomaster. With academic legal training, he did not practise any specific profession besides these honorary functions but, like various men of his social rank, he probably enjoyed a source of income from his participation in business enterprises and from financing the commercial transactions of others. He was thus by no means a professional printer: it is most uncertain whether he had more than a superficial knowledge of typography and it is even doubtful whether he had had any previous experience of the book trade.¹⁵

Besides these two men who took the initiative, there were two other citizens of Haarlem who participated in the enterprise. We know little more about them than their names: Pieter Jansz Raet and Willem Adriaensz; their interest was probably mainly financial and their role limited to that of sleeping partners.¹⁶ Of the four parties involved, Van Zuren was the manager, in charge of the day-to-day administration of the firm. In contrast to Coornhert, who had been disinherited by his parents on account of an undesirable marriage, he was well off and his financial contribution to the business probably exceeded that of the others. A partnership did not yet operate as a limited company in those days and, as manager of the firm, Jan van Zuren was personally responsible for the observance of the edicts and other

handel in 1543', *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek*, 8 (1922), pp. 272 f. Information on Clement's life before his flight to Emden is extremely scarce.

¹³ For what is known about him in these years, see K. van Berkel, 'Frans Volckertsz Coornhert en zijn vertaling van de "Vindiciae contra tyrannos" (1586)', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 72 (1980), pp. 10-15. What the author says about Frans' activity as translator and publisher in Emden is based on the results of the present investigations. Some information about his life is also contained in J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795*, vol. 1 (Haarlem 1903), p. 31.

¹⁴ On him and his father Jan Gerytsz van Zuren, see the extensive information in Laceulle, pp. 29 ff. Bruno Becker had written earlier 'Iets over Jan van Zuren, zijn drukkerij en zijn "medeghesellen"', *Het Boek*, 12 (1923), pp. 313-17.

¹⁵ One of his brothers, Andries, appears to have sold books for some years (1557-64) but he also held various subordinate municipal offices, see Laceulle, pp. 27f.

¹⁶ They were both malt makers. For what little is known about them, see Laceulle, pp. 43 f. and 50 f.

regulations; the other partners could only be held (proportionally) responsible for the financial commitments of the business.¹⁷ Patents and privileges were thus all in Van Zuren's name and he alone was mentioned on the title-pages of the books published. Coornhert's contribution was not only financial but also literary: presumably he had a decisive say in the choice of what was to be published. That he was involved either as translator or editor in four of the six publications of the first year (excluding, of course, the ordinances that were officially commissioned) proves his influence in this respect. It also shows how closely his interest in the enterprise was connected with his own literary ambitions.

In order to make their financial backing complete, the associates approached the town magistracy with a request for a contribution to the large investments necessary for carrying out their plan. The petition itself is a remarkable document because of the high expectations it expresses for the future. Even if we take into account the purpose of the request and the confidence in the success of the enterprise which it had to display, the partners' optimism seems to be somewhat unfounded. Such great expectations! The press was going to make of Haarlem a typographical centre comparable to Antwerp, Frankfurt, Basel, Zurich, Venice, Paris and Lyons. Punchcutters, type founders, compositors, correctors, pressmen, binders, clasp-makers, woodcutters and engravers of copperplates would settle in the town together with 'countless others and a large number of boys for collecting sheets, gathering quires, cleaning the formes and distributing type', in addition to 'translators, many of whom will, it is hoped, be necessary'.¹⁸ Since the petitioners did not have sufficient means for so vast a project, they were applying to the magistracy, which had already contributed in the past to the start-up expenses of new trades and firms in Haarlem. We may well wonder whether the partners were really so naive as to underestimate the difficulties and possible setbacks in the world of publishing – or whether they did consider themselves obliged to paint such a rose-coloured picture in order to convince officials who were inexperienced in this particular domain. If this was so they were eminently successful, for the magistrates consented to putting the considerable sum which was requested at their disposal in its entirety: one thousand Carolus guilders, free of interest, for the time that the press would remain in operation, not exceeding ten years. A request that the petitioners should

¹⁷ For a survey of forms of association and types of contract in the Low Countries, based on sixteenth-century works on bookkeeping, see W.M.F. Mansvelt, *Rechtsvorm en geldelijk beheer bij de Oost-Indische Compagnie* (Amsterdam 1922), pp. 22 ff. See also W.F. Lichtenauer, 'Geschiedenis van de wetenschap van het handelsrecht in Nederland tot 1809', *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche rechtswetenschap*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam 1968), pp. 101 and 164.

¹⁸ Mons, Archives de l'État, archives de la famille de Clerque Wissocq de Sousberghe, no. 2864 (see n. 33). The text of this hitherto unknown document, a contemporary transcript of the original, is printed at the end of this article in Appendix I.

also be exempted from paying duty on beer and bread was rejected, however.¹⁹

The press' request for a patent was then forwarded to the Court of Holland and was granted on 14 November 1560.²⁰ The petitioners wrote that they planned to publish 'Latynsche, Griecxe ende Duytsche boucken ende andere stucken' ('books in Latin, Greek and Dutch and other pieces'). Actually no attempt seems to have been made to print in Greek and only a single work of some size appeared in Latin: the *Statuta* of the diocese of Haarlem and thus a book published on commission. These plans suggest, however, that the original objective of the firm was far broader than the subsequent output would lead us to believe and that the partners hoped to print not only modern works but also classical ones. This is confirmed by the variety of typefaces purchased: besides two Texturas the text types comprised three Romans and no fewer than five Italics, faces which in the northern Low Countries had hitherto only been used for Latin and French texts.²¹ The idea of purchasing Greek type seems to have been abandoned on later consideration.²²

These types were purchased in Antwerp from François Guyot²³ and Ameet Tavernier,²⁴ the two best punchcutters in the Low Countries. In addition to this the Haarlem press bought no fewer than three complete alphabets of ornamental initials and ordered from Arnoldus Nicolai, the best woodcutter in this domain,²⁵

¹⁹ Council resolution dated 16 August 1560, reproduced in Laceulle, p. 325, Document 137.

²⁰ Resolution of the Court in Brussels dated 14 November 1560, which repeats part of the wording of the petition. Reproduced in Laceulle as Document 138 (pp. 325 ff.), based on the text in the *Memoriale* of the Court of Holland 1560-3. A contemporary transcript is also in Mons (see n. 33).

²¹ There is a clear difference between the southern and the northern Low Countries in the speed with which Roman and Italic characters were adopted for texts in the vernacular. In the south, on which Vervliet has largely concentrated in his discussion of this point (cf. n. 7), the development was far more rapid; in the north the public continued to display an aversion to faces other than Textura. Not until the seventeenth century did Roman establish itself as a text type for publications in the vernacular. Italic never played more than a subsidiary part as a letter for special purposes.

²² The acquisition of Greek type was an expensive business. Because of the large number of ligatures which were believed to be indispensable, a set of matrices was two or three times as large as a Roman or Italic one. Judging from the entry in Plantin's 1563 Inventory of Types, Granjon's Long Primer Greek consisted of 359 matrices, while Haultin's 'Augustin' (English) and Pica Greek consisted of 298 and 413 matrices respectively; cf. M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds in the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 (p. 16).

²³ For François Guyot, a French punchcutter and type founder who, as a burgher of the city, worked in Antwerp from 1539 until his death in 1570, cf. Vervliet, pp. 26 f.

²⁴ On him, see Vervliet, pp. 28 ff.; M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, III. Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter (ca.1522-1570)', *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 17-76. For biographical information see also M. Sabbe, 'Ameet Tavernier', *Het Boek*, 12 (1923), pp. 163-76.

²⁵ On him, see A.J.J. Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas*, vol. 2: *Le XVIIe siècle*, [pt. 1]

a fine printer's device with the emblematic representation of a rose from which a bee is sucking honey and a spider poison – probably Coornhert's idea.²⁶ All this amounted to what, for the time and the circumstances, must be regarded as a considerable investment, to which the printing-press and other tools must of course be added. And so a printing-office came into being, the first one after twenty years of stagnation, which was by far the most modern and best equipped in the northern Netherlands.

Despite the favourable prospects and the vast capital with which it began, the Haarlem firm only achieved a very few of the goals on which it apparently had set its sight. In 1561, the first year of its activity, everything went splendidly. Five books appeared, including Coornhert's translations of Cicero's *Officia* (H 1)²⁷ and of the first half of the *Odyssey* (H 2), both of which I mentioned above, together with his edition, based on an old manuscript, of Colijn van Rijsssele's *Spiegel van minnen* (H 4). Thereafter, however, the number of publications dropped sharply, to one in 1562, one in 1563 (commissioned), and three (or four) in 1564, one of which was commissioned, another subsidized by an Antwerp publisher, while the third consisted of a single sheet: after the *Statuta* (H 12) of May 1564 probably all that was printed was a placard (H 13) for the town magistracy. In that same year, on the other hand, Hadrianus Junius, having returned to Haarlem after a period spent abroad, had an important scholarly treatise published in Delft – and that despite the good terms he was on with both Van Zuren and Coornhert and the fact that *Tabula* (H 3), signed with his initials, was printed in Haarlem.²⁸ Even Coornhert had his *Nieuwen ABC of materi-boeck* (1564) published elsewhere, by Willem Silvius

Les graveurs-illustrateurs (Paris 1934), pp. 98 ff. He signed with an Italic A, a monogram which was formerly regarded as that of Anton Sylvius; cf. G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, vol. 1 (München 1877; several reprints), pp. 31 ff., no. 80. It looks likely that Arnold Nicolai, who regularly received large orders from Plantin but who worked for Tavernier, Willem Silvius and others too, was also the designer of the woodcut initials which were acquired. Besides copies of inferior quality, a number of excellent replicas of the larger of the two alphabets exist which may have come from his workshop. For various reproductions of van Zuren's initials, see illus. 3 and Laceulle, p. 388, illus. 19 and 20.

²⁶ The image was already known in the Middle Ages as a symbol of the two manners in which man could use the gifts of Creation. Also in Haarlem, Hadrianus Junius later included the image in his *Emblemata* published by Plantin in 1565. Van Zuren used a second block too, with the same representation, slightly larger and without a border decoration. See Laceulle, pp. 56-8 and illus. 23-4; Veldman, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 153-5 and illus. 103-4. On p. 153 Veldman gives an English translation of Coornhert's own verse interpretation of the device.

²⁷ The abbreviations H 1 (etc.) refer to the bibliographical list at the end of this article; see Appendix II.

²⁸ A panegyric by Hadrianus Junius of Coornhert's translation of Homer, printed at the beginning of the book, is reproduced in Laceulle, p. 179.

in Antwerp.²⁹ What happened is clear: the firm had come to a standstill. The cause of this disappointing state of affairs has hitherto only been known to us from a statement by Coornhert, made at a far later date, when he put the blame on 'the many muzzles which the official regulations then laid on the printing-offices'.³⁰ It now appears that Jan van Zuren also gave the same reasons in an address to the town magistracy in the spring of 1562.³¹ He then referred to 'the great difficulties encountered in requesting and obtaining privileges and in the examination of the texts to be published, matters which he had not sufficiently taken into account previously'.³²

This address, which came to light recently in a totally unexpected place,³³ throws a new light on the developments within the enterprise. We discover from it that the company had been dissolved in the meantime and that Jan van Zuren (himself acting as burgomaster in that year) had, as he told the magistrates officially, taken over the share of the other participants. All he says about the cause of the end of the partnership is the summary remark that in Haarlem the craft of the printer could hardly be carried out in company. This suggests that not only troublesome

²⁹ A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen, 'Initial books and typographical writing-books from the XVI-century Low Countries', *Hellînga Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 109-34 (pp. 120-1), no. TB 2 and illus. 5 (the caption should be exchanged with that of illus. 3); H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Typografische schrijfboeken. Een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de civiliteletter', *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 1: *Humanisten, dweppers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1976), pp. 147-50 and illus. 37-8.

³⁰ '... overmits de menichvuldighe muylbanden der plackaarten als doe den druckeryen anghedaan'. In his foreword to *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst ...* [by Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel] (Leiden, C. Plantin, 1584), sig. A5, reprinted in Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel, *Twee spraek, Ruygh-bewerp, Kort-begrip, Rederijck-kunst*, ed. W.J.H. Caron (Groningen 1962), p. 6. Quoted in Bonger, op. cit. (n. 9), pp. 31 f.

³¹ Mons, Archives de l'État, archives de la famille de Clerque Wissocq de Sousberghe, no. 2864. This is a notarial copy which does not give the date of the petition but is itself dated 30 April 1562. For the text of the document, see Appendix I.

³² '... grote zwaricheyt die hem bejegent int versoecken ende vervolgen vanden privilegien als int visiteren vanden boecken daer hy suppliant luttel op verdacht was ...'. See Appendix I.

³³ The documents are in W. de Keyser, *Inventaire des archives de la famille de Clerque Wissocq de Sousberghe* (Bruxelles 1976), p. 254, referred to as 'Fondation à Haarlem d'une imprimerie par Jean van Zuyeren, Pierre Raet et Thierry Coornhert, 1560-62 (copies)-1 liasse.' They probably originated from the estate of Gisbert van Nesse (1542-1611), alderman of Haarlem from 1568 to 1571 and burgomaster in 1575. On him, see E.A. van Beresteijn, 'Familieportretten Van Nesse', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw. Maandblad van het Koninklijk Nederlandsche Genootschap voor geslacht- en wapenkunde*, 58 (1940), cols. 23-7 (cols. 25 f.). The family archive contains further documents of this period from Haarlem and other towns in the northern Low Countries. I am most grateful to Craig Harline, Piscataway, NJ (USA), and Ronald Breugelmans, Leiden, for having informed me of the existence of these transcripts.

authorities caused difficulties, but that a difference of opinion had arisen about the management of the firm and its future business policy. The much abominated restrictions which publishers came up against had already been in existence for many a year and the legal stipulations on which they were based were explicitly mentioned in the formula of the oath which had to be taken in order to obtain a patent.³⁴ The partners thus knew from the start how limited their freedom was.

The main cause of the disruption of the partnership is thus presumably to be sought in a disagreement about the policy the firm should follow in the future. The enterprise had probably not been a financial success: this is suggested by the particularly small output of the later years which contrasted strongly with the propitious start in 1561 and which consisted almost entirely of books printed on the orders of a third party.³⁵ The apparently disappointing results cannot be attributed to typography of an inferior quality in the publications, since that was always excellent and is hardly beneath what a printer like Plantin achieved in his first period. But the output was of an exclusively literary nature and consisted very largely of translations. This restricted the market to the Dutch language area for which, as I said earlier, the typefaces used were far from ideal. The objective of creating a publishing firm 'for the use, service, and advantage of all those interested in scholarship', as the request for the patent put it,³⁶ had obviously not been attained. Nothing was published in the field of literary scholarship and the promised editions of classical texts intended for the use of local schools were never even published.³⁷ Was there a lack of copy of sufficient quality or were the means for producing such editions inadequate? Over the centuries publishing has always been a business requiring intensive capital and large investments, but with slow sales and long terms of payment. The chances are that sales were disappointing

³⁴ The consent of the Court contains a summary of all the prohibitions which a printer would have to observe. The list of the various restrictions is preceded by the clause that '... the petitioner is obliged to take the customary oath before [...] the President of the Council in Holland [...] and particularly to observe and act according to what follows on pain of death.' The oath was taken on 5 March 1561; cf. Laceulle, p. 326 (Document 138) and p. 327 (Document 141).

³⁵ Print runs, which were originally fairly large, seem to have grown smaller. Of each of the translations by Coornhert which appeared in the first years – Cicero (H 1), Homer (H 2) and Seneca (H 9) – at least twenty copies have survived, a large number for books published in the northern Netherlands in this period. Only two copies have come to light of his 1564 Boccaccio (H 11), however. Or were the chances of survival for such a book so low in Calvinist Holland?

³⁶ '... tot solaes, dienst ende vorderinghe van alle studiose gezellen.' This same purpose, expressed in the same words, is quoted in the resolution of the Court, cf. Laceulle, p. 325.

³⁷ This was one of the arguments in the petition to the town magistracy. 'Just ask the teachers and also the parents of the pupils how advantageous it will be in school if the children can buy a single book of the books of Virgil or Quintilian [...] for one or one and a half stivers each, considering the fact that they have to pay ten or twelve stivers for all the books together.'

and that the sums coming in were not large enough to sustain regular production – a familiar problem in this line of business. That the partners were so dependent on Coornhert for the supply of copy may well have led to complications: he was admitted as notary in 1561 and in the following years was appointed town clerk. In 1564, furthermore, he was nominated secretary of the college of burgomasters. The activities and journeys entailed by these functions can hardly have left him much time for literary pursuits.

From what was published after 1561 we can see that Van Zuren lacked either the ambition, the capacity or the funds to go on as a publisher single-handedly. Perhaps on the insistence of his fellow magistrates he felt obliged to return at least a part of the original loan, as stipulated in the contract in the event of the firm's putting an end to its activities. In April 1562, therefore, he made a double proposal in an address to the magistracy: he would either return half the sum by Christmas of that year and obtain a prolongation of the rest of the loan or he would repay the entire sum by the same date, provided he was absolved of his official function and could devote all his time to his business.³⁸ The town decided to prolong the loan of the second 500 guilders until 'St. Jansmisse', 27 December 1563. After redeeming this debt Van Zuren thus became the owner of an unencumbered firm: he could sell off its stock, but he obviously was not able to create opportunities for the printing-press. What happened to this property, in which he had presumably invested a considerable part of his fortune, has hitherto remained an unsolved riddle.

Why have the many scholars who have tackled this problem over the years never come up with any satisfactory solution? In the first place, because neither the Haarlem city records nor any other source tell us anything about the later history of the firm, any more than did Coornhert. We know from experience, however, that printing-offices seldom disappear without a trace: on the contrary, they often continue for a very long time under different names. They are passed down from father to son (or another relative), are carried on by a foreman who marries the widow of the owner (often his former employer – a rational and customary manner of securing the survival of a firm in the time of the guilds), or are sold, in part or in their entirety, and end up in other hands. But although worn or superseded material is frequently replaced by new equipment in the course of time, a sufficient number of recognizable elements usually survive from the various stages to make it possible for us to follow the continuity of the enterprise. A typographical investigation of this process of successive transfers can reveal facts which are not to be traced in any other manner. This is often the only effective way of identifying publications of unknown origin. Although this type of analytical bibliography is by no means new – similar methods have long been used, especially in the domain of

³⁸ The document is here reprinted in Appendix I after the transcript in Mons.

incunable studies – it has hitherto only been applied to a limited extent in the field of sixteenth-century typography.³⁹ In the present case, our object is to trace parts of the typographical material of Jan van Zuren in later printed works. Over a century ago the Reverend J.I. Doedes, a scholar and passionate bibliophile, showed that he was aware of this method to deal with the problem when he drew attention to one of his ‘rariora’ (the term is his own): a book of 1567, without an imprint but bearing Van Zuren’s device with the bee, the spider and the rose.⁴⁰ For him that was a good enough reason to attribute it to this printer, but the attribution was soon rejected by others since the work in question was strictly Protestant, while Van Zuren always remained true to the Church of Rome.⁴¹ The same printer’s device was subsequently discovered in a book published in 1579 by Goossen Goebens and this seemed to suggest that the Emden printer was Van Zuren’s successor as an owner of the printing-office.⁴² This hypothesis also appears to be wrong, however.

³⁹ It is hard to resist the conclusion that in the intensive practice of analytical bibliography, especially in the English language area, a disproportionate emphasis has come to lie on textual analysis. Particularly since the appearance of R.B. McKerrow’s *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (1927) and the stimulating effect of that fundamental work, the most active scholars in this domain have been philologists and it is they who have produced the most important results where methodology is concerned. This emphasis on the book as the carrier of a text, however, has led to a neglect of the role which the discipline can play in our knowledge of the book as a part of book production. As an object whose external features can elucidate its own printing history, it can also bring to light wider historical connections in the world of printers and publishers. Nor is its use limited to this field; an investigation along the lines of analytical bibliography can lead, for instance, to a revision of the dates of publication of a number of writings of the early Reformation and thus of the speed at which Protestantism penetrated the Low Countries by means of the printed book. A further example: the general idea that Emden was a centre of Anabaptist book production in the sixteenth century appears, from the results of bibliographical research, to lack any foundation.

⁴⁰ The book was *Een claer bewijs van het heylighe Avontmael* by Zacharias Ursinus; Doedes’ copy, now in Amsterdam UL, is described in *Collection of Rariora, consisting of Printed Books [...] from the Library of the late Dr. J. I. Doedes [...] sold by auction ...* (Utrecht 1898), p. 9, no. 50. An earlier edition of this catalogue appeared without a numeration of the books with the title: *Collectie van rariora, inzonderheid godsdienst en theologie*, 2nd augm. edn. (Utrecht [1892]); the book is mentioned there on p. 5. For later statements concerning the assumed provenance of *Een claer bewijs*, see V.A. de la Montagne, ‘Nederlandsche boeken in de Waalsche gewesten en in het buitenland gedrukt’ (2), *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 4 (1906), pp. 108–16 (p. 109, ‘Emden, Goossen Goebens’); Laceulle pp. 68 ff. (‘not Haarlem; Delft?’); H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel, een Delftse boekdrukker van de 16e eeuw* (Oud Delft, 3; Rotterdam/s-Gravenhage [1963]), pp. 42 f. and p. 75, n. 58 (‘not Schinckel’).

⁴¹ Laceulle, p. 68.

⁴² In *Protocol. Dat is, Alle handelinghe des gesprecks tot Embden in Oost-vrieslant met den Wederdooperen, die hen Vlamingen noemen ...* (Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1579); cf. W. Brandes, *Bibliographie der niedersächsischen Frühdrucke bis zum Jahre 1600* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 4; Baden-Baden 1960), no. 230,

The device in Goossen's book is indeed printed from the original block, but there is no further similarity between his material and that of the press in Haarlem. So this trail brings us no further forward.

Since there is no reason to assume that, out of so valuable a collection of printing material, only a single device should have survived, we are entitled to ask what happened to the rest of the inventory. The most obvious place to look is amongst the printers who worked in Haarlem after Van Zuren, even if the beginning of their activities does not tally chronologically with the end of his and there can thus be no question of a direct continuation of his business. Upon inquiry we see that the material in question does not appear in the books of Antonis Ketel,⁴³ who settled in Haarlem in 1581, anymore than in those produced by his successor Gillis Rooman,⁴⁴ and we know that no printing activities took place in the town between Van Zuren and Ketel. Our investigation must thus be extended beyond the walls of Haarlem.

But here we come up against another problem: Van Zuren's typefaces were particularly common and many printers used them during this period. They can thus be used for checking an attribution, supported by another line of argument, of some piece of printing to a certain printer, but without additional evidence they

and M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emden Buchdrucks (1554-1602) ...* (Aurich 1986), no. 249. — The question was raised by J.F. van Someren in his study 'Wesembeke of Marnix?', *Oud-Holland*, 9 (1891), pp. 80-2. He had come across the device in the 1574 edition, issued without an imprint, of Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde's famous *De Byencorff der H. Roomsche Kercke*. Because of this occurrence and the similarity of the types used to those of Goebens he could (rightly) ascribe the book to this printer — an early and successful example of Dutch research in the domain of the sixteenth century in which typographical elements were employed as evidence.

⁴³ In 1580, in Steenwijk, Antonis Ketel succeeded the printer-publisher Herman 't Zangers with whom he had presumably already been working and from whom he may have learned the craft. Shortly afterwards, probably thanks to Coornhert, he received a sum from the Haarlem magistracy to enable him to settle in that town. After his move he printed mainly for Coornhert, but died as early as 1583. For his Haarlem period, see Laceulle, pp. 71-86.

⁴⁴ Gillis Rooman, originally from the southern Low Countries, married Antonis Ketel's widow in 1584 and carried on the printing-office of her deceased husband until he was succeeded by his son Adriaen in 1610. On Rooman, see Laceulle, pp. 87-138, and J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570- 1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 421 ff. Of the initials which appear in Rooman's books, two are reproduced by Mrs Laceulle (fig. 108 on p. 401) which originally came from Jan van Zuren. This could lead us to conclude that some of his material did indeed remain in Haarlem, but we would be wrong. The initials appear in a part of Rooman's *Biblia* of 1590, which was printed, as we see from other materials in the book, by Gillis van den Rade (Radaeus) in Franeker. Radaeus acquired this alphabet in about 1588 via an indirect route which will be described below and from then on used the initials in many of his publications. We are thus here dealing with a curious concurrence of circumstances which can easily put us on the wrong track.

cannot provide a conclusive proof of his commitment.⁴⁵ The same applies to the typographical ornaments and fleurons in Van Zuren's type cases.⁴⁶ The only truly significant elements of his material that remain are the printer's devices, a single tailpiece,⁴⁷ and the fine collection of ornamental initials.⁴⁸ As I said earlier, the press owned three sets of these initials (illus. 3), each of which, as far as one can see, formed a complete alphabet. Variants of two of them were used by various other printers, showing the same floral design, style and artistic qualities. Woodcuts, however, are unique items which can basically always be distinguished from copies and replicas (perhaps made in the same workshop), even when our judgment is hampered by the effects of defective inking or a not entirely level position in the forme. Only a badly damaged face of a letter can lead to really serious problems, but this occurs very rarely. Slight damage, on the contrary, like a crack or a break in a contour, facilitates the identification of woodcuts and occasionally can also help us to date, within certain limits, the books in which they are used. We can therefore conclude that, with the exception of a few problematical cases, woodcuts like these provide us with the most reliable and usually decisive information about the provenance of anonymously published works.

To search outside Haarlem for the initials and ornaments in question is disappointing, in so far as they do not appear in any of the presses operating in the Low Countries in the 1560s known to us. Nevertheless this pursuit leads to a discovery: we can assemble a group of secretly printed books from the years 1565 up to 1568 which indeed contain this material – every part of it. The types, the devices and other ornaments, the initials, everything appears to have survived. Hitherto I have traced eighteen, or perhaps even nineteen, publications belonging to this particular production, but in view of the rarity of what has survived the number was probably higher.⁴⁹ Only one of these has a legend on the title-page which can be read as an imprint ('Tot Embden'), while the others make no mention of any place of origin. Like so many publishers of controversial literature the printer (or printers) sought refuge in the well-tried device of anonymity and thus remained unknown to their contemporaries and to posterity. They could not foresee that four centuries later, despite the distance in time, bibliographical methods would make it possible to unveil their underground activities.

⁴⁵ See the List of typefaces at the end of this article; Laceulle, pp. 386-7, illus. 1-12.

⁴⁶ Laceulle, pp. 155 f. and p. 388, illus. 13-18.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156 and p. 388, illus. 22.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156 and p. 388, illus. 19-21.

⁴⁹ For practical reasons I have had to limit my quest for anonymous French-language publications of the years 1565-8 which could belong to the group in question to the most likely libraries in Holland and Belgium.

APPENDIX I: REQUEST BY JAN VAN ZUREN AND HIS PARTNERS TO THE TOWN
MAGISTRACY OF HAARLEM (BEFORE 16 AUGUST 1560)

Mijne Heeren den burgermeesteren, scepenen ende vroescappen der stede van
Haerlem

Verthoonen ende geuen te kennen meester Jan van Zuyeren, Pieter Jansen Raet, Willem Adriaensen ende Dirck Volckertsen Coornhert dat zijluyden wel in meeninge soudensijn binnen desen stede te saemen op te stellen een bouckdruckerye van Duytsch, Latijn ende Griecx met alle dat daer aen cleeuende is indien zij verthoonders verseeckert waren mijne heeren te vinden naer aduenant soe genegen ende jonstich tot vorderinge van huere voirneemen, als mijne heeren hen dagelycx wel goetlyck bewysen jegens anderen die eenige neeringen oft ambochten alhier brengen ende beghinnen. Alle dewelcke hoewel zij eenichsins tot welvaert deser stede streckende sijn zoe gaet tvoorneemen vanden verthoonderen alle dien te bouen nyet alleen in stadts welvaeren ende profyte, maer oick in stadts eere ende fame, als die hier daldervermaertste nutste ende constichste neeringe ter werelt verhoopen te brengen. Dewelcke oick (nyet tegenstaende die van Mens [Mainz] hun zulcx tonrecht toescryuen) binnen deser stede van Haerlem aldereerst gevonden is.

Ende alsoe andere ingecommen ambochten eenige neeringe schijnen te belouen zoe sijnse nochtans sulckdanige, datse haer werck meest by haer selffs ende met weynich volcx mogen doen ende en behoirt noch en mach twerck ende voirneemen van desen verthoonderen daer by nyet geequipareert werden gemerct men in dese neeringe onnoemelijcke veelen arbeyders behouft te weten lettersnijders, letterghieters, lettersetters, correcteurs, drukkers, bouckbinders, bouckslootemakers, formsnijders, figuersnijders ende ontallijcke anderen, behaluen noch groote meenichte van jongens die de papyeren vergaderen, quaternen schicken, formen reynigen ende letteren van een scheyden moeten waer wt noch verzweegen sijn de vertaelders ofte ouersetters die men veele hoopt te behouffuen, int welck veele geleerden soe geestelijcke als waerlijcke personen hen eerlijck ende profytelijck tot goids eere ende tgemeene Landts welvaert zullen mogen oefenen. Maer indien mijne heeren zoe ten eersten nyet en connen bemercken wat voirdeel hier en bouen dese neeringe buyten alle anderen inder stede soude mogen brengen, men vrage den schoelmeesteren ende oick den ouders van den scholieren wat profijte dit inden schole brengen mach daer de kinderen een eenich bouck vanden boucken Virgilij of Quintiliani oft van anderen authoren (die zy leeren) voir een stuer oft anderhalff soudens mogen coopen op hen selffs daerse nu voir alle de boucken tesaemen (zoemense altijt tsaemen druct ende teffens vercoopt) thien of twaeleff stuuers moeten geuen te dieren pryse betaelende tgunt zij nyet en leeren noch en

behouffuen. Bouen twelck mijne heeren oick noch met thollebrieuen met diverse *ordonnantien* ende kueren deser stede ende andere diergelijcke saken die tot alle mans kennisse ende weetenheyte behoiren te staen dagelijcx metten drucke nae huere belieuen sullen gerieft mogen werden.

Ende ouerslaende nyet alleen den grooten deurtocht dagelijcx van bouckvercoopers, bouckcramers ende andere die dese neeringe alhier veroirsaken soude maer oick de vermeerderinge vanden inwoenders van alreleye arbeytslyuden zoe voorn geseyt es die de voirsz verthoonders thuere grooten costen vuyt huere woenplaetsen alhier zullen moeten doen commen ende oick noch hier en boven de comanscappe vanden papieren twelck gheen cleyn handel en is. Soe staet mynen heeren sonderling wel the letten opt vervolch van dese beginne daer ongetwijfelt (om de wel gelegentheyt deser stede) een trefflycke gemeene neeringe binnen cortten tyden vuyt te verhoopen is, welcke neeringe van zoeveele machtige lyuden tot Antwerpen gehanteert werdt, dat mense aldaer (daer de fleur van alle neeringen ouervloedich is) egeensins onder de minste neeringen en hout, maer dat noch meer is zoe is dit alleen de eenige neeringe ende gheen ander welcken de heerlicste ende trefflycste steden van Europa als Francoort, Basel, Zurich, Venegien, Parys ende Lyons bouen alle huere gebuyeren vermaert ende welvaerende sijn in alle welcke steden dese neeringe oick allencxkens ende nyet al teuens begost en sijn, hoewel der verthoonderen beginnen nyet anders te reeckenen en staet dan of zy alle vier elcx een druck op stelden, ende dat nyet slechtelyck noch met een cleyn pennincxken zoe de voornoemde innecomelingen off sommige scamel druckers doen die hem met almanacken lyedekens ende sulckdanige boeselen geneeren, maer dencken metter tijt huere gansche handelinghe geheel werck ende eenige neeringe hieraff te maken ende alle huer vermogen daeraen te hangen.

Ende alsoe hier terstondt groote somme van penningen toe van noode is, ende de supplianten (altsaemen rentiers sijnde) die nyet gereet en hebben zoe is huerluyder versouck ende begeren dat mynen heeren oick wil belieuen dit goede voerneemen tot grooten oerbaer welvaert ende eere deser stede streckende met tstadt vermogen te vorderen ende behulpelick te sijne met de leeninge van eens duysent Carolus guldens die de verthoonders ende supplianten voor thien jaeren sonder rentten te geuen in hueren neeringe sullen mogen gebruycken mits stellende genouchsaeme borgen omme deselue penningen nae de voorsz jaeren weeder op te brengen ende in een hoofdsomme te betaelen, ende noch hierby voorde huysgesinnen vanden voorsz verthoonders verleenen vryheyt inden exchijss van bier ende broot. Welcke reedelijcke begeerte (als die nae der saken grootheyt zeer cleyn ende met allen licht is ende meer om der eeren wille dan om bate begeert werdt) zy verthoonders ganselyck betrouwen hemlyuden goetwillichlick ende volcommelijck sonder eenich besnoeyen van mynen voorsz heeren te sullen toegestaen ende gegondt werden. Dit doende sullen mijnen heeren hier deur in toecommenden tijden anderen (dese

eerlijcke liberaelheyt vermerckende) veroirsaicken alhier te *commen* woenen, neeringe te maken, *ende* wat nyeuxs tot der stede welvaert te beginnen etc.

THE TOWN'S ORDINANCE FOR THE PAYMENT OF JAN VAN ZUREN'S LOAN (7 SEPT. 1560)

Achtersvolgende zeeckere resolutie ende consent gedragen den 16en augusti anno xv^c ende tzestich by die vande gerechte ende vroescap der stede van Haerlem op de requeste hem*lieden* gepresenteert van mr. Jan van Zuyeren scepen Willem Adriaenszn Pieter Janszn Raet ende Dirck Volckertszn Coornhert poorteren der voorn*oemde* stede die in meeninge waren binnen der seluer stede op te stellen een druckerye van gryexe latynsche ende duytsche boucken versouckende onder anderen (zoo tselue soude *commen* tot eere voirdeel ende profyt der voors stede gelyck dat breedt ende in tlinge verhaelt is inde voors requeste die aen desen gehecht is) om te mogen hebben tot volcominge van huerluyder voirneemen by maniere van leeninge de somme van thienhondert ponden van xI grooten tpondt die zy souden mogen gebruycken ende besigen den tyt van thien jaeren lanck sonder rentten etc.

Soe ordonneren wy burgermeesteren der voorschreven stede van Haerlem Adriaen Claessen tresorier der zelue stede den voorn*oemden* meester Jan van Zuyeren Willem Adriaenszn Pieter Janszn Raet ende Dirck Volckertszn te leueren vuyt de penningen van zynen ontfanck de somme van thienhondert ponden pryse als voorn. Ende mits uiten brengende acte van cautie ende zeeckerheyt in alle vaster forme byden welcken zyluyden gehouden syn de restitutie ende betaelinghe daervan te doene terstont nae dexpiratie vande thien eerstcommende jaeren te rekenen van date hieronder gescreuen ende in gevalle de voors druckerye cesseerde ende gheene volcommen voitganck en hadde al deselue geheele somme teffens ende sonder langere versteck ende die al onder scepenen zegelen ende kennisse, belouen wy den voors tresorier van de voors thienhondert ponden te verantwoorden ende hem deselue te doen lyden in wtgeuen van zynen reeckeningen jegens eenen yegelycken daer ende zo et behoeren sal. Actum onder onse hantschriften den vijen dach septembris anno xv^c ende tzestich ...

REQUEST BY JAN VAN ZUREN FOR THE REPAYMENT OF HIS LOAN (BEFORE 30 APRIL 1562)

Aen mijnen heeren vanden gerechte ende vroescap der stede van Haerlem.

Vertoont *ende* gheft te kennen Jan van Zuyeren hoe dat hy suppliant met syn

compangie geleden omtrent anderhalff Jaer alhier binnen Haerlem tot haerluyder grote coste upgesteld heeft een boeckdruckerye tot welcke mijne voorsz heeren hueren goede affectie ende gunste wel gethoent hebben Daer hy hem zeer hartelicken off danckt. Ende al hoe hy *suppliant* (ouermits de voorsz neeringe in compangye alhier qualicken geexerceert mach worden) de selue tot hem alleen genomen heeft ende van meeninghe soude syn die continuelicken te exerceren maer niet soe starck als hy wel verhoop hadde ouermits grote zwaricheyt die hem bejegent int versoecken ende vervoegen vanden privilegien als int visiteren vande boecken Daer hy *suppliant* van te voren luttel up verdacht was soe dat hy niet wel mit eeren soude mogen off begheren te houden alle de *penningen* tot vorderinck vande voorsz saicken by mynen heeren voorsz hem bygeleyt. Soe ist dat hy *suppliant* vruntlick versouct dat mits upbrengende de gerechte helft vande voorsz *penningen* tusschen dit ende kersmisse toecomende hy de Reste als vijff hondert ponden soude mogen behouden up condicien als int voorgaende consent ofte indien de voorn. stede de *penningen* qualicken mochten onbeeren dat in dien gevalle mijn heeren voorsz hem vry ende exempt houden willen van te bedienen eenige officien ofte diensten deser stede om hem te bet tot eere deser stede ende vorderinghe vande printerye daer toe te mogen begeuen ende dat soe lange geduerende als hij de neeringe exerceren sal ende langer niet. In welcke gevalle hy gehouden sal syn als voren alle de *penningen* tenemael upte brengen ende restitueren ...

GeCollationeert jegen den principale requeste, is beuonden daer mede taccorderen. Mitsgaders de voorst. twee apostillen, die gescreuen waren mitte handt van mynen heeren de Rekenmeester Meester Cornelis de Jonge als commissariis aen my Notaris ondergescreuen wel bekend. Actum den lesten aprilis anno twee ende tzestich ...

[Apostille I:] *Suppliant* sal de vyff hondert gulden onderhouden volgende sijn verzouck.

[Apostille II:] Om Redenen inden text breder verhaelt sal de *suppliant* de Resterende vijffhondert gulden upbrengen ende in handen vanden tresorier Adriaen Claeszn voor St Jansmisse eerstcomende betalen. Actum binnen Haerlem den vien Januarii xv^e drie ende tzestich stilo curii holl.

(Mons, Archives de l'État, archives de la famille de Clerque Wissocq de Sousberghe, inv. no. 2864).

A HAARLEM PRESS IN SEDAN AND EMDEN. PART ONE

APPENDIX II: A LIST OF EDITIONS PRINTED BY JAN VAN ZUREN

Roman Types:

	Vervliet	Laceulle	
1. Two-line Double-Pica			
Roman	Guyot, Groot Canon	R 7 (20/280)	7
2. Two-line Great Primer			
Roman	(capitals only; unidentified)	(6,5 mm)	6
3. Double-Pica Roman	Guyot, Ascendonica	R 17 (20/140)	5
4. Pica Roman	Guyot, Mediaen	R 27 (20/78)	4
5. Bourgeois (in Sedan only)	Tavernier, Garamond	R 32 (20/63)	

Italics:

6. Double-Pica	Guyot, Ascendonica	IT 2 (20/140)	12
7. Great Primer	Guyot, Text	IT 3 (20/110)	11
8. English	Tavernier, Augustijn	IT 4 (20/96)	10
9. Pica	Guyot, Mediaen	IT 10 (20/78)	9
10. Bourgeois	Tavernier, Garamond	IT 15 (20/63)	8

Textura:

11. Two-line Great Primer			
Textura	Vostre, Moyen a non	T 3 (20/220)	3
12. Great Primer Textura	(French)	T 12(b) (20/116)	2
13. Pica Textura (in Emden)	Henrick Lettersnijder, Mediaan	T 30 (20/80)	-
14. <i>idem</i> (in Haarlem, Sedan)	<i>idem</i> , variant	T 30 (20/78)	1
15. Bourgeois (in Emden)	(French)	T 43(b) (20/63)	-
16. Textura on Brevier			
(in Sedan)	(French)	T 47 (20/52)	-

(H 1) Cicero, *Officia*, transl. D.V. Coornhert (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)

Officia Ciceronis, Leerende wat yghelijck | in allen staten behoort te doen,
bescreuen / int Latijn door den alder welsprekensten | Orator Marcum Tullium
Ciceronem, ende | nv eerst vertaelt in nederlantscher | spraken door Dierick |
Coornhert. | Tot Haerlem, | By Ian van Zuren. | 1561. | Met Gratie ende Priuilegie.||
8vo. [VIII] + 142 + [2] = 152 leaves. *Collation*: *8 A-S⁸. *Size*: 116:62 mm. *Types*: 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8,
9, 10. Device 1. Initial 2: A, C, H, I, M.

Laceulle 3. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); Brussels, Royal Library (KBR); Cambridge
(USA), Harvard UL; Chicago, Newberry Library; Ghent, UL (2x); Groningen,
UL; Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek (2x); The Hague, Royal Library (KB) and Museum

Meermanno; Leiden, UL; London, British Library (BL); New York, Columbia UL; Princeton, Princeton UL; Utrecht, UL; and others.

Quire A exists in two different type-settings, with orthographical variants and with a different initial (A of type 2, resp. type 3). See Laceulle 3, note.

(H 2) Homerus, *Odysseae* I-XII, transl. D.V. Coornhert (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)

Deerste twaelf boecken | Odysseae, dat is de dolinghe van Vlysse, be | screuen
int Griecx door den Poet Homerum | vadere ende fonteyne alder Poeten, nv |
eerstmael wten Latijne in rijm | verduyscht door Dierick | Coornhert. | Tot
Haerlem, | By Ian van Zuren, | 1561. | Met Gratie ende Priuilegie.||

8vo. [VIII] + 93 + [3] = 104 leaves. *Collation*: *8 A-M⁸. *Size*: 114:62 mm. *Types*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. *Device* 1. *Initial* 1: C, V; initial 2: A, D (2x), E (2x), H, I (2x), K, L, O, R.

Laceulle 4. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan; Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek; Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; Groningen, UL; Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek; The Hague, KB; Leeuwarden, Provinciale Bibliotheek; Leiden, UL; London, BL; Maastricht, Stadsbibliotheek; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB); and others.

(H 3) H[adrianus] J[unius], *Tabula legum sodalitiū musici* (Haarlem, [Jan van Zuren], 1561)

TABULA | LEGUM ET | institutorum in- | ter sodalitiū Mu- | sici coëpu- | lones.
| H[adriano] I[unio] M[edico] A[uctore]. | Harlemi. An. 1561. | Men. Maio. ||

8vo. [4] leaves. *Collation*: *4. *Size*: 124:68 mm. *Types*: 1, 3, 4, 7, 8. *Device* 1. *Initial* 3: A.

Laceulle. – Copy: Oxford, Bodleian Library.

(H 4) Colijn [Keyaert] van Rijsssele, *De spiegel der minnen* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)

De Spiegel der | minnen. Begrijpende in ses batement spelen | die seer amoreuse
historie van Dierick den hol- | landere ende Katherina Sheermertens, eertijts |
gheschiet binnen Middelburch, ende Rhe- | thorijckelijck in spelen ghestelt | door
Colijn van | Rijsssele. | Gheprint tot Haerlem, by Jan van Zuren. | Anno. 1561. | Met
Gratie ende Priuilegie. ||

8vo. [iv + 164] = 168 leaves. *Collation*: *4 A-V⁸ X⁴. *Size*: 118:68 mm. *Types*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9. *Device* 1. *Initial* 1: O; initial 2: H (2x), O, V; initial 3: S, T.

Laceulle 5. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Leiden, UL; London, BL; The Hague, KB (imperf.).

(H 5) *Placaet van den slachturfven* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)

Placaet vanden | Slachturfuen. | Byden Coninck. (Heading on A[I]). [A4r.:]
Gheprint tot Haerlem by Jan van Zuren. | Anno. M.CCCCC.LXI. ||

4to. [4] leaves. *Collation*: A⁴. *Size*: 142:95 mm. *Types*: 1, 3, 12, 14. *Initial* 2: O.

Laceulle 7. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; London, BL.

(H 6) *Placcaet van den slachturfven* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)
 Placcaet vanden | Slachturfuen. | Byden Coninck. (Heading on A[1]). [A4r:]
 Gheprint tot Haerlem by Jan van Zuren. | Anno. M.CCCCC.LXI. ||
 4to. [4] leaves. *Collation*: A⁴. *Size*: 148:99 mm. *Types*: 1, 3, 4, 6. Initial 3: O.
 Laceulle. – Copy: Ghent, UL.

(H 7) *Placcaet van den thienden penninck* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)
 Placcaet vanden thien- | den penninck. | Byden coninck. (Heading on A[1]). [B5v:]
 Gheprint tot Haerlem by Jan van Zuren. | Anno. M.CCCCC.LXI. ||
 4to. [10] leaves. *Collation*: A⁴B⁶. *Size*: 148:99 mm. *Types*: 1, 3, 4, 6. Initial 3: O.
 Laceulle 8. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; Haarlem, Stadsbibl.;
 The Hague, KB (2x); Leiden, UL; London, BL.

(H 8) Vincent of Lerins, *Voor die waerheyt des gemeene Christen gheloofs* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561)
 Vincentius Lirinensis. | Een seer schoon | Boecxken voor die outheyt | ende waerheyt
 des gemeene | Christen gheloofs, teghens die Godloose | nieuwicheyden alder
 ketterijen, bescreuen | ouer duysent jaren door Vincentium | Lirinensem Gallum,
 ende nv wt | den Latijne in onse neder- | duytsche sprake | ouergheset. | Gheprint
 tot Haerlem by Jan van Zuren. | Anno. M.D.LXI. | Met Gratie ende Priuilegie. ||
 8vo. [52] leaves. *Collation*: A-F⁸ G⁴. *Size*: 123:64 mm. *Types*: 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14. Device 1 +
 2. Initial 1: D; initial 2: A; initial 3: G.
 Laceulle 6. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Haarlem, Stadsbibl.

(H 9) Seneca, *Van den weldaden*, transl. D.V. Coornhert (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1562)
 Lucius Anneus | Seneca vanden weldaden. | Leerende den rechten aert van
 broederlijcke | liefde, getrouwe vrientschappe ende beleef- | de huesscheyt: voor
 allen staten seer oorbaerlijc | om lesen. Nyeu wten Latijne | in nederlantsch vertaelt
 | duer Dierick | Coornhert. | Tot Haerlem by Jan van Zuren. | 1562. | Met Gratie
 ende Priuilegie. ||
 8vo. [viii + 234] leaves. *Collation*: *⁸ A-Z⁸ Aa-Ee⁸ Ff¹⁰. *Size*: 116:64 mm. *Types*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7,
 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14. Device 1. Initial 2: I, M, N, O (2x), S; initial 3: L.
 Laceulle 9a and fig. 24. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); Antwerp, Stadsbibl.; Brussels,
 KBR; Ghent, UL; Gouda, Stadsbibl.; Haarlem, Stadsbibl.; The Hague, KB (2x); Leiden,
 UL; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF); Utrecht, UL; and others.
 Citing as first source Franciscus Sweertius, *Athenae Belgicae* (Antverpiae 1628), Laceulle
 no. 9b further quotes: ‘Cornelius Grapheus (Scribonius), Argumenta carmine heroico in
 Christianos M. Hieronymi Vidae, Haarlem 1562’. What Sweertius apparently intended
 to indicate with this non-existent title is a reprint of the Corn. Grapheus edition of Vida’s

Christiados libri vi, published in that year, 1562, at Antwerp (BT 4762).

(H 10) Charles de Guise, *Oratio* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1563)
Carolus cardinalis à Lotharingia, Oratio in concilio Tridentino habita [...] jussu R.D. Episcopi Harlemensis [Nicolaes van Nieulant (de Nova Terra)] impressa. Harlemi, Joannes Zurenus, 1563.

Laceulle. – No copy known. Recorded in *Bibliotheca selecta* [...] *Pars altera, ou catalogue d' une [...] collection de livres [...] délaissés par Ch. [J.] Michiels, dont la vente se fera le 10. de Septembre 1781* (Anvers [1781]), no. 1166.

(H 11) Giovanni Boccaccio, *50 Lustige historien*, transl. D.V. Coornhert (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1564)

50 | Lustige historien | ofte nyeuwicheden Joannis | Bocatii, van nieus ouergeset in Nederduyt- | sche sprake duer Dirick Coornhert se- | cretaris der stede van Haerlem. | Gheprint tot Haerlem by Jan van Zuren | Anno 1564. | Men vintse oock te cope tot Antwerpen by | Jan Bellerus wonende in de Camer- | strate inden gulden arent. ||

8vo. 360 + [8] leaves. *Collation*: A-Z⁸ Aa-Zz⁸. *Size*: 118:66 mm. *Types*: 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14. Device 1. Initial 1: A, B, D, E, G, H, I, M, N, O, T, V, Y; initial 2: H, I, V.

Laceulle 11. – Copies: Cambridge, UL; London, BL.

(H 12) *Statuta synodalia ed. Nicolaes [van Nieulant (de Nova Terra)]* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1564)

STATUTA SY | NODALIA PER NICOLA | um Episcopum Harlemensem aedita | Anno 1564. | [Latin distich, 2 lines]. [14]r. = f. [32]r.: Impressum Harlemi apud Ioannem Zurenum | mandato et impensis Episcopi Harlemen- | sis, qui approbavit ac publicari | fecit Anno domini 1564. | mense Maio. ||

4to. [iv] + 31 + [1] leaves. *Collation*: A-1⁴. *Size*: 143:104 mm. *Types*: 1, 3, 4, 6, 7. Device 2. Tailpiece. Initial 1: C, Q; initial 3: O.

Laceulle 10 and fig. 25. – Copies: Dublin, Trinity College Library (TCL); The Hague, KB and Museum Meermanno; Leiden, UL; Maastricht, UL; Utrecht, State archive (Oud-Bissch. Cleresie, 2x).

(H 13) Jan [van den Berghe, alias] van Diest, *Het leenhof der ghilden* ([Haarlem, Jan van Zuren?], 1564)

Het Leenhof der Ghilden. | Inhoudende meest | alle de vrijheden, exemptien, verual- | len ende herghewaden, als den sodanighen toeco- | men. Op rijme cluchtische wijze met belache- | lijcke boerden, stichtelijck ende see ru- | stich ghestelt, door Jan van Diest | in zijn leuen Facteur van- | der Violieren tot | Antwerpen. | Ghedruct int Jaer | 1564. ||

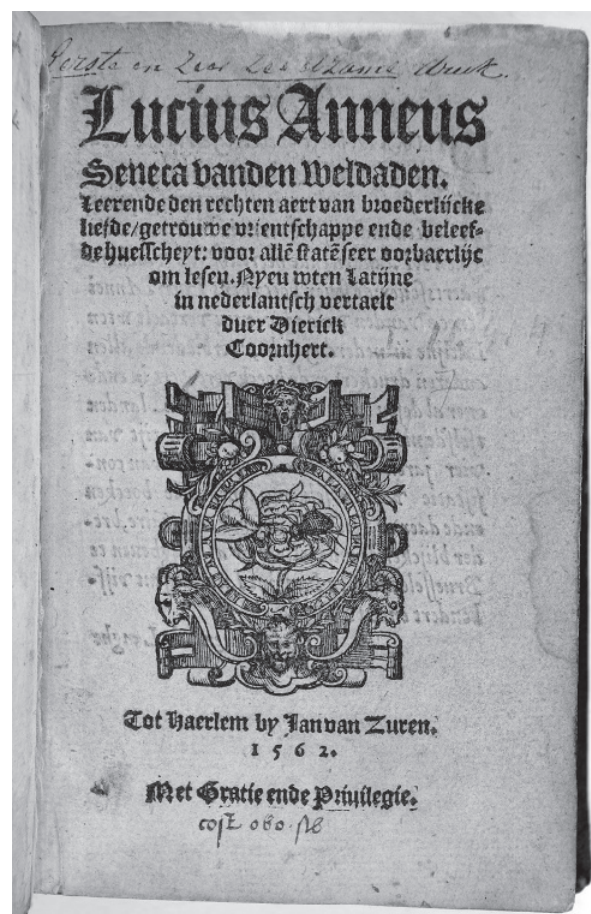
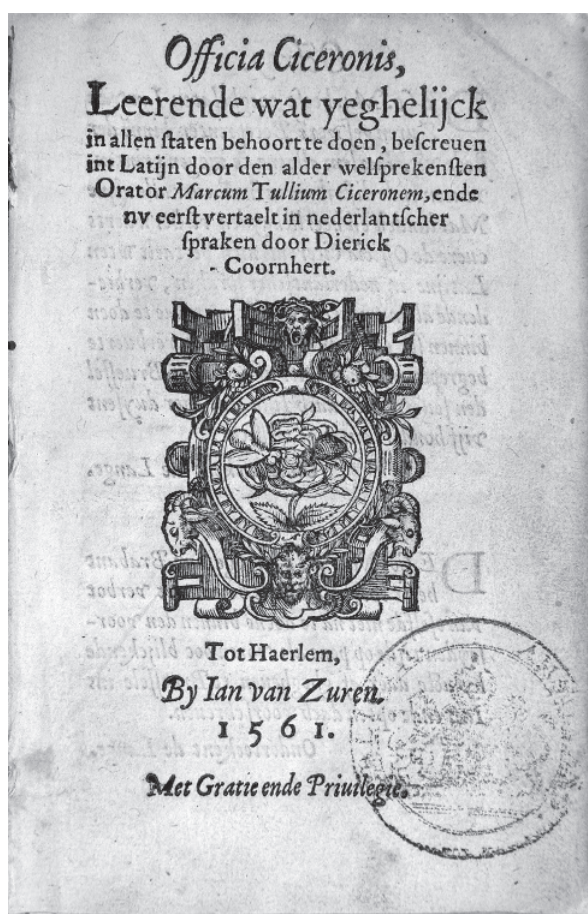
8vo. [20] leaves. *Collation*: AB⁸C⁴ (C4). *Size*: 115:75 mm. *Types*: 3, 6, 11, 12, 14. No ornaments. Laceulle. – Copies: The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

Although there is no woodcut initial or other ornament to prove it, it is probable that Jan van Zuren was the printer of this long poem. The typefaces are identical with his nos. 3 (date), 6, 11, 12 and 14. Additional support for the attribution comes in particular from the person of the man who prepared the posthumous edition, adding a poem ‘De Drucker tot den Leser’ (The printer to the reader) at the end which he signed: W[ees]t D[at] G[hy] S[ijt]. J[an] F[ruyt]iers (Be what you are. J.F.). Before returning to Antwerp in 1564 Fruytiers lived for some years at Rijnsburg near Haarlem where he was a member of the local chamber of rhetoric (see the literature to be mentioned in n. 96). Until then and in 1565/6 he had his literary works published by Willem Silvius at Antwerp; but this printer cannot be held responsible for this piece because he did not own the large Italic seen on the title-page (Van Zuren’s type 6). More work by Jan van den Berghe is found among the manuscripts from the chamber of rhetoric ‘Trou moet Blycken’, now in the Haarlem Municipal Library; see C. Kruyskamp’s edition of *Dichten en spelen van Jan van den Berghe* (’s-Gravenhage 1950) containing, *inter alia*, the text of *Het leenhof der ghilden*. The inference is almost inescapable that Fruytiers would have had contacts with his fellow practitioners in the art at Haarlem during his stay at Rijnsburg and also have encountered Coornhert.

(H 14) ‘*Chartgens van de osseende koeyemerct*’ (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1564)
‘*Chartgens van de osseende koeyemerct*’ (‘Placards of the ox- and cow-market’).

Laceulle 12 and Documents 151-2. – No copy known.

‘Meester Jan van Zuren betaelt vyfendetwintich scellingen in betalinge van tweehondert chartgens van de osseende koeyemerct, by hem ten behouue deser stadt gedruet ende geleverd’. Gemeente-archief Haarlem, Thesauriersrekening (Haarlem Municipal Archives, Treasurer’s Account) 1564, f. 74v.

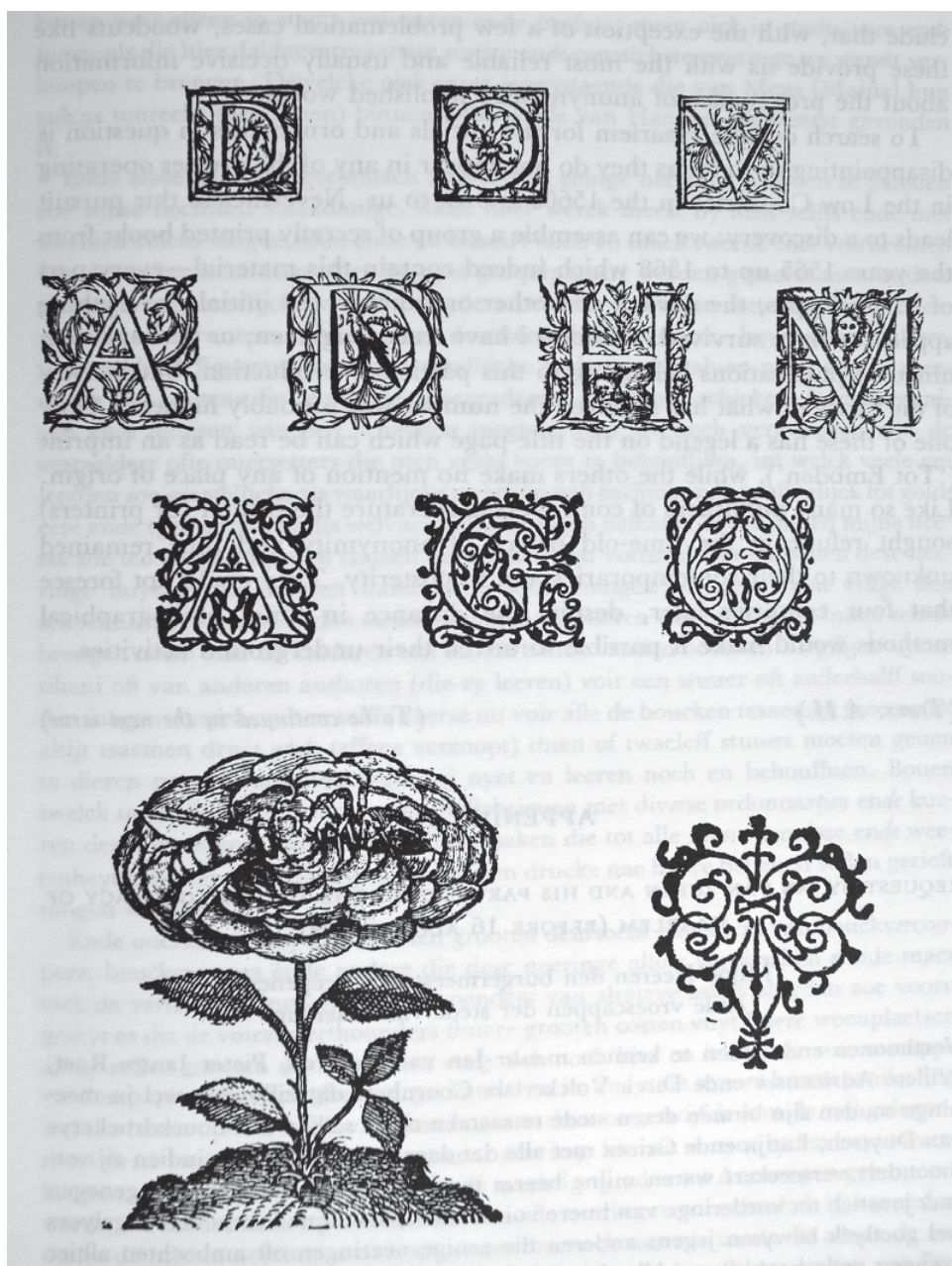


I

Officia Ciceronis (H1) The first book from Jan van Zuren's press. Types 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9: Double Pica and Pica Roman and Italic, and Great Primer Italic, all by Guyot, and Tavernier's English Italic; device 1
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 63-9392)

2

L.A. Seneca, *Vanden Weldaden* (H9) The only book printed in 1562. Types: 11, 12, 14: Vostre's Moyen Canon and a French Great Primer Textura, and a variant of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura; device 1
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-704)



3

Specimens of Jan van Zuren's ornamental initials: set 1 (at top), set 2 and set 3; device 2; tailpiece

(Scan from the original publication)

A HAARLEM PRESS IN SEDAN AND EMDEN,

1561 to 1569

[Part two: Sedan and Emden]



The imprint ‘Tot Embden’ in one of the ‘heretical’ books I mentioned in the first part of this article is of such a nature that it could equally well be fictitious or true: the lack of the publisher’s name or any further indication of his residence suggests that we should be cautious.⁵⁰ It was not for nothing that Emden was known as the main source of Dutch Protestant literature and Bible editions; the town’s name could thus easily be used as a fake address without appearing suspicious. Nothing therefore is definite about the location of the press responsible for this production, but we now have an important opening for further research: the titles of the books and pamphlets forming the output. They are all forbidden works and the printer shows himself to have been one of the most active publishers in this domain at the time. The products of his press differ so much from what was issued in Haarlem both in content and in character that the firm was obviously under an entirely new management. Instead of an apolitical literary publishing firm we are now dealing with a subversive business primarily concerned with the printing of Protestant works aimed sometimes vehemently against the Church of Rome.

If we provisionally limit ourselves to the publications of 1565, we see that, in that first year of renewed activity, there appeared two editions of a book on the martyrdom of Christoph Fabritius (de Smedt or Smet), a Calvinist preacher who had recently lost his life at the stake in Antwerp. The account was probably written by Joris Wybo, a colleague of his in that town. One of these publications is a revised and augmented edition of the Dutch original,⁵¹ the other is a translation of this

⁵⁰ For the use of false addresses by printers in the Low Countries at a slightly earlier period, see M.E. Kronenberg, ‘Forged addresses in Low Country Books in the Period of the Reformation’, *The Library*, 5th S., 2 (1947), pp. 81-94, where numerous names of towns are mentioned which served as such. Other examples can be found in C. Clair, ‘On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books’, *The Library*, 5th S., 18 (1963), pp. 275-87.

⁵¹ [Wybo?, Joris], *Historie ende gheschiedenisse van de verradelijcke ghevanghenisse der vromer ende Godsaligher mannen Christophori Fabritii [...] ende Oliverii Bocky Professuer der latijnscher spraecke in [...] Heydelberch ...* (s.l., [Vianen, Dirck Buyter], 1564), 8vo, 124 leaves, A-M⁸ 2A-2C⁸ 2D⁴, copy: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB); apparently the only copy extant of this unrecorded original edition. For Joris Wybo, alias Sylvanus, see A.A. van Schelven in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1914), cols. 1494-7.

new edition into French, a language which, then as now, was spoken in a part of the southern Netherlands. We see from the foreword that the translator was Guy de Brès, a preacher who had previously composed a confession of faith accepted by the Dutch Calvinists.⁵² A few months later the press issued another publication in French, also of Reformed origin: *Brief discours* (S 1), composed anonymously by Franciscus Junius (François du Jon), in which the inhabitants of the Low Countries made their first concerted appeal to King Philip II of Spain for religious freedom.⁵³ The question now is where these three books were printed. Certainly not in Haarlem, a town loyal to the government in power – and not by, or under, Jan van Zuren, on account of his position there and his religious views. So where?

The Dutch reprint of Wybo's book, *Historie* (S 3), probably the earliest of the group, has a foreword dated 20 June 1565.⁵⁴ In the light of what has been said, we can assume that between this date and the previous October, when a placard was printed for the Haarlem magistracy as the last product of Van Zuren's press, a radical reorganization took place, whereby Van Zuren left the firm, and the press, under a different management, was transferred elsewhere. Judging from the French publications, the new location was somewhere in the south, but probably outside the southern Netherlands, where repression was as great as, if not greater than,

⁵² The most recent biography of Guy de Brès is E.M. Braekman, *Guy de Brès. Première partie: Sa vie* (Bruxelles 1960). L.A. van Langeraad, *Guido de Bray* (Zierikzee 1884; thesis Leiden) is still of value. Bibliographical information is given by J.-F. Gilmont, 'Guy de Brès. Nouveau bilan bibliographique', *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire du protestantisme belge*, 7th S., 2 (1977), pp. 29-36, supplementing his 'Les écrits de Guy de Brès. Editions des XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *ibidem*, 5th S., 8 (1971), pp. 265-75; E.M. Braekman, 'Les éditions du "Baston de la foy chrestienne"', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 56 (1976), pp. 315-45; W. Heijting, 'The German translations of the *Confessio belgica* (1563 and 1566)', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 116-27.

⁵³ On this original edition, cf. H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41 (p. 20); A.A. van Schelven, 'De opkomst van de idee der politieke tolerantie in de 16e eeuwse Nederlanden, II', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, 46 (1931), pp. 337-88 (pp. 342 ff.). On the course of the publication of the edition and the haste involved, see R. Fruin (who only knew the 1566 reprint), 'Over geschriften aan Franciscus Junius en aan Franciscus Balduinus toegeschreven', in his *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 7 ('s-Gravenhage 1903), pp. 73-80 (pp. 75 f.). The decision to print was not taken until 19 December, but as early as 8 January the bishop of Namur, Havetius, reported his indignation at the appearance of the manifesto to Granvelle, who received a similar report from the councillor d' Assonleville a week later.

⁵⁴ BB (n. 9), vol. 3, pp. 478 ff., no. H 143; also reproduced in F. Vanderhaeghen, T.J.I. Arnold & R. van den Berghe, *Bibliographie des martyrologes protestants néerlandais*, 2 vols. (La Haye 1890), vol. 1, pp. 117 ff. A full reprint is in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica. Geschriften uit de tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden*, ed. S. Cramer & F. Pijper, vol. 8 ('s-Gravenhage 1911), pp. 281-460, preceded by a historical introduction by F. Pijper (pp. 257-79). For the documents of the action against the two men, see *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 9 ([1873]), pp. 169-273. – The sigla S 1 (etc.) and E 1 (etc.) refer to the bibliographical list at the end of this article.

in the town in which the press was founded – so that to move there would have been pointless. The only way to avoid such dangers was to follow the example of the printers in Emden and Wesel and to go abroad. That this solution was indeed chosen, appears from the history of a confiscated consignment of books which is interesting enough for it to be worth recounting in some detail.

At the end of June 1566, the bishop of Namur, Antonius Havetius, wrote as follows in one of his reports to Cardinal Granvelle: 'A Sedam [*sic*] près Mésiere sur Moeuse on y imprime libvres pernicious en Thioys, ainsi que j'ay descouvert depuis xv jours enchà, lesquelz on transporte par ce pays: et dernièrement furent descouvert et arrestez six tonneaux grandz plains de telz libvres [...]. On faict pasquailz plains de mocquerie de l'office de l'Inquisition et des édictz appelez placquartz pour les chastoy des sectaires.'⁵⁵ Another of Granvelle's correspondents, the dean Morillon, informed him a week later: 'L'on at imprimé ung monde de meschantz livres à Sedan, mesmes en françois et flameng, entre lesquelz estoit le martirologe des hugonantz commenceant de St Estienne, et ung dialogue du Pape avec le diable avec lequel enfin il s'accorde, mais qu'il doibt dissimuler pour le lieu et dignité qu'il tient' (the latter is a lampoon which has not yet come to light).⁵⁶ The dean writes also that Charles de Berlaymont, the governor of Namur and one of the pillars of the rule of the Governess Margaret of Parma, allowed the consignment to reach its destination, Antwerp, but in the company of two of his own men and with an urgent request to the Margrave of the town to make sure that those people who came to pick it up at the place to which it was addressed, the inn *De gouden Leeuw*, should be arrested. According to a document in the Antwerp archives the addressees were of foreign nationality: 'zekere coopluden uuyt Vranckrycke' ('certain merchants from France') – an astonishing feature since most of the books in question seem to have been in Dutch.⁵⁷ The Margrave, Jan van Immerseel, did not comply with the ingenious scheme. He was one of the members of the city magistracy who were suspected – rightly, as it later emerged – of secret sympathies with the revolt against the Spanish government. He confiscated the consignment at the city gates and can hardly have been surprised at the fact that the addressees never appeared, even after three appeals,⁵⁸ and thus resigned themselves to having the goods confiscated. Judging from the documents the barrels also contained some reams of

⁵⁵ *Correspondance du cardinal de Granvelle, 1565-1586*, ed. E. Pouillet, vol. I (Bruxelles 1877), in letter LXXXVI dated Bruxelles, le 30 juin 1566 (p. 340).

⁵⁶ *Correspondance*, op.cit. (n. 55), in an unnumbered letter ('Addition') dated Bruxelles, le 7 juillet 1566 (pp. 526 f.).

⁵⁷ *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 10 ([1874]), p. 5. The Antwerp records always mention five barrels. Had one been left behind in Namur?

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2 ([1865]), p. 385.

unprinted paper and, remarkable though it may seem, several articles of clothing and what were described as ‘other objects of little interest’. When sold to a dealer in second-hand clothes these items fetched what, in view of this description, seems the rather high price of 33 guilders and 10 stivers.⁵⁹ Berlaymont was particularly displeased with the failure of his plan and, in order to express his displeasure, he left the report he received from the Margrave unanswered.

THE ACTIVITIES IN SEDAN, 1565-7

On the basis of these documents it has been assumed⁶⁰ that the confiscated martyrology was the anonymous third edition of Adriaen van Haemstede’s well-known *Historien der vromer martelaren* (S 5), dated 1566.⁶¹ This work, first published in Emden in 1559 and reprinted there in 1565, does indeed begin with the life and death of St Stephen and thus corresponds to the description. The identification of the 1566 edition with the book mentioned by Morillon rests on the fact that this new reprint is augmented with a number of supplementary pieces of information about events which had occurred in the southern Netherlands after the appearance of the original 1559 edition.⁶² These include a remarkably extensive account of the persecution of Christophe Fabritius, in the altered and expanded form in which it appears both in the second edition of Wybo’s *Historie* and in the aforesaid French translation of the work. What is more logical than to spot the hand of the translator, Guy de Brès, in these additions? And since de Brès was still living in Sedan until July 1566 – soon after he made his way to Valenciennes, where he was to meet his end – the episode provides an indirect but convincing link between Sedan and the martyrology which, we see from a postscript dated 25 February 1566, was published shortly before his departure. This hypothesis is confirmed by the research of H. de la Fontaine Verwey, who showed that de Brès’ translation of Wybo’s book, *Histoire notable* (S 2),⁶³ came from the same press as Van Haemstede’s work. Finally,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 ([1874]), pp. 3 and 5.

⁶⁰ Langeraad, op. cit. (n. 52), pp. 60 f

⁶¹ BB (n. 9), vol. 3, pp. 378 f., no. H 172; also reproduced in Vanderhaeghen, Arnold & Van den Berghe, op. cit. (n. 54), vol. 2: *Recueils*, pp. 289 ff.; E. van der Vekene, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, pt. 13, no. 142: *Sedan (Ardenne)* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 48; Baden-Baden 1973), pp. 61-72, Goossen Goebens no. 3 (p. 64).

⁶² For a discussion of these additions, see C. Sepp, ‘De geschiedenis der martelaren door Adriaan Corn. van Haemstede’, in his *Geschiedkundige nasporingen*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1873), pp. 113 f., 120 ff., 128 f.

⁶³ Van der Vekene in *Répertoire*, op. cit. (n. 61), Goossen Goebens no. 1 (p. 64); *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgicarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop

any remaining uncertainty was swept away when the same scholar identified the press in Sedan by which both books were printed as that of the proto-typographer of the town, Goswinus Goeberi.⁶⁴

Until then only one piece of work by the man was known to exist, consisting of a single sheet with, suitably enough, a panegyric on the foundation of the printing-office. He gave his name in the colophon for the first, and apparently the last, time: 'A Sedan, Imprimé par Gosuin Goeberi. 1565. 17. Sept.'⁶⁵ De la Fontaine Verwey, the great expert on this period, established, on the basis of a comparison with the types used in this broadside, that both the *Historien der vromer martelaren* and the *Histoire notable* came off this particular printer's press.⁶⁶ At the same time he suggested plausibly that this was the same man whom we encountered earlier under the name of Goossen Goebens, which he was to use later when he had settled in Emden.⁶⁷ What is of particular interest for our further investigation is the hitherto unknown fact that the books were printed with the material which came from Haarlem and thus belong to the group I have just mentioned. They contain the complete collection of types and ornaments belonging to Jan van Zuren. There can thus be no

1968-94), quoted as: BT, no. 1460. A reprint, 'imprimé nouvellement' for Gabriel Perin in Leiden, 1614, is described in BB, vol. 3, pp. 475 f., no. H 147.

⁶⁴ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'La première imprimerie à Sedan et le poète Charles de Navières', *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain* (Paris 1968), pp. 215-22. For those who doubted Guy de Brès' involvement in the martyrology, this allocation entailed a difficulty; see J.-F. Gilmont, *Les martyrologes protestants du XVIe siècle. Essai de présentation générale* (Louvain 1966; thesis), pp. 333 ff.: 'Si des critères typographiques confirment l'identification, cette publication poserait un problème aux relations des ministres flamands et francophones en séjour à Sedan' (p. 339).

⁶⁵ Van der Vekene in *Répertoire*, op. cit. (n. 61), Goossen Goebens no. 2 (p. 64); previously described in [P. Deschamps], *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne [...]. Par un Bibliophile* (Paris 1870), col. 1159; J.B. Brincourt, 'Le premier imprimeur sedanais', *Bulletin trimestriel du Musée municipal de Sedan*, 2 (1888), pp. 101-8.

⁶⁶ De la Fontaine Verwey, art.cit. (n. 64), pp. 220 f.

⁶⁷ In Plantin's administration Goebens' patronymic only appears in the Latin form. In the 'Livre des ouvriers' (PMM, Arch. 31, ff. 17v.-18r.), where the wages paid were noted, he is entered on 3 June 1564 as Goswinck Gouberi. He signed Plantin's first printed labour regulation, 'Statuten, Articulen, ende Pointen, gheadviseert ende gheaccordeert [...] in dese Druckerye, ghenaeamt den Gulden Passer ...', with the name Gosuinus Goeberius; see the (reduced) reproduction in L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), vol. 2, Pl. 72. He may have been a grandson of the bookbinder Goossen Goebens mentioned in various Antwerp documents (Stadsarchief (Municipal Archives), Antwerp, Schepenregister, vol. 171 (1527), f. 287v., and vol. 182 (1532), f. 247r.). My thanks are due to Mrs E. Cockx-Indestege, who was so kind as to send me this information from Lode van den Branden's collection of archival documents concerning the Antwerp book trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, now kept and being prepared for the press in the Royal Library in Brussels.

doubt whatsoever: his printing shop was transferred in its entirety to Sedan and there began a new stage in its career, anonymous and in exile under a different management.

The occasional poem referred to above, obviously a private edition, is entitled *Le Dieu-gard de Navyere, à l'Imprimerie Sedanoise* (S 4). The author, Charles de Navières, who signed with his motto, 'Arbre d'Arbrisseau', was a young nobleman from Sedan who specialized in this form of poetry and who had written a sonnet for de Brès' *Histoire notable* a few months earlier.⁶⁸ In his *Dieu-Gard* he addresses himself to the personification of the Art of Printing ('Gentille ...') and pays homage to his prince: '... le Prince valeureux, Qui par la bien-vueillance à luy fort coustumiere. Maintenant t'introduit en sa ville premiere'.⁶⁹ This prince was the young Henri Robert de La Marck, Duke of Bouillon, who, like his father before him, behaved with the utmost independence of his overlord, the French king, and ruled as a sovereign prince.⁷⁰ Possibly also on account of the influence of Guy de Brès, whom he invited to Sedan in 1562 and who remained there for four years, both he and his wife had gone over to the Reformed religion. Under his rule the town turned into a Protestant centre with surprising speed, to start with because of a vast immigration of refugees, but soon because of developments among the citizens themselves, who accepted this mass arrival and the change of religion without any significant resistance.⁷¹ In 1564 there were already ten preachers in Sedan, partly refugees, out of a total of less than 3,500 inhabitants.⁷² Plans were made for the foundation of a Protestant seminary, which did indeed materialise – the Collège, the future university⁷³ – and a committee of lawyers, most of whom had fled their country for religious reasons, laboured to produce a new and modern constitution which was to appear in book form a few years later. In these circumstances the prospects for

⁶⁸ The poem is printed in Langeraad, op. cit. (n. 52), p. 164 note, after the Leiden reprint of the book (n. 63). For Charles de Navières, see, besides the above-mentioned article by De la Fontaine Verwey (n. 64), *idem*, 'The bookbindings of William of Orange', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 81-124 (pp. 107 ff., 119 ff.) and the literature listed there.

⁶⁹ See the reproduction of the original (reduced) in De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 64), facing p. 220. The poem is also printed in P. Congar, J. Lacaillon & J. Rousseau, *Sedan et le pays sedanais. Vingt siècles d'histoire* (Paris 1969), Pièce annexe no. 32.

⁷⁰ Congar, Lacaillon & Rousseau, op. cit. (n. 69), pp. 173 ff. and the earlier literature listed there; De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 64), pp. 216 ff. Genealogical information in J. de Chestret de Haneffe, *Histoire de la maison De la Marck, y compris les Clèves de la seconde race* (Liège 1898; repr. 1980), pp. 181-3.

⁷¹ Congar, Lacaillon & Rousseau, op. cit. (n. 69), pp. 183 ff.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 188, 207.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 219 ff.; pp. 192 f.

a Protestant printing-press were undoubtedly favourable. Such an establishment, moreover, fitted in so well with the policy of the prince⁷⁴ (and of his adviser Guy de Brès, who, as we saw, was also interested in it as an author) that he proved ready to support the plan. Whether this help went further than granting a patent and possibly providing other facilities is something we do not know. The flattering formulas used by the poet, customary in such cases, only mention the 'benevolence typical of the prince' in this matter. Had he been more immediately involved, and had he, for example, provided financial assistance, this would probably have been stated.

Apart from the favourable political and spiritual climate there were other factors which made of Sedan, when seen from the Netherlands, an attractive place in which to settle. The most important point was, of course, that it was possible to work there without being submitted to the censorship of Church or state. There was no fear of Spanish or French intervention since none of the authorities in either country were in a position to extend their persecution to that area. The town consequently offered the same safety which made various towns in the German border area so attractive to printers of forbidden books. The geographical situation was also favourable: a short distance from the border, on the river Meuse, which was navigable from Mezières and which consequently allowed transport by water to Namur. From there the most important land route in the southern Netherlands led to the centre of politics, religion, and the book and paper trade, Antwerp.

Besides Van Haemstede's *Historien*, there appeared in 1566, the second year in Sedan, nothing more than a French edition of the 'Smeekschrift', the famous petition of the nobility to the Governess (*Requête*, S 6)⁷⁵ and a reprint of *Een cort vervat* (S 7),

⁷⁴ For the assistance afforded by Henri-Robert and Guy de Brès to the struggle for religious freedom in the Netherlands, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 64), pp. 217 f. The two men took an active part in William of Orange's attempts to unite the contrasting views of Lutherans and Calvinists in formulas acceptable to both denominations. In connection with the establishment of the printing-office in Sedan, the author refers (p. 216) to the fact that Hendrik van Brederode was related to the Duke of Bouillon; his mother was a sister of Henri-Robert's grandfather Robert III de la Marck. This family relationship may have played a part in the realization of the plans, since there had long been a close connection between Dirck Coornhert and his brothers and Hendrik van Brederode and his sons. Brederode himself had no direct interest in the enterprise: since 1563 he had a press at his own disposal in Vianen.

⁷⁵ This edition of the original French wording of the petition and the pieces which were subsequently exchanged contains the so-called 'promesse', probably a semi-official promise on the part of a few knights of the Golden Fleece individually made to the nobles about abolishing the inquisition. Cf. F. Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien und der niederländische Aufstand*, vol. 2 ('s-Gravenhage 1907), pp. 634 f., and notes on p. 63 for literature on the subject. The idea that the promise was made public as the result of an indiscretion caused by the Calvinists can now be confirmed by the fact that the publication took place in Sedan. Hendrik van Brederode acted immediately and had an edition printed in Dutch by his own printer, Albert Christiaensz, without the 'promesse': *Propositie*

by the Lutheran preacher François Alardts (Alaers).⁷⁶ Even if we take into account the possibility that some publications of this year have been lost or have not yet been identified this output remains minute when compared with the production of the following year: at least eleven publications appeared in 1567. One of these contains the text of various petitions and requests made in 1561 by the Calvinist community in Antwerp (S 11).⁷⁷ Another is a reprint of *Dat dootbedde ende onderganck der Missen* (S 9), a fiercely anti-Catholic pamphlet in the form of a dialogue, a further edition of which had cost the Antwerp printer Jan Mollijs six years' banishment a few months earlier.⁷⁸ To the same category belongs a work which achieved a great success in France and elsewhere: *Het boeck vande Roomsche coopliden* (S 10), by Antoine Marcourt, a translation of his *Livre des marchans*. It is a biting satire in which the Church of Rome is described as a business enterprise and the materialistic life of its servants is ridiculed. The Dutch edition includes a preface by the anonymous translator in which he expresses himself in the most unflattering manner about

ende requeste ... (Vianen 1566); cf. De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 53), pp. 23 ff.

⁷⁶ *Een cort vervat van alle menschelijke insettinghen der Roomscher Kercke* (s.l. 1566; BT, no. 54). The first edition appeared in 1560, 'Gedruct tot Francfort', a spurious imprint concealing Hans de Braecker in Wesel (copy in Leiden, UL). The 1556 edition recorded by his biographers is a bibliographical ghost. François Alaers, or Alardts (Brussels, c.1530? - Wilster 1578) came to Antwerp in May 1566 from Kellinghausen in Holstein. He had been acting as minister there since 1564 after having performed in the same capacity in Norden, in East Frisia. He was arrested after his arrival in Antwerp, but was soon released and preached until his flight from the city in April 1567. Like so many Lutherans before Alva's descent on the Netherlands, he probably went first to Wesel. He later returned to northern Germany where he became minister in Wilster. On him, see *Biographie Nationale [...] de Belgique*, vol. 1 (Bruxelles 1866), cols. 151 ff.; *Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme*, vol. 2 (Kampen 1983), pp. 21 f.

⁷⁷ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1890-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter quoted as Kn, no. 152aa. It is a retrospective publication which reveals documents which had already been drawn up and submitted to the authorities in 1561. In the foreword the reasons are stated for issuing it. For a number of quotations from this introduction, see *La réforme et le protestantisme dans les Pays-Bas ...*, Catalogue no. 429 [...] Martinus Nijhoff (La Haye [1917]), no. 804.

⁷⁸ On this forbidden work, translated from the German of Niklaus Manuel, see J.M. de Bujanda, *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1559, 1558* (Index des livres interdits, 2; Sherbrooke/Genève 1986), pp. 354 f., no. 357. Of an earlier Dutch edition described in J.G.T. Graesse, *Thésor de livres rares et précieux ou Nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*, vol. 7 (Supplément) (Dresde, [etc.], 1869), p. 423, an incomplete copy appeared at the auction of the C.A. Rahlenbeck collection: *Troubles religieux aux XVI et XVII siècles [...]*. Vente 10-12 octobre 1904 ... (Amsterdam, Frederik Muller & Cie., [1904]), no. 264, 3°. Its present location is unknown to me. Apparently the printer was Willem Gailliart, who gives his address as 'buyten Straesborch'. This probably means that he printed the book in about 1553/4 before settling in Emden. He was presumably then working in Büderich, close to Wesel. No copy has hitherto come to light of the confiscated edition of Jan Mollijs either.

certain representatives of the trade and their business mentality.⁷⁹

More important objects of publication, from a commercial point of view, were three far larger works: Bullinger's *Huysboeck* (S 8), his collected sermons,⁸⁰ and two different editions of *Het Nieuwe Testament* (S 12-13)⁸¹ – all in translations by the Calvinist Joannes Dyrkinus which had previously appeared in Emden. The *Huysboeck* and one of the New Testaments display on their title-page a new device representing a fig-tree being chopped down by a man, with the motto: 'Alle boom die gheen goede vruchten brenghen sullen afghehouden ende int vier gheworpen worden. Matte. III. Cap.' ('Every tree therefore that does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire. Matt. III').⁸² Neither representation nor motto, controversial in this period of religious warfare, had ever been used before. The other New Testament has a printer's device which was pirated from Jean Crespin, the Protestant publisher in Geneva: a serpent winding around an anchor that is held by two hands appearing from a cloud.⁸³ In none of the books do we find any mention

⁷⁹ For this translation, see G. Berthoud, *Antoine Marcourt, réformateur et pamphlétaire, du 'Livre des marchans' aux placards de 1534* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 129; Genève 1973), pp. 146 ff. and p. 297, no. II, with a reproduction of the title-page. The French original appeared in 1533 and had already been reprinted at least six times, while two English translations had also been issued. In view of what follows we may wonder whether the translation is not by Frans Coornhert, who translated further works from the French; cf. Van Berckel, art.cit. (n. 13), pp. 14 f. He came from a family of businessmen and started his own career as the co-proprietor of a brewery from which, however, he soon retired. May the sharp attack on certain business practices not have been a reflection of his own experiences in earlier years?

⁸⁰ J. Staedtke, *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Heinrich Bullinger, I; Zürich 1972), no. 199; W. Hollweg, *Heinrich Bullingers Hausbuch. Eine Untersuchung über die Anfänge der reformierten Predigtliteratur* (Neukirchen 1956), pp. 82 ff., 94 f. ('Emden'). The book is a reprint of the original edition of this translation which was published by Gillis van der Erven in 1563. Cf. Staedtke no. 198 and Hollweg pp. 91 ff.

⁸¹ P.H. Vogel, 'Der niederländische Bibeldruck in Emden 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), hereafter quoted as Vogel, pp. 162-71, nos. 21 and 21a (p. 170). These, too, are pirated reprints of a book the original edition of which was published by Van der Erven in 1559 (Vogel 4). He himself reprinted it several times, after which Willem Gailliart prepared a new edition in 1566 (Vogel 20). With the take-over of the recently deceased Van der Erven's firm, the publisher's rights of this version had obviously been transferred to the new owner.

⁸² P.H. Vogel, 'Die Druckermarken in den Emdener niederländischen Bibeldrucken 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 37 (Mainz 1962), pp. 456-8 (p. 458), with a reduced reproduction of the title-page of the New Testament (fig. 3). Another reproduction, also (slightly) reduced, in D. Stoker, 'Anthony de Solempne: attributions to his press', *The Library*, 6th S., 3 (1981), pp. 17-32, Pl. I B, facing p. 22, where the publication is wrongly ascribed to Emden (p. 25).

⁸³ A reproduction of the title-page is to be found in P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (illus. 8 on p. 102). For the original woodcut device cf. J.-F. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin, un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle* (Genève

of the town of origin although the two New Testaments do bear an imprint on the title-page: 'Ghedruckt by Lenaert der Kinderen. Anno 1567.'

This piece of information is surprising – not only because it claims that the press was again under a new management, but above all because this successor of Goebens was the mysterious Lenaert der Kinderen, whose movements seemed so hard to follow that at one point his very existence was doubted.⁸⁴ The first works to appear with his imprint were a New Testament of 1562/3 and a Bible of 1563, both of which share the peculiarity of having been printed in Italics and of consequently differing from all other Bible editions in Dutch. Although it was believed that they were published in Emden, I have tried to demonstrate recently that the true place of printing was Kampen and that they were produced there as the result of an initiative taken by Plantin together with the founder of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes. What is certain is that Lenaert (or Leonard) der Kinderen afterwards remained in Emden and worked there as a printer and publisher. Plantin twice provided him with paper, the second and largest consignment of which was probably wholly or mainly intended for a reprint of the 1562/3 New Testament which appeared under his name in 1565. On the basis of an analysis of the types used, we can assume that the book was actually produced in the printing shop of Willem Gailliart in Emden. At the end of that same year, Lenaert left the town for Antwerp, where he worked in the *Officina* as Plantin's principal compositor of Dutch texts from early January to 16 October 1566.⁸⁵ As his style of book making can already be discerned in the 1566 reprint of François Alaers (Alardts), *Een cort verrat* (S 7), he must have moved quickly to Sedan. For his new post he apparently broke his contract with Plantin. The latter reacted furiously and called his former assistant a fraud and a liar when he drew the balance of Lenaert's account.

I said earlier that one of the books of the group in question, a translation of the (first) *Pasquillus ecstaticus* by Celio Secondo Curione (E 2),⁸⁶ bears the imprint 'Tot Embden', but that it is uncertain whether that piece of information was true or was simply intended to mislead the authorities. The question now is whether we can

1981), Pl. 2, no. 7. This copy, or replica, is not among the 'contrefaçons' represented on Pl. 13-15.

⁸⁴ H.F. Wijnman, 'Grepren uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden (2): De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51 (pp. 140 ff.). The author believed Lenaert der Kinderen to be a pseudonym of Willem Gailliart.

⁸⁵ PMM, Arch. 31 ('Livre des ouvriers'), f. 48v. Lenaert's work for Gailliart's is discussed in Valckema Blouw, art.cit. (n. 83), pp. 93 ff. and 113 ff.

⁸⁶ For the two existing versions of Curione's *Pasquillus ecstaticus*, see M. Kutter, *Celio Secondo Curione. Sein Leben und sein Werk (1503-1569)* (Basel/Stuttgart 1955), pp. 102 ff. The Dutch translation is recorded on p. 284 with no. A 4. 4.

relate this alleged place of origin to the existence in that town of the 'Alle boom' printer Der Kinderen or whether we are simply dealing with a coincidence.

ANOTHER MOVE: TO EMDEN, 1567/8

Emden, at the mouth of the river Ems in East Frisia, is a town which, like Sedan, experienced major changes in a very short time. Until 1553 it was a small port on the North Sea just off the great trade routes, with about 2,000 inhabitants. At the end of that year a large group of Dutch refugees in London obtained permission from the magistracy to settle there. They had had to leave England as a result of the recent succession to the throne whereby the young Edward VI was succeeded by his Catholic sister Mary, and the hitherto tolerant attitude of the authorities towards their religious persuasions changed radically. After a difficult voyage and after being refused asylum elsewhere, some two hundred refugees disembarked in Emden. In later years, especially after 1567, when the Duke of Alva, the newly appointed governor of the Netherlands under King Philip II of Spain, had arrived in the Netherlands, they were followed by thousands of companions in distress, who fled from their country on account of religious persecution but sometimes also because of economic considerations. These groups of Netherlanders from both the north and the south not only swelled the population of the town, but gave such an impulse to the economic development with their capital, their business knowledge and their commercial acumen that in the first half of the 1570s the trade turnover surpassed even that of Amsterdam, the most important port in Holland.⁸⁷

The refugees included two printers who had had to interrupt a successful career in London: Niclaes van den Berghe (Nicholas Hill)⁸⁸ and Steven Mierdmans,

⁸⁷ See the statistics 'Emdens und Amsterdams Sundverkehr von 1536-1604', in H. de Buhr, *Die Entwicklung Emdens in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg 1967; thesis), p. 202. Not until this last year, 1604, did Amsterdam again overtake Emden's share in this traffic. Various of the leading merchants in Amsterdam had in the meantime settled in Emden for religious or commercial reasons. 'Diese Amsterdamer Herren bedeuteten ziemlich soviel, wie die ganze Kaufmannschaft des damaligen Emden'; B. Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schifffahrt im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1910), p. 214.

⁸⁸ The typographical investigations of Frank Isaac have made it clear that Hill/Van den Berghe was one of the two or three greatest jobbing printers in London. His printing-office remained behind when he left that city in 1553. The material came into the hands of John Kingston and his partner Henry Sutton, who had probably taken over the business together. It is not altogether clear what part Van den Berghe subsequently played in Emden in setting up an entirely new press which Gillis van der Erven/Ctematius appears to have owned a little later. H.F. Wijnman assumes that Van den Berghe was the first proprietor, that he printed anonymously for the English market, and that he also published certain books in Dutch with the spurious imprint 'Buyten Londen, by Collinus Volckwinner'; see his 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Olden-

the second of whom had originally settled in Antwerp.⁸⁹ They set up new presses in Emden and, particularly with their successors, Gillis van der Erven (Aegidius Ctematius) and Willem Gailliart, the town turned within a few years into the major producer of Protestant books, including Bible editions, in the Dutch language area: for fifteen years these publishing firms dominated a large part of the market.⁹⁰ The circumstances that made this possible were largely the same as the ones we encounter later in Sedan: the secure situation of the town outside the reach of the Inquisition and the authorities in the Netherlands, the excellent communications by ship over the sea or along the rivers, which were difficult for the government to control, and, above all, a magistracy which granted religious freedom to the emigrants and allowed them to practice their religion in public.

In order to answer the question whether Curione's *Pasquillus* really came from Emden as the title-page suggests, we should turn our attention to certain pieces of evidence in the book itself (illus. 6). The translator of this anti-Papist satire dedicated his work to the bailiff of Emden, Unico Manninga, the most zealous supporter of the Netherlanders in this town. Manninga was also particularly devoted to their political cause and many of them, including some personal collaborators

borch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [1968]), pp. 467 f. Only after Van den Berghe's death in 1557 would Van der Erven have succeeded him. On the other hand it has to be admitted that not a single Emden publication has survived bearing Van den Berghe's name and that certain books with Ctematius' imprint already appeared in 1555. Isaac's attribution of the entire English-language production to Van der Erven is thus probably correct even if Van den Berghe may well have been involved financially. Cf. F. Isaac, 'Egidius van der Erve and his English printed books', *The Library*, 4th S., 12 (1931/2), pp. 336-52; with an addition by A.F. Johnson, *ibid.*, 5th S., 4 (1949-50), p. 274.

⁸⁹ Steven Mierdman(s) was also one of the main printers in London who worked for a third party and he, too, had to leave his business behind. It was taken over by John Cawood, probably together with Richard Jugge. In Emden Steven set up a new printing-office and, until his death in January 1559, produced a number of books the most important of which were the first two Emden Bible editions; cf. Vogel (n. 81), nos. 1 and 3. A fellow financier of the enterprise was the businessman Jan Gailliart, who later took over the firm and placed his son Willem as its head; cf. Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 88), pp. 468 ff. For Mierdman's activities, notably in London, see C. Clair, art. cit. (n. 50), *passim*. For the Gailliarths, father and son, and Van der Erven, see also H.F. Wijnman, 'Grep en uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (I): De totstandkoming van de Emdense uitgaven van de Liesveldt-Bijbel uit 1559 en volgende jaren', *Het Boek*, 36 (1963-4), pp. 140-68 (Gailliart: pp. 148 ff., 166 f.).

⁹⁰ The position of Emden was not in fact so predominant as has hitherto been thought: by no means all anonymously published Bible editions said to be from Emden were actually printed in that town. The nos. 6, 7, 9-13, 16, 21 and 21a described in Vogel, art. cit. (n. 81), for example, were not produced in Emden. For other revised attributions of Dutch books to Emden, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Een onbekende doperse drukkerij in Friesland', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 37-63 (pp. 54 ff.).

of William of Orange, gratefully availed themselves of his hospitality at his castle of Lützburg (one such was Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, who wrote his famous *Bienkorf der H. Roomsche Kercke* (1569) there). As an expression of gratitude for Unico's support, the translator addresses him as '... a protector of the true and pure doctrine which Your Honour, also as the highest mandatory of our Worthy Lords the brothers Edzard and Johann, Counts of East Frisia, etc., allows to be observed in this town of Emden.'⁹¹ These words show that the writer himself was an inhabitant of Emden. He also signs his address with his initials, F.V.C. – and this allows us to establish his identity: Frans Volckertsz Coornhert, the second of the three brothers.⁹² He had had to leave his home town when his position in Amsterdam became untenable after the fall of Vianen. Together with his elder brother Clement he fled to Emden in the train of Hendrik van Brederode. There the two brothers played an important part as leaders of the Dutch refugees and of the Dutch Reformed Community.⁹³

So we have a book with the imprint 'Tot Embden', the town in which the translator himself seems to have been living. The man to whom the work was dedicated lived in the close vicinity of the town, and in the dedication we find references to the local religious situation. In view of all this it seems odd to search for the publisher in Sedan, so many hundreds of miles away in another country, while someone like Willem Gailliart could easily have produced such an edition quite nearby. This unlikelihood is one reason for looking in other books of the same group to see if we can find any indications that make Emden seem the probable, or at least the acceptable, place of origin.

Our investigation does not provide any direct evidence unless we wish to regard as such something recorded in one of the copies of *Warachtighe beschryvinge* (E 3). On

⁹¹ '... een grootgunner is van de oprechte suyvere leere, die uwe Erntf. ooc als overste ghecommiteerde van wegghen onse G. Heeren Edzaert ende Johan gebroederen, Graven tot Oostvrieslandt etc. binnen deser stadt Emden doet onderhouden' (f. [*6]).

⁹² Prof. H. de la Fontaine Verwey informs me that Bruno Becker was the first to recognize the initials F.V.C. as those of Frans Volckertsz Coornhert. I have been unable to find a statement on the matter in Becker's works, however. For an earlier attribution to the Frisian nobleman Foppe van Camstra, see *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 1851, p. 384. Sepp, op. cit. (n. 78), p. 123, ascribed the translation to Foppe van Cammingha and erroneously mentions an earlier edition of the dialogue in Dutch – a mistake based on a confusion of titles.

⁹³ For the history of the Dutch reformed community in Emden in these years, cf. A.A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland, in hunne beteekenis voor de reformatie in de Nederlanden* (s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 114 ff. See also H. Schilling, 'Reformierte Kirchenzucht als Sozialdisziplinierung? Die Tätigkeit des Emder Presbyteriums in den Jahren 1557-1562', *Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschland. Studien zur Regional- und Stadtgeschichte Nordwestkontinentaleuropas im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit: Franz Petri zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. W. Ehbrecht & H. Schilling (Köln/Wien, 1983), pp. 261-327 (pp. 296 ff.).

the title-page of the copy now in Brussels, before the date, we find the inscription 'Embden' in what looks like a contemporary hand.⁹⁴ But, as I said earlier, the tendency to place the provenance of prohibited books in that town developed at an early stage, so we cannot set any great store by this sort of ascription. The work is a translation of *Commentaires de l'estat de la Religion* which goes under the name of Pierre de la Place.⁹⁵ The (anonymous) translator of the book was Jan Fruytiers, one of the many men who were not prepared to await Alva's arrival and who sought refuge in East Frisia. This, too, could suggest that Emden was the place of publication – if he went there directly. There is no evidence of his presence there before 1570, however, and it is perfectly possible that he first spent some time elsewhere after his departure from Antwerp.⁹⁶

Our group also includes a publication with the heading 'By den Coninc' (E 5), containing the text of a proclamation issued by the Governess in 1566 and concerning trade with England. It is very unlikely that there could have been any interest in this document in the area round Sedan, in contrast to Emden where Dutchmen had large-scale interests in overseas trade and took a most active part in it. On the other hand two more books provide us with no concrete evidence about their place of publication. One is Herman Moded's *Apologie* (E 4), dated at the end: 'Wt Maestricht [...] den 9. Januarij 1567'. The town is somewhere between Sedan and Emden, but we know that in these months the author covered large distances in order to preach in numerous localities.⁹⁷ *Een claer bewijs* (E 1), the last publication of

⁹⁴ Brussels, Royal Library, shelf-mark II, 26.274. For the title, see J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), no. B 353.

⁹⁵ [Pierre de la Place], *Commentaires de l'estat de la religion et republique soubz les rois Henry et François seconds et Charles neuvième* (s.l. 1565). In the following year there appeared, also without an imprint, a new edition with the title: *Histoire de notre temps, contenant les commentaries ...* (s.l. 1566). See H. Hauser, *Le seizième siècle (1494-1610)* (Les sources de l'histoire de la France depuis ses origins jusqu'en 1789, ed. A. Molinier et al., pt. 2 [=Manuels de bibliographie historique, 3]; Paris 1909), p. 165, no. 1262; Eug. & Em. Haag, *La France protestante, ou vies des protestants français ...*, 10 vols. (Paris 1846-59), vol. 6, pp. 312 ff.

⁹⁶ For Fruytiers, see F.K.H. Kossmann in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 6 (Leiden 1924; repr. Amsterdam 1974), cols. 526-9; W.A.P. Smit, *Dichters der Reformatie in de zestiende eeuw* (Groningen/Batavia, 1939), pp. 109 ff. Fruytiers' presence in East Frisia emerges from his *Corte beschrijvinghe vanden ellendighen [...] watervloet [...] op den eersten Novembris anno [15]70 in allen landen aen de Noortzee*. This verse account of a natural catastrophe appeared in 1571 without an imprint, but the material used shows that Goossen Goebens published it in Emden. For the full title, see Machiels, op. cit. (n. 93), no. F 384.

⁹⁷ On his restless life, see A.A. van Schelven in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1914; repr. Amsterdam 1974), cols. 862-74. For Moded's *Apologie*, see W. Bax, *Het Protestantisme in het bisdom Luik en vooral te Maastricht, 1505-1612*, 2 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1937-41), vol. 2, pp. 134 ff.

1567 in this group, is a translation of the important work by the Heidelberg theologian and professor Zacharias Ursinus about the eucharistic controversy, a matter of such widespread interest that either town could have been the place of printing.⁹⁸ Finally, in the following year, there appeared *Corte apologie ofte ontschuldinge der Nederlandscher Christenen* (E 6). The anonymous Dutch author of this Reformed treatise makes several mentions in his foreword, dated 1 March 1568, of 'onse Ghemeynte' ('our community'). At this particular time this could easily apply to Emden, but hardly to Antwerp and certainly not to Sedan.⁹⁹

So the result is not definitive: there are various arguments in favour of Emden but not one is decisive. In assessing them we should also take into account the fact that the removal of a printing-office over so great a distance and to another country is a most unusual phenomenon – the move of the above-mentioned printers from England is hardly comparable since both Van den Berghe and Mierdmans were forced by circumstances beyond their control to leave their business behind in London and start all over again in their haven of refuge. How can we establish whether we are here dealing with one of those rare cases and whether the press did indeed make the long journey from Sedan to Emden?

Here, too, a typographical investigation provides us with an answer, for it shows us that the Haarlem material is used in a book published at the end of June 1569 by a certain Jean Malet (a new name in the printing world of the time): Heinrich Bullinger's *Teghens de Wederdoopers* (E 7).¹⁰⁰ (illus. 7.) Besides the translation of the reformer's work, the book contains a number of extensive additions to the text which provide us with important information about the Dutch Anabaptists

(p. 137), with 2 reproductions; G.J. Brutel de la Rivière, *Het leven van Hermannus Moded ...* (Haarlem 1879) contains, in an appendix, a reprint of the book, which together with the publication 'By den Coninc' are the only editions within the group which do not have any woodcut ornaments. Their ascription is thus based solely on the types used and is therefore not as certain as that of the books which contain initials. The occurrence of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura in its earliest form (see n. 105) with the additional characteristic of the B standing below the line is so exceptional in printed work of this period that I believe it to justify the attribution.

⁹⁸ Cf. n. 40. Translation of: *Gründlicher Bericht vom heiligen Abendmal unsers Herren Jesu Christi ...*, published in 1564, probably in Heidelberg. The book differs from others with Jan van Zuren's device of the bee and the spider since the woodcut is provided with a legend in letterpress: 'Naturae sequitur semina quisque suae', later quoted by Hadrianus Junius in his *Emblemata* as a saying by Ovid. Cf. Laceulle-van de Kerk, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 57 f.

⁹⁹ P.A. Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamphletten. Eerste afdeeling. Verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam ...*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1858-61), no. 80. The only scholar, as far as I know, to have paid any attention to the work is Charles Rahlenbeck in *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 16 (1860), p. 31, who, apparently basing himself exclusively on the title, believed it to be a Dutch edition of the *Libellus supplex* of 1570!

¹⁰⁰ Staedtke, op. cit. (n. 80), nos. 398-9: 2 issues, only with different title-pages.

and kindred sectarians like David Joris and Hendrik Niclaes. The supplementary parts, like the translation of the work itself, were by a minister who had since died, Gerhardus Nicolai, an East Frisian divine who lived in Norden, not far from Emden, in 1566/7.¹⁰¹ Malet, an Antwerp corn merchant, had settled there recently in Emden as a refugee and appears to have taken over the printing-office.¹⁰² On the title-page of the book we read ‘Ghedruct tot Embden ...’, while he refers to himself as the publisher in his dedication to Countess Amelia von Neuenahr, the remarried widow of Hendrik van Brederode. In the same dedication he also mentions the great difficulties and expenses entailed by the publication of the work. That he had indeed become the owner of the press emerges from a payment entered in the municipal accounts of Emden for the delivery of ‘mandaten’ (presumably placards) which was made posthumously to his widow.¹⁰³ He thus died soon after the appearance of his edition of Bullinger’s work, which seems to have been his only production in book form.

In this book we not only find many of Jan van Zuren’s types, but also various specimens of the three sets of initials which he owned (illus. 8). This proves that the printing-office had indeed been moved a second time and from Haarlem, via Sedan, had come to rest in Emden. A further question concerns the time at which this took place. It was almost certainly in the course of 1567 (we only know of a single publication in 1568), but how should we divide up the production of that year and establish what was printed in Sedan and what in Emden?

Here, too, the types provide us with some evidence since an alteration took place in the course of 1567 in the inventory of the press which had remained unchanged

¹⁰¹ Nicolai’s additions are reproduced separately in *Zestiende-eeuwsche schrijvers over de geschiedenis der oudste Doopsgezinden hier te lande*, ed. S. Cramer (Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, 7; ‘s-Gravenhage 1910), pp. 269-487: ‘Gerardus Nicolai’s inlasschingen in het vertaalde werk van Bullinger “Teghens de Wederdoopers, Embden, int jaer M.D.LXIX”’; see also B. Becker, ‘Nicolai’s inlassching over de Franckisten’, *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 18 (1925), pp. 286-96.

¹⁰² The dedication is signed: ‘Embden, desen 21. Junij, 1569. Jehan Malet’. His name also appears as Molet. Johan Molet is mentioned on 31 March 1567 (1568 NS) as having fled from Antwerp, where he was charged with *lèse-majesté*. Cf. *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 10 ([1874]), p. 10. On 15 February 1569 (1570 NS) Jehan Malet appears in a list of men condemned to banishment; *ibid.*, 12 ([1876]), p. 437. See also A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le Conseil des troubles. Liste des condamnés (1567-1573)* (Bruxelles 1961), p. 293: ‘Jehan Malet, marchand de grains, Anvers’. He is mentioned there as being married to Magdalena Nys, *ibid.* p. 314.

¹⁰³ ‘Johan Moelet bethaelt 2 gulden 5 schap van mandaten tho drucken vor der stadt’ (Stadtarchiv Emden, Kammerei-Rechnung, 8 Oct. 1570); quoted from a report by F. Ritter, in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. 7 (‘s-Gravenhage 1910), p. 279. He died before 25 August 1570, on which date Mary Cambri is mentioned as his widow in a document which also refers to goods ‘so van Johan Mallet, oir voerige man saliger, nagelaten’ (‘left by Johan Mallet, our deceased former husband’). Had he remarried (cf. n. 102) or was the corn merchant someone else?

since the beginning. The Textura text type, which had been in use since the Haarlem period, appears to have been replaced by a somewhat larger and heavier fount of the same sort. The first typeface was a Pica of the Lettersnijder design as it had developed in the southern Low Countries, with a long-tailed f and long s (except in most ligatures) and a curved, slender y. Owing to these letter forms, which are more graceful than the original design, the face fitted in better with the Texturas on other bodies current in these areas and the elegance of which reveals their French origin. Suddenly, however, this type is replaced here by another, far older one: Lettersnijder's Pica Textura in its original form, with a short f and long s which stand on the line and the characteristic 'square' y composed of straight strokes.¹⁰⁴

We can only guess at the cause of this change. It is possible that during the long journey the box with the matrices of the Pica Textura was lost or damaged. In order to replace this indispensable text type, the owner or the manager of the press obviously availed himself of an opportunity closer by than Antwerp, viz. in Delft, where the firm of the Lettersnijders, father and son, was now run by their successor Simon Jansz.¹⁰⁵ One consideration in this choice was perhaps that, in contrast to Sedan and the southern Netherlands, the press was now encountering a new market, which was still accustomed to the original Lettersnijder face. In nearly all the printing-offices of the northern Netherlands – Emden is just outside that area – the type was still in use in this traditional form. With its sturdy and somewhat solemn appearance it was so well suited to the national character of these parts that it survived, with minor alterations, for another two hundred years. There may thus have been commercial considerations which impelled the press to follow this particular preference on the part of the public. Had the printing-office still been in Sedan, on the other hand, it would be hard to account for this choice for, in the south, this earlier version of the face was at this time almost exclusively used by smaller printers for publications of a simpler and more popular nature.

It is possible that another factor also played a part: the Haarlem Pica Textura was identical in every detail to that of Willem Gailliart. This colleague was (rightly) suspected of having printed such controversial books as the works of Sebastian Franck¹⁰⁶ and other authors, like the Anabaptist Menno Simons, not accepted even

¹⁰⁴ On the early history of his typefaces, see W. & L. Hellinga, op. cit. (n. 5), vol. 1, pp. 95 ff. and vol. 2, Pls. 271-2; B. Kruitwagen, 'De incunabeldrukker en lettersteker Henric Pieterssoen die Lettersnider van Rotterdamme (c. 1470-1511)', *De Gulden Passer*, 1 (1923), pp. 5-43.

¹⁰⁵ For adjusting matrices a strike was apparently used from the original set of punches. This emerges from the A without a thorn and the z with an angular tail, for which letters Henric Lettersnijder soon designed other forms. In the adjustment of the matrices the B sank below the line. – For the later development of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura (T 30), see Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 7), pp. 140 ff.

¹⁰⁶ K. Kaczerowsky, *Sebastian Franck Bibliographie. Verzeichnisse von Francks Werken, der von ihm gedruckten Bücher sowie der Sekundär-Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1976), nos. A 56, 57, 81, 82, III, 126, 132, 133 and 148;

in tolerant Emden.¹⁰⁷ There was a danger that the newcomers might be accused of producing one or more of these suspect publications which naturally always appeared without an imprint. Perhaps they preferred to use another text type in order to avoid such a risk. Such an explanation is a little far-fetched, however, and what probably happened was that new matrices were needed at short notice and were purchased where they could be obtained as quickly as possible.

The ins and outs of the affair are only of minor relevance to my argument. The principal point is, I think, that the replacement of one Textura by another may provide us, thanks to the situation and time in which it occurred, with the dividing line between the two periods of the press' activity. In my opinion the transition can be regarded as a reliable means of attributing publications to Sedan or to Emden – even if this hypothesis cannot be proved, since typefaces can indeed indicate a press but, unless they are accompanied by subsidiary information, they cannot reveal the place of printing. Now what emerges if we apply this typographical criterion? We ascertain a division of the production in the two towns which fully corresponds to the above ascriptions based on the content of the various publications. I believe that this can hardly be a coincidence, but should be regarded, rather, as a confirmation of the course of events I have suggested.

The place of publication established hardly gives rise to any surprises, if we except the fact that Lenaert der Kinderen now appears to have published his 1567 New Testaments not in Emden, as he did in 1565, but in Sedan. This is an unexpected outcome, even if the 'Alle boom' device in one of these could lead one to suspect it, and it raises the questions of how he arrived there, what his relations were with Goossen Goebens, and what his position was in the printing-house.

THE PRINTERS: GOOSSEN GOEBENS AND LENAERT DER KINDEREN

So far I have discussed the origins of the press, the towns in which, and the material with which, it worked, and its position in political and religious matters. It was

A 100 was probably printed by Willem Gailliart before he settled in Emden. See also B. Becker, 'Nederlandsche vertalingen van Sebastiaan Franck's geschriften', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 21 (1928), pp. 149-60.

¹⁰⁷ In 1562 there appeared an anonymous reprint of Menno Simons' main work *Een Fondament ende clare aenwijzinghe van de salichmakende leere Jesu Christi*. The Consistory in Emden accused Willem Gailliart of having printed the book, but he denied it. Cf. F. Ritter in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden*, 15 (1903), p. 526; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 84), p. 141. For arguments that Gailliart was indeed the printer of the work, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 158-83', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-33 (pp. 315 f.).

also possible to give a survey of what was published and of the changing character of the output in its different periods of activity. I have hardly said anything about the printers, however – the typographers whose expertise was responsible for the material production of the books and the form they assumed. And yet they are an important element not only in the production process but also in our investigation. A closer glance at their activity, based on the work they printed, can help us to clarify certain obscure points in the history of the firm.

In none of the documents dealing with the first Haarlem period of the enterprise can anything be found relating to the technical side, the printing itself, and to those who were involved in it. Jan van Zuren, as we saw, was not a printer by profession any more than his partners. They thus had to rely on an expert who was responsible for the entire process of type setting and printing. In view of the character of the publications and the role which their external appearance was to play in marketing the products, the success of the venture was to depend to a great extent on the quality of his work. The partners needed a first-class man, a typographer in full command of his trade and above all an expert compositor. The results show that such a man was indeed found: the partners' choice proved himself an excellent craftsman in the first book produced by the press and his later work confirmed this in all respects.

It is therefore all the more remarkable that he cannot be identified with one of the printers active in Holland at an earlier or later period. This is because his style of composition, strongly influenced by French models, differs too greatly from the traditional manner of making books used by his colleagues in the north. It took at least another ten years before anything similar was produced by their presses,¹⁰⁸ and we can thus assume that the man's stay was provisional and that he left Haarlem after his contract had expired. Everything points to the fact that he came from the south: in the first place the appearance of his work, the manner in which he set the pages in the Roman and Italic typefaces which were new to Holland. He thereby displayed a feeling for composition with this material which betrays an experience he can only have obtained in the southern Netherlands or perhaps in France. Another characteristic detail of his work is the use, in Textura printing, of Arabic numerals in the signatures instead of the Roman numerals normally used in

¹⁰⁸ The first book to reach an international level of elegance after all these years was *Nova poemata*, by Janus Dousa (van der Does), published in 1575 'In nova academia nostra Lugdunensi', the recently founded Leiden University. The book appeared under the auspices of Jan van Hout, clerk both of the town and of the new institution who, three years later, established the Leiden town press. The anonymous printer was Andries Verschout, who came from Antwerp for this commission and settled in Leiden. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'De eerste drukkers voor de stad Leiden (1574-78): Jan Moyt Jacobsz en Andries Verschout', *Uit Leidse bron geleverd. Studies over Leiden en de Leidenaren aangeboden aan Drs. B. N. Leverland* (Leiden 1989), pp. 407-16.

the north. Various printers in Antwerp and Louvain observed this French custom, but where Holland is concerned the publications of the Haarlem press are the earliest examples I know.¹⁰⁹

Presumably Jan van Zuren, alone or together with Coornhert, went to Antwerp to buy matrices and other typographical material and there found the expert he was looking for. His name is not mentioned but in view of the later developments I regard it as very probable that the choice fell on Gosuinus Goeberi – the same man whom we already encountered in Sedan. He was called Goossen Goebens. That was the name under which he was to settle as an independent printer in Emden, but the Latin form of his patronymic also appears in Plantin's account books. If my assumption is correct, he worked for a year in Haarlem: his first book, Cicero's *Officia* (H 1), has a privilege dated 16 July 1561, while his last one, Seneca's *Van den Weldaden* (H 9), is dated 30 June 1562. About that time, as we saw, the company was broken up and his contract ended. With the exception of an uncertain little work of 1563 (H 10) the production only started again with the publication of the *Statuta* of the new diocese (H 12), which appeared in May 1564 (as the book itself informs us), and of Coornhert's partial translation of the *Decamerone* (H 11) which was accorded a privilege by the Court of Brussels on 9 May of that year. What we do not know is whether Goossen Goebens was again the printer, but from a chronological point of view he might have been. On 3 June 1564 he received his first payment from Plantin when he went to work for him as a composer for one year (he received his last payment exactly a year later).¹¹⁰ The entry refers to four days' work, so that he may have started on the last day of May, and this date follows the termination of the last Haarlem publication: the intermediary period might have been sufficient for the completion of that book and the journey back to Antwerp. Although the possibility cannot be excluded, therefore, there is no evidence that he did indeed work a second time in Haarlem. What is certain is that he was not involved, six months later, in the printing of an official publication for the Haarlem magistracy. This simple placard (H 14) may have been the work of someone who had acted as a pressman under Goebens: a certain Herman van Harlem entered Plantin's service as 'imprimeur' at the end of 1565.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ There followed, for the time being as the sole exception, the humanist teacher Herman Schinckel, who set up a printing-press in Delft in 1564. He had probably learned his craft in Louvain. On his life and sad end, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey. op. cit. (n. 40), *passim*. A large part of the public in the northern Netherlands were still less accustomed to Arabic numerals than to Roman and Italic types. When the publishers of Bibles and New Testaments started to numerate the verses, they found themselves obliged to print a concordance in their editions which made it possible to convert Arabic numerals into Roman ones. The frequent occurrence of these lists showed that they were answering a real need.

¹¹⁰ PMM, Arch. 31 ('Livre des ouvriers'), f. 17v.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, f. 26v. His activity with Plantin lasted from the end of October 1565 (he received his first

After Goebens had ended his activities in the *Officina* (he was later to return there for a brief period), we find him, as I said earlier, in Sedan at the head of the Haarlem press which had in the meantime been transferred and reorganized. He lost no time: the *Historie* (S 3) has a foreword dated 20 June 1565, a date which suggests that he had come to the town at the beginning of the same month immediately after he left Antwerp.¹¹² In the previous month he may also have seen to the preparations for the instalment of the printing-office, since he only worked for Plantin for a few days in May.¹¹³ The resumption of the production of the press in June suggests that the move from Haarlem took place in May at the latest. In September he gave his name as the publisher of Charles de Navière's panegyric, so his position in the firm obviously meant that he was free to print such an occasional publication in his own name. In June 1566, again after working for one year, he returned to Antwerp, but not before dispatching, by boat via Namen, a large number of copies of the martyrology together with other printed matter and some reams of unprinted paper. He may have accompanied the consignment himself to Antwerp, but his presence did not prevent the barrels from being confiscated, and he was so unfortunate as to lose his luggage, consisting of clothing and other personal belongings. From the end of July to the end of October, he was again working for Plantin. After his final departure from the *Officina* on the 25th of that month, we lose sight of him for some time.¹¹⁴

Goebens' supposed activity in both Haarlem and Sedan is confirmed by the external similarity of the Haarlem publications to the Sedan ones while he was working there. Apart from the fact that the books are printed with the same typefaces, they also display such a resemblance in typographical design that it is hard to imagine that they could have been produced by a different hand within the small group of printers to be taken into consideration. What is characteristic of his style of composing is the use, based on French models, of Canon Roman in the chapter headings in octavo books – for which purpose the typeface is actually too large but which he even applies when the text type is a Textura. In addition to this we also

salary on the 27th) to 8 September 1566.

¹¹² The date runs: 'Met haesten desen 20. Junij 1565.' In the French edition this is translated as: 'En haste ce 2. de Juin 1565.' I share Braekman's view, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 217, that this is a printer's error in which the O has been omitted.

¹¹³ On 2 May 1565 Goebens was paid for two weeks of work as a compositor with the entry: 'Et sest parti dauec moy par mon conge et consentement', beneath which an ink line closes his wage list. An entry is added below, however, which shows that he received a further payment on the following 3 June which, judging from the sum, was for a further two weeks of composition. His departure was obviously delayed.

¹¹⁴ PMM, Arch. 31, f. 18r.

find in Sedan the aforesaid use of Arabic numerals in Textura signatures. Even the general appearance of the printed work, which is difficult to put into words but which is an essential element in judging such a matter, shows in my view that we are dealing with the same printer in both towns.

After the firm in Sedan had been inactive for almost six months, since June, the printing-press was again put into action, this time by Lenaert der Kinderen. Before taking over the management of the printing-office he, too, had worked as a compositor for Plantin for nine months after his aforesaid stay in Emden in 1565.¹¹⁵ He appears to have departed shortly after 16 October 1566, the date he left Plantin's, and in his new capacity published a reprint of *Een cort vervat* (S 5) by François Alardts (Alaers) in the same year – possibly at the request of the author who, at about this time, was acting in Antwerp as minister for the Lutheran community. The printing can be attributed to Der Kinderen, since the book displays various features we find in the New Testaments dated 1567 (S 12-13) which came off the same press a little later under his own name.¹¹⁶ He uses Roman as opposed to Arabic numerals in the Textura signatures, for example, and in other respects, too, his work is more traditional in character and less careful than that of his predecessor.

In the next year there appeared, as we have seen, a number of other publications belonging to this group. Judging from their external features, most of them could be the work of Lenaert der Kinderen, and this suggests that he took part in the new removal of the firm and also ran the press in Emden. There is no certainty about this matter, especially since it appears that a second printer was involved both in Sedan and in Emden. We know that in a printing-office of any size and with a regular output, two compositors worked for each press – particularly in a case like this, when it was mainly books in a small format which were printed in not very large editions. Even Lenaert der Kinderen (assuming that he was the man) worked together with another compositor, as we can deduce from the production attributable to the press in 1567: a good 240 quires excluding editions which may have been lost or which have not yet been identified. This colleague was almost certainly Albert Christiaensz, who would thus have worked in Sedan and Emden after his independent activities in Vianen in 1565/6 and before leaving for Norwich where, from 1568, he worked for a few years for the emigrant Antoine de Solemne. His presence at the press, both in Sedan and in Emden, is proved by two woodcut initials from an alphabet which he used first in Vianen and later in Norwich.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 48v. The first payment entry is dated 6 January 1566, and the last 16 October of the same year.

¹¹⁶ See notes 81-2.

¹¹⁷ For what is known so far about Albert Christiaensz' activities in Vianen as the printer for the leaders of the Revolt, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 53), pp. 13 ff. It has since appeared

We know nothing further about Lenaert der Kinderen after this episode: he disappears without a trace. Three editions of the New Testament in various formats appeared in 1567/8, and a Psalter in 1569, all with the 'Alle boom' device which he had used in Sedan. They were issued without an imprint, but are printed with the material of Willem Gailliart in Emden. It is quite possible that Der Kinderen was involved in the production in one way or another. Towards the end of 1567 – did he, too, have an annual contract, which expired in November? – he may have moved to Gailliart's press and worked there as a compositor. But this is no more than an hypothesis, even if we can feel sure that the 'Alle boom' device was not a printer's device but was used by a publisher or company of partners.¹¹⁸

Unexpectedly enough, however, we encounter a book in the Emden period of our press – *Een claer bewijs* (E 1) by Zacharias Ursinus – which is so entirely in the style of Goossen Goebens that we must assume that he had a hand in it. In the heading of the first page of text we again see his characteristic use of Canon Roman and in the first gathering the signatures have Arabic numerals. Thereafter he adapted to the general Emden custom of Roman numerals in Textura signatures. The book also displays another peculiarity: the measure is a little wider than in other works of a similar format published by the firm in Emden. The difference, which does not exceed 2 mm, is hardly striking but is clearly measurable. It is due to the use of a composing-stick¹¹⁹ which appears to have exactly the same width

possible to establish what was produced by his press: a good 20 editions exclusively in the years 1565/6. They are mainly publications of a political nature, but there is also a New Testament which he printed for Goris Hendricksz. Nearly everything appeared without his imprint. For the little we know of his English period, cf. Stoker, art. cit. (n. 82), pp. 18 f. There, too, (Plate II D, greatly enlarged) we have one of his initials: the V which had already appeared in at least three of his Vianen publications. In that same town he also used the S which can be found in De Solemne's edition of Datheen's Psalms (1568). They belong to the only set of initials which Christiaensz possessed: calligraphic letters of a design which at this time can also be found in Antwerp (Tavernier, Jan Mollijns), Emden and elsewhere. The P, which appears several times in *Dat gheheele nieuwe Testamendt* (Vianen 1566), ff. 267v., 316v., etc., is here used in Lenaert der Kinderen's New Testament ([Sedan] 1567; S 10), on f. 193v. The A of the same set (see illus. 8), to be found on p. 405 of [Ursinus], *Een claer bewijs* ([Emden] 1567; E 1), was used earlier by Christiaensz in his unsigned edition of *Advertissement [...] aen de gouverneurs ende staten [...] op tstück vander religie* ([Vianen] 1566), for a description of which, see Machiels, op. cit. (n. 94), N 69.

¹¹⁸ For further information on Der Kinderen's second period in Emden, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 83), pp. 113 ff.

¹¹⁹ Such a difference can be seen particularly clearly in Curione's *Dialogue* (E 2) on which two compositors have obviously worked. Without the separately set marginalia, pp. 1-44 (sigs. AB⁸ C⁶) have a measure of 62 mm while the rest of the text and the preliminaries measure 60 mm. We are thus dealing with a book set straight through and in which an obvious difference in line length occurs in the middle of a quire. A disparity in paper contraction cannot play a part in this case and the only explanation is the use of two different composing sticks – there was still no question of

(62 mm) as the one which Goebens used earlier in Sedan and also the same as the one used by the first compositor in Haarlem for various publications.¹²⁰ With all the caution necessary in such matters, we can take these similarities to provide a subsidiary argument for his activity in the three towns. Like so many others he left his country, probably after Alva's arrival in the Netherlands in August 1567, and found a permanent haven of refuge in Emden. After Der Kinderen's departure he apparently resumed his former position in the firm and it may well have been he who was responsible for printing Bullinger's *Teghens de wederdoopers* for the new proprietor Jean Malet.¹²¹

After this Goebens' long relationship with the press came to an end once and for all and he began to print on his own. In 1570 he opened his own firm in Emden with an inventory largely composed of Textura and some German typefaces and he concentrated principally on a regional market. The profitable production of Protestant books for export to the Netherlands had in the meantime been made almost impossible by the town magistracy and he had to adapt himself to the new circumstances.¹²² A few years later he could lay his hands on the two printer's devices of the Haarlem press and, from 1573 on, the spider and the rose appear regularly on the title-pages of his books; I have already mentioned one example. This suggests that he was particularly attached to the device and we can regard its purchase as the confirmation of his long association with the press. His new firm was successful

adjustable composing sticks in this period. What probably happened was that the work of the first compositor was taken over by a colleague whose composing stick was slightly shorter. On the possibility of identifying a printer by the size of his composing stick, see F. Bowers, 'Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer's Measure', *Studies in Bibliography*, 2 (1949-50), pp. 153-67; P.S. Dunkin, *Bibliography: Tiger or Fat Cat?* (Hamden 1975), p. 56, gives some additional examples but emphasizes the limited value of the method. In the present case, however, the difference in length is significant. Other irregularities also occurred in the production process of *Dialogus*: gatherings K and L are both paginated 145-60, with a hiatus of one line between pp. 144 and 145 (I/K) and another of about the same extent between pp. 160 and 145[bis] (K/L). The missing lines were printed on strips and stuck onto the page in the appropriate position in the lower margin. In the Amsterdam copy the first strip has survived while the second is missing, although the mark is still visible. For the consequences of incorrect casting off in copy divided over more than one compositor, see F.A. Janssen, 'Some notes on setting by formes', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 191-7 (pp. 196 f.).

¹²⁰ See the measurements of the type area in the 'List of editions' at the end of this article.

¹²¹ Der Kinderen, too, is a possible candidate, however. The book displays various external similarities with Bullinger's *Huysboeck* (S 7), also printed in two columns and produced by Lenaert in Sedan.

¹²² Under heavy pressure from Alva the magistracy of Emden was obliged to decree on 27 October 1567 that it was thenceforth forbidden 'bij halsstraffe' ('on pain of death') to print a book without the previous consent of the burgomasters; cf. Hollweg, op. cit. (n. 80), p. 88. Although the printing of Bibles in Dutch was connived at for a few more years, this measure did indeed put an end to Emden as a publishing centre of Protestant literature.

and underwent a flourishing development until 1579 when, at the very moment in which he was the only remaining printer in Emden, it came to a sudden end. He probably died in that year or shortly after.¹²³ On 10 January 1583, the press was sold by the guardians of his under-age children to Edwardus Friesse, who carried on the business for a few more years.¹²⁴

The occasion on which Goebens managed to obtain Jan van Zuren's printer's devices which were so familiar to him, was the sale of the Haarlem printing-office out of the estate of its last owner, Jean Malet. After his untimely death – Malet's wife was mentioned as a widow as early as 25 August 1570 – the press came to a standstill for a few years until an intending purchaser appeared. The man who bought it in the course of 1572 from the proprietress (who had since remarried) was Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, possibly a son or a nephew of the town clerk of Steenwijk, who had learned the craft from the only printer in that town, Herman 't Zangers. The purchaser took over the press and settled with it in Leeuwarden as the official printer to the Court of Friesland. This post had remained vacant for many years – during which time his former master printed for the authorities – and now it was occupied again.¹²⁵

Is(e)brandt's activities ended before long and as early as 1579 the press appears to have passed on to his successor, Peter Hendricksz van Campen, who occupied

¹²³ Virtually nothing has yet been published on Goebens' Emden years other than the titles of some of his publications; see n. 42. His device is recorded and reproduced in H. Grimm, *Deutsche Buchdruckersignete des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Geschichte, Sinngehalt und Gestaltung kleiner Kulturdokumente* (Wiesbaden 1965), pp. 121 f. The earliest books attributable to his press appeared in 1570; in 1573 he first used his name in an imprint.

¹²⁴ Staatsarchiv Aurich, Kontrakt-Protokolle von Emden, pt. 15, p. 975; quoted after Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 83), p. 138. The yield was 600 guilders out of which a number of debts had to be paid. The new owner signed his few publications with the name Eewardus Ostfriesse or Ewardus Frisius. Nothing more is known about him. Cf. D.E. Rhodes, 'Rembertus Fresen and his writings', *The British Library Journal*, 8 (1982), pp. 203-5.

¹²⁵ On 15 April 1572 Plantin examined: 'Isebrant Versteghen, natif de Steenwyck, aagé de 25. ans, demourant audict Steenwyck [...] disant vouloir lever l'estat de l'imprimerie à Leewarde [...] avoir aprins, audict Steenwyck [...] chez Herman Zanghers, par l'espace de deux ans, et depuis besoiné chez ledict Zanghers, par deux ans, pour compagnon [...] entend latin passablement ...'. Cf. *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), p. 35. The town clerk Sigheer ter Steghe was the compiler, in 1579, of 'Dat Koerboeck der stad Steinwyck'; cf. *Overijsselsche stad-, dijk- en markeregten*, vol. 1, pt. 10 (Zwolle 1891), p. vii. In the period in which Is(e)brandt acted as printer in Leeuwarden he produced over forty editions, mainly official publications ordered by the Court of Friesland, the earliest known of which is dated 29 January 1572 (1573 NS). He also worked for the first bishop of the new diocese of Leeuwarden, Cunerus Petri. For his domicile there, see P.E. Breuker, 'Eekhoffs geschiedenis van de Leeuwarder drukkers en uitgevers tot 1870', in C.P. Hoekema, *Eekhoff en zijn werk. Leven en werken van Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880)* (Leeuwarden 1980), pp. 174-208 (p. 177).

the same post until he presumably died in 1587.¹²⁶ The printing shop was subsequently liquidated and the types which could still be used were distributed among different purchasers. One of the three sets of initials was bought by Gillis van den Rade (Aegidius Radaeus), the Antwerp printer who had settled in Franeker in 1585 after the foundation of the Academy in that town. In his books, and those of his son Abraham in Leeuwarden, we find the still well-preserved ornamental letters for many years to come.¹²⁷ No documentation exists concerning the passage from hand to hand of the printing-office and its inventory: the events I have described are based on an analysis of the typographical material as it is to be found in the work of the various printers.¹²⁸

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE PRESS

My inquiry has so far been based on two sorts of data: on the one hand direct or indirect information derived from historical sources and on the other evidence obtained from a bibliographical investigation of the surviving products of the press. This has enabled us to follow the history of the business from phase to phase and to give a continuous survey of it. This same method has provided details about one category of the people involved in the production: the typographers. What I have not yet discussed, however, is the cardinal question of who was, or who were, responsible for the general management and financing of the firm after the Haarlem period. We can assume that the answer is contained in the names of those men who can be regarded as the owners, but not a single document on the subject has come to light. Hitherto they have remained as obscure as the later activities of the press themselves. An analysis of the typographical material used is of no assistance since the external aspects of printed work can, in certain circumstances, provide us

¹²⁶ For the scarce archival information about Peter Hendricksz van Campen, see Breuker, art. cit. (n. 125), p. 177. He was active from 1579 to 1586 or early 1587 and produced in those years over forty official publications for the Court and the States of Friesland. But this was not the most important part of his production. Besides his official orders he printed anonymously, or under the pseudonyms of Gherit Andrieszoon and Peter van Putte, a series of works of a very different nature: Bibles and other books for the Anabaptists in Friesland. He was the most important producer in this domain and turned within a short time into one of the four or five largest publishers in the liberated Dutch provinces. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'Van Friese herkomst: de *Chronyc Historie*, Noortwitz 1579', *Philologia Frisica anno 1984, Lezingen en neipetearen fan it tsiende Frysk filologekongres Oktober 1984* (Ljouwert 1986), pp. 96-112 (pp. 102 f.).

¹²⁷ For Gillis van den Rade and his sons in Friesland, see Briels, op. cit. (n. 44), pp. 393 ff. For his publications, see J.J. Kalma, *Het fonds van academiedrukker Aegidius Radaeus, Franeker 1586-1613*, a card index kept in the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden and in photocopies in various other libraries.

¹²⁸ I hope to give an account of this research in an article on printers in Friesland before Van den Rade.

with information about the printers who produced it, but, in the absence of any subsidiary evidence, they are of no assistance to us in penetrating the anonymity of their masters. And, as we know, it is always particularly difficult to discover the identity of financiers and patrons of business enterprises in the distant past.

We must therefore admit that the method followed thus far is now inadequate and that we know of no other one which can lead to reliable results. We might well conclude that this impasse forces us to end our investigation, since we can only proceed on the basis of hypotheses, the results of which could be far too uncertain. Having taken these objections into account, however, one should add that the history of the Haarlem press is so unusual and remarkable that we are entitled to follow any line of argument, however speculative, in order to discover which people and what factors determined the course of events. For lack of any factual material we can try to assemble the details so far gathered in such a way as to provide an acceptable picture of what actually happened in the firm – even though we lack any proof of its being correct. The following considerations can serve as a starting point.

In the first place we should keep in mind the fact that Goossen Goebens, despite appearances to the contrary, did not work in Sedan as an independent entrepreneur. He was indeed the first printer in the history of the town, but the press which he ran did not belong to him. It is inconceivable that a man who worked as a wage-earning compositor immediately before and immediately after this activity should have had the means to take over a modern printing-office of this calibre, to pay for its expensive transport from Haarlem to Sedan, and also to finance its considerable output,¹²⁹ even if he enjoyed the support of some particularly well-disposed backers. In his case we should imagine an entirely different situation: he had undertaken, rather, to manage the firm as factor for a period stipulated by contract, apparently one year.¹³⁰ After the expiry of this commitment his obligations to his master(s) came to an end; he relinquished his post, even though no immediate suc-

¹²⁹ The extent of the firm's production in the years 1566/7, calculated according to the number of printed sheets, seems hardly second to that of any other printer in the Low Countries with the obvious exception of Plantin.

¹³⁰ Factors were representatives, agents, mandatories or proxies of a merchant, sometimes members of his family, who looked after his business interests abroad. Owing to the large distances and imperfect communications, it was impossible for a factor to be in constant touch with his employer. In many cases he had to decide on his own about matters of the greatest importance to his master. This position of confidence meant that factors were usually employed on commission and were generally entitled to a certain share in the profits made. According to the development of the trading company in the course of the sixteenth century, the nature of the function changed from that of a subordinate commercial employee to that of an independent merchant. Cf. P.G.A. de Waal, *De leer van het boekhouden in de Nederlanden tijdens de zestiende eeuw* (Roermond 1927; thesis Rotterdam), pp. 20 ff. Factors were often strikingly young, many of them no older than 22.

cessor had been found who could take it over from him, and returned home. The same applies to Lenaert der Kinderen: he never owned the press either, but worked there, like Goebens, in the service and at the expense of a third party – just as he had worked for Plantin (and Hendrik Niclaes) in Kampen.

Secondly, in Sedan and Emden the press was geared to the publication of Protestant works (including some of the most biting anti-Catholic satires to have been published in Dutch in those years) and limited its activities almost entirely to this domain, but it was not connected with any specific confession within the pales of Protestantism. It produced various works of de Brès and of Bullinger, of Ursinus and of Van Haemstede, of Moded and of Alardts. This diversity shows that the publishing programme was not determined by the representatives of one particular religious group – as happened, for example, in Emden, where Gillis van der Erven exclusively published books which had the approval of the consistory of the Dutch Reformed community to which he himself belonged. In Sedan the relationship with Guy de Brès did initially play a part and led to the publication of his adaptation of Wybo's book on Christophe Fabritius and the use of his additions to Van Haemstede's martyrology. There is no evidence, however, that he was involved with the press in any capacity other than that of author. Nor can we detect any influence exerted by the Duke of Bouillon on the choice of the titles published; as I said earlier, he is unlikely to have had any direct interest in the printing-office working in his capital. The reprinting of works published elsewhere shows that it was primarily commercial considerations which were decisive in the formation of the stock. This factor seems to have been of less importance later in Emden, but even there we can hardly speak of any connection with one particular denomination within the Reformation.

In the third place the Protestants naturally sympathized with the revolt against Spain, with the 'Verbond der Edelen' (Compromise of the Nobility), and with the politics of William of Orange. This is only expressed clearly in two important publications, however: Franciscus Junius' *Brief discours* (S 1), of December 1565, and the *Requête* (S 6), submitted on 5 April 1566. The firm took no part in the later pamphlets produced as propaganda for the Revolt; the central situation of Antwerp and Vianen was obviously more favourable for the printing and distribution of political writings.¹³¹

¹³¹ From an investigation of the numerous pamphlets against the national government and Spanish dominion which were issued in these years, it appears that in 1566 a number of Antwerp printers were still prepared to run the risks entailed in publishing them: Gillis Coppens van Diest, Hans de Laet, the Widow of Jan van der Loë (and her son Hendrik), and one or two others who have not yet been identified. In 1567 hardly anyone remained: the danger appeared to be too great, cf. P. Valkema Blouw, 'Gillis Coppens van Diest als ondergronds drukker, 1566-67', *Het oude en het nieuwe boek, de oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen 1988), pp. 143-63.

A fourth point concerns the removal of the press from Sedan for which we have not yet found an explanation. What is certain is that neither in this town nor in Emden did any political or religious changes occur in 1567 which might have been a reason for moving. The change of place cannot therefore be regarded as the result of local factors; there must, rather, have been internal motives for taking such a radical step. The question as to what they were and to whom they applied brings us to the heart of the problem and also to a possible means of solving it.

As the last of my series of observations, then, I would like to draw attention to the remarkable fact that the name Coornhert again comes to the fore in the third phase of the enterprise just as it did in the first. In Haarlem it was Dirck, a member of the company and the principal producer of copy; in Emden it was one of his brothers, Frans Coornhert who, alone of all the authors or translators involved in the publications of the press, signed with his initials a dedication to the highest authority of the town, a piece whose form and content correspond entirely to what one might have expected from the publisher himself. It is also possible to detect his hand in the interesting but unsigned foreword by the translator of Marcourt's satire, while his interest in French history, which he also displayed in later years, is in keeping with the extensive but probably not very profitable edition of the work of Pierre de la Place. Is this simply a concurrence of circumstances? It seems to be rather more than a coincidence that two brothers, who never took any part in publishing or in the book trade, should both have been involved, within a few years and in distant towns, in the same press. We can also formulate it otherwise: if somebody appears to have played a part in the same printing-office of which his brother had been co-proprietor a little earlier and in another country, does it not seem highly probable that some link existed between these two connections? An affirmative answer may help to shed some light on the internal affairs of the business and thus lead to a solution of such riddles as: who was in control of the press in Sedan? Why was the firm moved to Emden? Who was the owner before it was sold to Jean Malet? None of these questions have yet been answered and there is thus every reason to examine the part which the Coornherts might have played and the extent to which they were involved. The

THE COORNHERT HYPOTHESIS

The time factor seems to be of decisive importance, particularly the time at which the press was moved to Emden. This can be approximately calculated by dividing the output of the year 1567 into what we have established to have been printed in

For Vianen, see De La Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 53), *passim*; *id.*, 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "Voorspel"', *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann ter gelegenheid van zijn vijf en zestigste verjaardag en van zijn afscheid als Bibliothecaris der Gemeente Rotterdam* ('s-Gravenhage 1958), pp. 20-34; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90; *idem*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibidem*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

Sedan (S 8 - S 13) and what appeared in Emden (E 1 - E 5) and by then comparing the number of sheets which came off the press in each of these two towns. If we look at the calendar the resulting proportion gives us an approximate idea of the time at which the press again started printing after the move. The result is that it probably started work again some time before 20 October 1567, the date which appears on the title-page of one of the books (E 3), and certainly not earlier than July.¹³² If we reckon the time necessary for the transport and the new installation to be about one month, the departure from Sedan cannot have taken place before the beginning of June. This approximate date for the end of the activities in that town suggests the possibility that Frans and/or Clement Coornhert were involved in the decision to close it, for they arrived in Emden about a month earlier.

If it were not for what has been said above, there would be no reason whatsoever to see any connection between this event and the removal of the press, since they would seem to have taken place quite independently. In an attempt to extract some evidence from subsidiary information which might lead us a little further, however, there is some justification in presupposing such a link. Let us therefore start with the hypothesis that at least one of the Coornherts was involved in the removal of the printing-office, that he had a say in it, and therefore shared in the management of the firm as (co-)proprietor. Where does this theory lead us?

Clement and Frans Coornhert travelled to Emden in the train of Hendrik van Brederode, one of the leaders of the Revolt, and disembarked there on 30 April 1567.¹³³ Their flight from Amsterdam after the fall of Vianen meant that they, like so many others, had to leave their country, abandoning most of their property and sources of income. All their possessions in Holland were confiscated by the authorities, furthermore, when they were sentenced to life-long banishment by the

¹³² This means of calculation can of course only be approximate. We do not know how many of the press' publications have been lost or not yet identified and how many quires they contained. It should be pointed out, however, that a quarto edition of some bulk has a considerably larger chance of survival than publications of a smaller format. Particularly if the content of smaller and frequently ephemeral publications was controversial, they ran the risk of disappearing completely – but for a calculation such as this their limited size means that they can only have a small influence on the final result. We can assume, moreover, that the risk of loss was hardly affected by the place of publication, so that the true ratio will not be very different from that established by 90 Sedan sheets as against 106 Emden sheets. A further important argument is that a total of nearly 200 sheets as the production of a single press in a period of eleven months allowed so little space for other printed matter that anything missing can hardly constitute a factor of any significance in the calculation. The resulting ratio of six to seven places the reopening of the firm in Emden about half-way through the year.

¹³³ The journey was by boat by sea. With the connivance of the magistracy Hendrik van Brederode and his companions left the port of Amsterdam on the night of 27 April.

Council of Troubles.¹³⁴ They were thus forced to build up a new existence, and we may suppose that the printing-office, beyond the reach of the Spanish authorities and their assistants, was one of the very few of their possessions which they were still free to use. One complication was of course provided by the considerable distance – Emden is still further away from Sedan than is Amsterdam – which made communications particularly difficult. This obstacle could only be eliminated by moving the firm to Emden – and this is what they did, for (and this consideration has a key function) once they had settled in that town there was no reason for the press to remain in Sedan. They had originally chosen Sedan since it was possible to do something there which was extremely dangerous in their own country: to print non-conformist books in the Dutch language. But for many a year it had been possible to do this in Emden too: the town was actually the main centre in that field and that this was soon to come to an end could not yet be predicted. What was more logical in the circumstances than to leave Sedan and to continue the production in their own town of residence? The advantages of installing the press in the immediate vicinity are quite clear: in their capacity as proprietors they could now see to the day-to-day management themselves and would no longer have to depend on long and, as it turned out in the previous year, unsafe communications.

The supposition that at least one of the Coornherts could take decisions concerning the press both in Sedan and in Emden thus provides a perfectly acceptable explanation for the course of events. But what about a further possibility – that the firm was their own property in Emden but that it belonged to somebody else in Sedan? We then come up against the surprising contingency that the two brothers (assuming that they were both involved) bought a press in Sedan which, by implication, they had ceded to someone else near to home a few years earlier, and then transported the entire business over the long distance to Emden. Besides, the purchase would then have been made in one of the most critical moments of their lives – the uncertain last weeks in Amsterdam or, more unlikely still, the first difficult period as refugees in Emden. If we assume that the press was the property of the Coornherts, it follows that they already owned it in Sedan, in other words that they had been financially involved in it as early as 1565, after the Haarlem years, and that they were (co-)responsible for the decision to move the production to France.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Verheyden, op. cit. (n. 102), p. 457, nos. 11.730-1. For official information about the rentable value of the confiscated properties of Frans and Clement Coornhert, see H.F.K. van Nierop, *Beeldenstorm en burgerlijk verzet in Amsterdam 1566-1567* (Nijmegen 1978), pp. 110, 130.

¹³⁵ It is possible that Clement or Frans, or both, were already indirectly involved in the firm in Haarlem, having provided Dirck with some financial support for his share in the partnership. In contrast to his brothers he was not a man of means. His father had already disinherited him in 1539 in indignation at his undesirable marriage. Only in 1560 did he inherit an income from his mother, while it was not until 1563 that he received a share of his father's estate. See *Bronnen*, op.

And that they were indeed the owners is confirmed not only by these arguments, but also by the move to Emden. Who else there could have a reason for moving a complete printing-office all the way from Sedan? The political situation in that town, as I said, was stable and there was no reason to expect any religious difficulties. Local circumstances could provide no reason for so drastic a step. Nor was the removal an improvement from a commercial point of view; if anything it was quite the opposite: there was no longer any chance of orders from the authorities such as the publication of the new constitution of Sedan.¹³⁶ Besides, the profitable reprints of Emden editions would also have to be abandoned – as they were indeed. It is hard to reach any other conclusion than that the decision was not based on commercial considerations but on personal ones – and we know that these were all too real for the Coornherts after their flight.

In linking the Coornherts' arrival in Emden with that of the printing-press, the time of the move is, as we saw, of decisive importance. The above argument would lose any basis if it could be proved that the date was prior to April 1567, the month in which the Coornherts had to flee – for example that it was between Goossen Goebens' departure from Sedan in June 1566 and Lenaert der Kinderen's arrival around November of that year, when he came to carry on the production. In that case the transition from one Lettersnijder Pica Textura fount to another would not be the dividing line between what was printed in Sedan and what was printed in Emden, but the entire production of the year 1567 would have appeared in Emden. Such an early date of the move would also imply that Der Kinderen did not print in Sedan but only in Emden, and that Frans Coornhert first came into contact with the press there, and then only as an author. Such a course of events can be excluded, however, and that not only because it is particularly unlikely that the Antwerp Calvinists had a book (S II) printed so far from home. One consequence of such a supposition is that Lenaert der Kinderen reprinted under his own name in Emden an adaptation of the New Testament, the publishing rights of which had been transferred to Willem Gailliart when the latter took over Gillis van der Erven's press. In view of their collaboration in the years 1563-5 this, in itself, is unlikely, and it is virtually inconceivable that he could have reprinted with impunity, with the same 'Alle boom' device, the edition of Bullinger's *Huysboeck* which had appeared at Gailliart's as recently as 1563. Both the magistracy and the consistory

cit. (n. 9), nos. 17 (pp. 10 f.) and 27 (p. 20). Clement had already vouched for him earlier; cf. *ibid.* no. 6 (pp. 5 f.).

¹³⁶ Owing to the departure of the printing-office, the book had to be printed elsewhere; cf. J.C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* ..., 5th edn, vol. 2 (Paris 1861), col. 357: Ordonnances de M. le duc de Bouillon pour le règlement de la justice de ses terres et seigneuries souveraines de Bouillon, Sedan [... etc.] (Paris, Robert Estienne, 1568, f°).

of the Dutch emigrants guarded themselves meticulously against transgressions of this sort.¹³⁷ That there should be no indication of any measures having been taken against the culprit, in marked contrast to other cases, suggests that this reprint was not issued in Emden but beyond the reach of the authorities in question – in this case in Sedan. This copyright argument seems sufficient to exclude a removal date before April and thus to dismiss this objection to the Coornhert hypothesis.

CONCLUSION

It now seems possible to reconstruct the broad outline of the later history of the printing-office. Since the press in Haarlem came to a standstill in 1564, the considerable capital invested in it lay idle. Jan van Zuren, the sole proprietor of the firm after the departure of his partners, saw no chance of running it profitably. In the meantime, an explosive growth in the demand for Bibles, Psalters, and other works for advancing the new religion had been making itself felt in the Netherlands. This demand gradually appeared to be so large that the few printers who settled in towns where such books could be produced without too great a risk could only meet a part of it. The turnover in this market was unprecedented and so presumably were the profits. In these circumstances the prospect of transferring one's own press to a town where it was possible to take part in this promising branch of trade without having to fear any regulations or intervention from the authorities, must have been particularly attractive. For this purpose the press had to be installed outside the national borders, but not too far from them. The choice was Sedan, a town which could be reached along the Meuse and which, besides having a favourable administrative and religious climate, imposed no obligation on its printers to observe the rights of their greatest competitors, the publishers in Emden.

Jan van Zuren had no part in these plans. Good Catholic that he was, there was no room for him in such an enterprise, although it did give him the chance of selling the press at an acceptable price. Presumably through the intermediary of Dirck Coornhert, it was taken over by his brothers Frans and probably Clement, possibly with the participation of one or more sleeping partners. Under this new management the printing-office was transferred to Sedan. After the press had been installed there, with the consent and support of the prince of the area, the Duke of Bouillon, it embarked on a new production which was entirely geared to the demand for Protestant literature. The Coornherts – assuming, that is, that both

¹³⁷ For the intervention of the consistory in authors' and publishers' rights, cf. J. Weerda, 'Eine Denkschrift Gotfrid van Wingen's an den Emder Kirchenrat gegen die Gheylliaert-Bibel von 1556', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 31 (1940), pp. 105-22; see also Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 89): 'Grepén'), pp. 145 ff., and art. cit. (n. 84), pp. 123 f.

Clement and Frans were involved in the undertaking, the latter perhaps only financially – employed Goossen Goebens, on the basis of the qualities he had displayed in Haarlem, to look after the day-to-day management of the firm. He was to act as factor far from Amsterdam, their own town of residence. The removal may have taken place under his supervision, but what seems certain is that in Sedan the installation of the printing-office was his doing. In June 1565, he again set the press into action. He then remained in Sedan for one year and, when his contract expired, returned to Antwerp dispatching at the same time the remaining stock which included the recently published martyrology. There was nobody who could take over from him immediately and so the printing-office had to be temporarily closed. When the consignment of stock was halfway between Sedan and Antwerp, as it was being transferred in Namur, the local authorities discovered the nature of the goods and sounded the alarm. The government in Brussels was informed of this new route for distributing subversive books and pamphlets but a rapid attempt to catch one or more of the parties involved miscarried. Despite the apparent risks of transport the production of the press resumed after six months, by which time the owners had managed to employ as factor another experienced printer, Lenaert der Kinderen. Before the end of the year, he produced his first book and proved equally active in the coming months: together with Albert Christiaensz as second compositor, he printed within six months a number of books of various sizes. The choice of the works published was partly determined by the situation of Sedan on the borders of the southern Netherlands and by the town's connections with Antwerp. At the same time, and this was probably the most decisive element from a commercial point of view, it was possible to compete with the Emden publishers by producing unauthorized reprints of some of their most lucrative publications. Only in one case, the work of Van Haemstede, were additions made to the text used: the other books are simply pirated.

After the removal of the firm to Emden, a decision taken by the Coornherts after their flight there, this policy had to change. Now that the press was installed in the same town as Willem Gailliart, who had recently also entered into possession of the press and the stock of his deceased colleague Gillis van der Erven, it was obviously impossible to reprint their publications. When printing started once more under Lenaert der Kinderen, who had arrived with the press and equipment and found himself on familiar ground in Emden, the firm was now managed directly by the owners. Frans Coornhert, who had already almost completely retired from business in Amsterdam, was now afforded enough spare time by his activity as notary and adviser of the Dutch emigrants both to run the publishing-office and to provide copy in the form of books he himself had translated. He edited in Dutch the first *Pasquillus ecstaticus* by Celio Secondo Curione, a classic satire on the Church of Rome, just as he had probably translated some time earlier the equally savage

Livre des marchans by Antoine Marcourt. His interest in France, and especially in the religious developments in that country, which also appears from his later works, led him to publish a translation of the *Commentaires* by Pierre de la Place. Although the Protestant trend of the publications remained predominant, we can also observe a certain shift: the literary element again comes to the fore and the character of the output thus grew closer to that of Haarlem than it had done in Sedan. As an external sign of this tendency, we have the repeated use of the printer's device with the bee, the spider and the rose, which only appears in a single Sedan publication.

Despite one attempt, the man who had originally devised the idea for the wood-cut, Dirck Coornhert, in contrast to his brothers, had been unable to reach Emden. His influence is consequently not to be detected in the choice of the works published any more than it was in Sedan. First he spent some time in Emmerich and then settled in Xanten, two towns in the Rhineland close to the Dutch border. Clement, who was faced with the difficult task of continuing his cloth trade in alien surroundings or of finding other sources of income, obviously had no literary ambitions and must have limited his interest in the press to the commercial side of the firm.

Thus, within a short period, there appeared, as far as we know, six publications, mainly translations, the last of which is dated 1568. The business then came to a halt. In June of that year the Spanish Governor Alva came so close to Emden in his pursuit of the troops of prince Louis of Nassau after the victory at Jemgum that the town magistracy was obliged to give way to his threats and demands. Already in October of the previous year every book to be printed had to obtain the consent of the burgomasters.¹³⁸ The law was now applied so strictly that it was in fact the Brussels edicts which established what could be published – consequently very little. After years of vain efforts the Spaniards had achieved their goal: the suppression of the hated town of Emden as the principal source of heretical and rebellious literature. Besides the fact that the market for Bible editions had gradually reached saturation point, this limitation of their prospects as publishers must have provided sufficient reason for the Coornherts to close their printing-office and to sell it a little later to a fellow-immigrant. From a business point of view this was certainly the right decision: without the Dutch market, the commercial basis for a press such as this largely disappeared. The measures which the town had to take under Spanish pressure did indeed put an end to Emden as a publishing centre within a very few years. Willem Gailliart continued to work for some time on a reduced scale and, apart from a few innocent publications of an occasional character he also printed various books from which he wisely withheld his imprint. He probably left the firm

¹³⁸ For this supervision over the printers in Emden, see n. 122.

between 1571 and 1574.¹³⁹ With the death of Goossen Goebens in 1579, and the short-lived activity of the latter's successor, Ewald Ostfriesse, printing in Emden temporarily ended.

As soon as the danger was over, in 1572, Clement Coornhert moved back to his birthplace, but Frans remained in Emden, where he continued to occupy a central position in the Dutch community for six more years. He only returned to Amsterdam in 1578 when the town finally chose to side with William of Orange. There is no evidence to suggest that they had anything further to do with publishing, in contrast to their brother. What part Dirck played in the activities of Nicolaes Gevaerts (Geyffertsen) in Homberg, who printed for him during his stay in Xanten, is not yet clear.¹⁴⁰ Once he was back in his own country, however, he was almost certainly involved in Antonis Ketel's arrival in Haarlem, in 1581¹⁴¹ and, after the latter's premature death, he may have had some part in Jaspar Tournay's removal from Delft to Gouda in 1584 or 1585.¹⁴² As in his early days in Haarlem the reason for this interest in the book trade must be sought, above all in his need for a printer for his steadily increasing stream of writings, which were often so polemical that it was difficult to have them produced by the established publishers.

This history of a printing-office in the various phases of its existence shows the results of a bibliographical analysis which is not limited to the textual content of books but which is primarily concerned with the typographical material which they contain. The method is so reliable that the accuracy of its results generally depends simply on the thoroughness with which it is pursued. This only applies, however, to conclusions directly derived from this technique. Consequences resting on the interpretation of the data discovered will inevitably remain speculative. The involvement, in this case, of the Coornhert brothers in Sedan and Emden, however

¹³⁹ As far as we know 1571 was the last year in which a publication was issued with Willem Gailliart's name – in a (spurious?) copy-imprint. Thereafter at least eight editions appeared without an imprint until 1576, when Nicolaes Biestkens put his name for the first time on one of the press' publications. Willem Gailliart may have made the firm over to his successor in 1574 when his father died and he could succeed him in his business. Cf. P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 107), p. 319.

¹⁴⁰ This virtually unknown publisher, to be identified with Nicolaus Geifertsen, who in 1572 published various news-letters in Niederwesel, printed for Coornhert, in the same year, *Van de toelatinghe ende decreete Godes* (BB C 108) with Altena as a spurious address. In 1575, by which time he had moved to Homberg, he printed his *Schyndeucht* (BB C 102) and *Vande bejaerden doope* (BB C 138), probably as well as the original edition of his *Veelderhande geestelicke liedekens*, no copy of which has yet come to light. The press was still working in 1580, by then probably under Peter Gevaerts, presumably his son, who later settled first in Woerden and then in Amsterdam.

¹⁴¹ Laceulle-van de Kerk, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 71f.

¹⁴² For this printer, Coornhert's most important publisher, see Briels, op. cit. (n. 44), pp. 466 ff. His presence in Gouda was one of the reasons which induced Coornhert to live there himself. Cf. Bongers, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 136.

likely, will remain uncertain as long as no document can confirm it.

The hypothesis is indirectly supported, however, by Albert Christiaensz' activity at the press in both towns. We have already seen that his presence emerges from some of his ornamental initials in books printed there. But how did a man who had shortly before produced a series of publications for Hendrik van Brederode in Vianen find his way to the press which had been reopened in Sedan in November 1566? That he, a married man, should have left in order to try his luck in France is most unlikely. He must, rather, have been persuaded to give up his existing position – by someone who offered him a contract which made the long journey to so distant a firm an attractive prospect. But who could have tracked him down in Vianen with such a purpose in mind? Nobody, I believe, is more probable than Dirck Coornhert, who visited the town on several occasions in 1566 in order to advise Brederode on political matters at the request of William of Orange.¹⁴³ The employment of Albert was probably one of the very few chances of solving at least partly the problem caused by the departure of Goossen Goebens. What Brederode thought of this arrangement is something we will never know – but by that time Augustijn van Hasselt may well have arrived in Vianen with his greatly superior printing-office.¹⁴⁴ The appearance of this rival would also further explain Albert's readiness to settle elsewhere.

Such a course of events seems to me to support the theory that the Coornherts were already involved with the press in Sedan. Without too much hesitation we can thus say that the riddle of the later existence of the Haarlem press has essentially been solved. It turns out to have been a unique business in the sixteenth-century world of publishing: an enterprise which, in a period of less than four years, worked in three different countries. We thus again see to what extent turbulent times brought about unorthodox and unprecedented developments even in the world of the book. There is no doubt that a systematic inventory and investigation of typefaces and ornaments will lead to other discoveries in this field.

¹⁴³ On Coornhert's part in the political developments of that period cf. Bonger, *op. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 41 ff. For a list of his journeys in 1566, which included three to Vianen between August and November, see *ibid.* p. 14.

¹⁴⁴ Augustijn received his last wages from Plantin on 2 November 1566 and apparently left immediately afterwards for the north, see Valkema Blouw, *art. cit.* (n. 131), p. 93. T

APPENDIX III: PUBLICATIONS FROM THE PRESS IN SEDAN AND EMDEN

(For the list of types etc, see Appendix II)

SEDAN

(S 1) [Junius (Du Jon), Franciscus], *Brief discours* ([Sedan, Goossen Goebens], 1565)
BRIEF | DISCOURS | ENVOYÉ AU ROY PHI- | lippe nostre Sire & Sou- | uerain Sei-
gneur, pour le | bien & profit de sa Ma- | iesté, & singulierement | de ses païs bas:
auquel est | monstré le moyen qu'il | faudroit tenter pour ob- | uier aux troubles
& emo | tions pour le fait de la | Religion, & extirper les | sectes & heresies pulu- |
lantes en ses dits païs. | 1565. ||

8vo. 59 numbered pp. + 2 blank leaves. *Collation*: A-D⁸. *Size*: 118:62 mm. *Types*: 2, 3, 4, 5, 8.
Initial 2: C. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, Royal Library (KBR). Ghent, UL.

(S 2) [Wybo, Joris]?, *Histoire notable* ([Sedan, Goossen Goebens], 1565)
HISTOIRE | notable de la trahison & | emprisonnement de deux bons & fideles |
personnages en la ville d'Anuers: c'est | assauoir, de Christophle Fabri Ministre | de
la parole de Dieu en ladite ville, & | d'Oliuier Bouck Professeur en la langue | Latine
en la tres-fameuse & tres-renom- | mee vniuersité d'Heydelberch: desquels | l'vn
estant grieuement malade a esté de- | liuré de ceste miserable captiuite. Et l'au- |
tre a esté cruellement meurtri, & offert | en sacrifice à Dieu par le feu. | Reueuë,
corrigée & augment- | tee pour la seconde fois par son propre Au- | theur: & depuis
traduite de Flamand en | François, par Guy de Brès Ministre. | Matth. v | [3 lines] |
Apocal. XIII. | [2 lines] | 1565.

8vo. [16] leaves + 239 numbered pp. *Collation*: A-R⁸. *Size*: 118:62 mm. *Types*: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8,
9, 10. Initials 1: A, I, M, S; initials 2: C, L, R. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Paris, Bibliothèque
de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.

(S 3) [Wybo, Joris]?, *Historie* ([Sedan, Goossen Goebens], 1565)
HISTORIE | ende gheschiedenisse van | de verradelicke gheuangenisse der vro- | mer
ende godsaligher mannen, Christophori Fabritij dienaer des Goddelicken | woords
binnen Antwerpen, ende Oli- | uerij Bockij Professeur der Latijnscher | sprake in
de hooghe ende vermaerde scho- | le van Heydelberch, waer van den ee- | nen tot
een sieckelicke ende ellendighe | verlossinghe ghecomen is, ende den an- | deren
wreedelick vermoort ende ten | viere op gheoffert. Nu anderwerf verbeterd ende
vermeerdert. | Matth. v. | [3 lines] | Apocal. xiiii. | [2 lines] | 1565.

8vo. [16] leaves + 302 (numbered. '202') pp. + [1] leaf ('Erraten'). *Collation*: A-X⁸. *Size*:
118:62 mm. *Types*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 14. Initials 1: D (2x), H, N, O; initials 2: I, L, V; ini-
tial 3: I. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Leiden, UL (wanting pp. 289 ff.); Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

(S 4) [Navières, Charles de], *Le Dieu-gard de Navyere* (Sedan, Goossen Goebens, 1565).

LE | DIEV-GARD | DE NAVYERE | A l'Imprimerie Sedanoise. | I. DIXAIN, | Bien venüe tu sois (gentille Imprimerie) | [... etc. In verse; signed:] Arbre d'Arbrisseau. | A SEDAN, | Imprimé par Gosuin Goeberi. | M. D. LXV. | XVII. Sept.

Single sheet; the text is printed within a border composed of typographical flowers. *Types*: I, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. No ornaments. – Copies: Paris, BnF; Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale.

(S 5) [Haemstede, Adriaen Cornelisz van], *Historien* ([Sedan, Goossen Goebens], 1566)

HISTORIEN | OFT GHESCHIEDE- | nissen der vromer Martelaren, die om | het ghe-
tuyghenisse des Euangelij haer | bloed vergoten hebben, van den tijde | Christi af,
tot den Iare M.D.Lxvi. toe, | op het cortste by een vergadert. | Nv anderwerf ouer-
sien, verbetert ende vermeerdt. | APOCAL. VI. | [10 lines] | Anno, 1566.||

4to (in eights). [9] leaves. + 652 pp. + [5] leaves (last blank). *Collation*: A-Z⁸ Aa-Tt⁸ Vv⁴. *Size*: 164:102 mm (quires A and B 105 mm). *Types*: I, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 14. Initial I: O; initial 2: E, I. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Heidelberg, UL.

(S 6) *Requete [...] des Nobles* ([Sedan, Goossen Goebens], 1566)

REQUETE | PRESENTEE PAR LE | SEIGNEUR HENDRICK | de Brederode, Seigneur de |
Viane, &c. accompagné des | Nobles du pays bas. | ITEM LA COPIE DE | SON ALTEZE
RENDUE AV | dit Seigneur de Brederode, Contes de | Culenborch, Lodouic de Nas-
sau, Van | den Berghes, accompagnez de la No- | blesse. | ITEM LA REPLIQUE DES |
NOBLES PRESENTEE A | son Alteze au Conseil d'Estat. Et fina- | lement la promesse
faite des Cheualiers | de l'Ordre, aux Gentilshommes assem- | blez avec Brederode
& Culenborch. | 1566.||

8vo. [8] leaves. *Collation*: AB⁴. *Size*: 114:61 mm. *Types*: 3, 4, 5, 8, 9. Initial I: M; initial 2: M. – Copy: London, BL.

(S 7) [Alardus (Alaers), Franciscus], *Een cort vervat* ([Sedan, Lenaert der Kinderen], 1566)

Een cort veruat | van alle menschelijcke In- | settinghen der Roomscher Kercke,
be- | ghinnende van Christus tijden af tot nu | toe, ghenomen meer dan wt xxij. |
Authoren. | Matth. xv. | [3 lines] | Anno M.D.LXVJ.||

8vo. [6] leaves + 89 pp. *Collation*: A-F⁸ G⁴ (G⁴, blank?). *Size* 118:60 mm. *Types* 2, 4, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15. Initial I: G; initial 2: D. Woodcut on title: papal arms. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

(S 8) Bullinger, Heinrich, Huysboeck ([Sedan, Lenaert der Kinderen], 1567)

HUYSBOECK. | VIIF DECADES, | DAT IS, | VIIFTICH SERMOONEN | van de voorneem-

ste hoofstucken der | Christelijcker Religie, in dry Deelen ghescheyden, door |
Heinrychum Bullingerum, Dienaer der Ghe- | meynte te Zurich. | Met seer rijcke
Registers. DAT EERSTE [and TWEEDE (second)] DEEL. | IESUS. | [2 lines] | Ghedruct
An. 1567.||

4to (in eights). [18] leaves + 240 + 112 + [22] leaves. *Collation*: *⁸ **¹⁰ A-Z⁸ a-g⁸ Aa-Oo⁸ *⁸
**⁸ *⁶. *Size*: 199:112 mm (2 cols.). *Device*: Alle boom. *Types*: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15. *Initial*
1: G, V; initial 2: A (2x), D (4x), G, I (4x), N, T, V. – *Copies*: Amsterdam, UL; Deven-
ter, Athenaeum Library; Erlangen, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB); Helsinki, UL;
Münster, UL; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek.

(S 9) *Dat dootbedde [...] der missen* ([Sedan, Lenaert der Kinderen], 1567
[Fleuron] Dat Doot | bedde ende Onderganck | der Missen. | Psal. 71. | [5 lines] |
Anno M.D.LXVII.||

8vo. [11] leaves. *Collation*: A⁸B⁴ (B₄, blank?). *Size*: 110:60 mm. *Types*: 2, 11, 12, 14, 15. *Initial*
3: A. – *Copy*: The Hague, KB.

(S 10) [Marcourt, Antoine], *Het boeck vande Roomsche coopliden* ([Sedan, Lenaert der
Kinderen], 1567)

HET BOECK | vande Roomsche coop | lieden, seer nut voor allen menschen, | om te
weten, van wat coopmanschap- | pen sy hen behooren te wachten, om | niet be-
droghen te zijn. Wten Fran- | shoysche in Nederlantsche tale ouer- | ghesett. | ADE
LIBELLEPERTOREM, | [a Latin distich] | Anno, 1567.||

8vo. 55 pp. *Collation*: A-C⁸D⁴. *Size*: 118:60 mm. *Types*: 3, 4, 5, 9, 14, 15. *Initial* 2: A; *initial* 3:
D. – *Copy*: Geneva, Musée d'Histoire de la Réformation.

(S 11) *Supplicatien ende Requesten* ([Sedan, Lenaert der Kinderen], 1567)

Supplicatien ende Re- | questen wt den name der Christelic- | ker Ghemeynte
binnen Antwerpen: | Ende van sommigher gheuangenen | Broeders ende lidmaten
der seluer | Ghemeynte wegghen: ouer weyni- | ghe Iaren aen de Ouericheyt der sel
| uer Stadt, ende aen andere edele oue- | righe Heeren ghepresenteert ende | ouerg-
hegheuen. | Door de Kerckelicke Dienaers. | Anno, 1567.||

8vo. 59 pp. (1-16 unnumbered), 1 blank leaf (of 2?). *Collation*: A-D⁸ (D₈ blank?). *Size*:
122:60 mm. *Device* 1 (on [D6]v). *Types* 3, 4, 8, 14, 15. *Initial* 1: E, L; *initial* 2: E, S. – *Copy*:
The Hague, KB.

(S 12) *Het Nieuwe Testament* ([Sedan], Lenaert der Kinderen, 1567; Vogel 21)

Het Nieuwe | Testament. | Dat is: | Het Nieuwe Verbondt onses | Heeren Jesu
Christi. | In Nederduytsch na der Grieckscher | Waerheyt ouergesett. | Nu weder-
om ouersien ende verbeteret. | Ghedruckt by Lenaert der Kin- | deren. An. 1567.||

8vo. 242 (ff. 1-238, 237-40) + [16] leaves. *Collation*: A-Z⁸ Aa-Ff⁸ Gg¹⁰ *⁸ **⁸. *Size*: 128:60 (58,

Index 70) mm. Device: Alle boom. *Types*: 11, 12, 14, 15, 16. Initial 1: D, I, P, S; initial 2: D, H, I, N, P; initial 3: G; calligraphic initial P. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(S 13) *Het Nieuwe Testament* ([Sedan], Lenaert der Kinderen, 1567; Vogel 21a)
Het Nieuwe | Testament. | Dat is, | Het nieuwe Verbondt onses | Heeren Jesu
Christi. | In Nederduytsch na der Griekscher | Waerheyt ouerghesett. | Nu weder-
om ouersien ende verbeteret. | Ghedruckt by Lenaert der Kin- | deren. Anno 1567.||
8vo. 424 leaves. *Collation*: A-Z⁸ Aa-Zz⁸ AA-GG⁸. *Size*: 124:60 mm. Device: Crespin's an-
chor with serpent (see n. 83). *Types*: 11, 12, 14, 16, 17. Initial 1: D, E, H, I, P, S; initial 2: D, H,
I, N. – Copy: Emden, Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst. Title-page reproduced in *Quaeren-*
do, 17 (1987), p. 102.

EMDEN

(E 1) [Ursinus, Zacharias], *Een claer bewijs* ([Emden, Coornhert press], 1567)
EEN CLAER | BEWIIS VAN | het heylyghe Auontmael | onses Heeren Iesu Christi, wt
de een- | drachtighe leere der H. Schriftue- | ren, der ouder rechtgheloo- | uender
Christelicker Kerc- | ken, ende oock der Con- | fessien van Ausburg. | Door de
Doctoren der H. Schrift, in der | Vniuersiteyt van Heydelberch. | Wt de Hooch-
duytsche in Nederlandt- | scher sprake ghetrouwelijcken | ouerghesedt. | 1. Thess.
5. | [2 lines]. | 1567.||
8vo. [8] leaves + pp. 1-368, 359-534 = 544 pp. *Collation*: *⁸ A-Z⁸ Aa-Ll⁸. *Size*: 123:56 mm and
60, resp. 62 mm (see n. 119). *Types*: 3, 4, 8, 13. Initial 1: D, O; initial 2: D, N; calligraphic ini-
tial A. Device 2 on [*8]v, with legend in letterpress: *Naturae sequitur semina quisque suae*; tail-
piece on p. 534. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL. – Sheet A appears
in two versions. In the Leiden and Utrecht copies, the heading of Chapter I is set in Italics
and the marginalia in Roman. In the copy in Amsterdam UL, on the other hand, Italics
are replaced by Roman and Textura is used for the marginalia. This layout appears to have
been the final one since it occurs throughout the later part of the book. In the Amsterdam
copy sheet Y is reset with a 20|78 Lettersnijder Pica Textura identical to Gailliar's. Did
he take over the remaining copies when the printing-office was sold to Malet?

(E 2) Curione, Celio Secondo, *Pasquillus ecstaticus neerl.* ([Emden, Coornhert press],
1567)

Een seer schoone Dialo- | logus [*sic*] oft tsamensprekinghe vanden | Roomschen
Pasquillo ende Marfo- | rio, inhoudende diueersche Ce- | remonien ende super-
stitien die | men in des Paus Hemel | pleghende is. | Ghemaect ouer langhe Iaren
door den ghe- | leerden Celium Curionem: ende nu eerst | wten Latiinsche in de
Nederduytsche | tale ouerghesett. | TOT EMBDEN. | Anno, 1567.||

8vo. [8] leaves + pp. 1-160, 145-252 + [1] leaf. *Collations*: *⁸ A-R⁸. *Size*: 123:62 mm (AB⁸ CI-

6) resp. 60 mm (C7,8 D-R⁸); see n. 119. *Types*: 3, 4, 8, 10, 13, 15. Initial 1: I, O; initial 2: N; initial 3: V. Device 1 on [*8]v, device 2 on [R7]; tailpiece on R4v. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Aurich, Staatsarchiv; Cambridge, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

(E 3) [La Place, Pierre de], *Warachtighe beschrijvinge* ([Emden, Coornhert press], 1567) Warachtighe beschrij- | uinge van den Standt der Religien, ende | t'ghemeyne weluaren onder den Coninghen | van Francriick Henrico de tweede, Fran- | cisco de tweede, ende Carolo de ne- | ghende gheschiet. | Wt den Franchoyse in Ne- derlantsche | tale, door eenen liefhebber der waerheyt ouergheset, | seer nut ende profiteliick [etc., 7 lines] | PSAL. II. Vers. 10. 11. 12. | [7 lines] | CICERO. | [4 lines] | ANNO, 1567. | 20. Octob.||

8vo. [12] leaves + pp. 1-544, 549-611, 614-92 + [5] leaves (last blank). *Collation*: *⁸ **⁴ A-Z⁸ a-v⁸ [x⁴]. *Size*: 120:58 mm. *Types*: 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 13, 15. Initial 1: H; initial 2: D (3x), H, M, N, O (2x). Device 1 on [**4], with legend (cf. E 1). – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (imperf.); Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; Groningen, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

(E 4) Moded [alias Strycker], Hermannus, *Apologie* ([Emden, Coornhert press]?, 1567)

Apologie ofte verant- | woordinghe Hermanni Modedt, | teghens de Calumnien ende val- | sche beschuldighen ghestroeyet, | tot lasteringhe des H. Euan- | gelij, ende zijnen Persoon | door de vianden der | Christelijcker | Religie. | Matth. 10.22 | [6 lines] | 1567.||

8vo. 91 pp. *Collation*: A-E⁸ F⁶. *Size*: 126:58 mm. *Types*: 12, 13, 15. No ornaments. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL.

(E 5) [Margaret of Parma, A proclamation, 20 July 1566] ([Emden, Coornhert press, 1567]?)

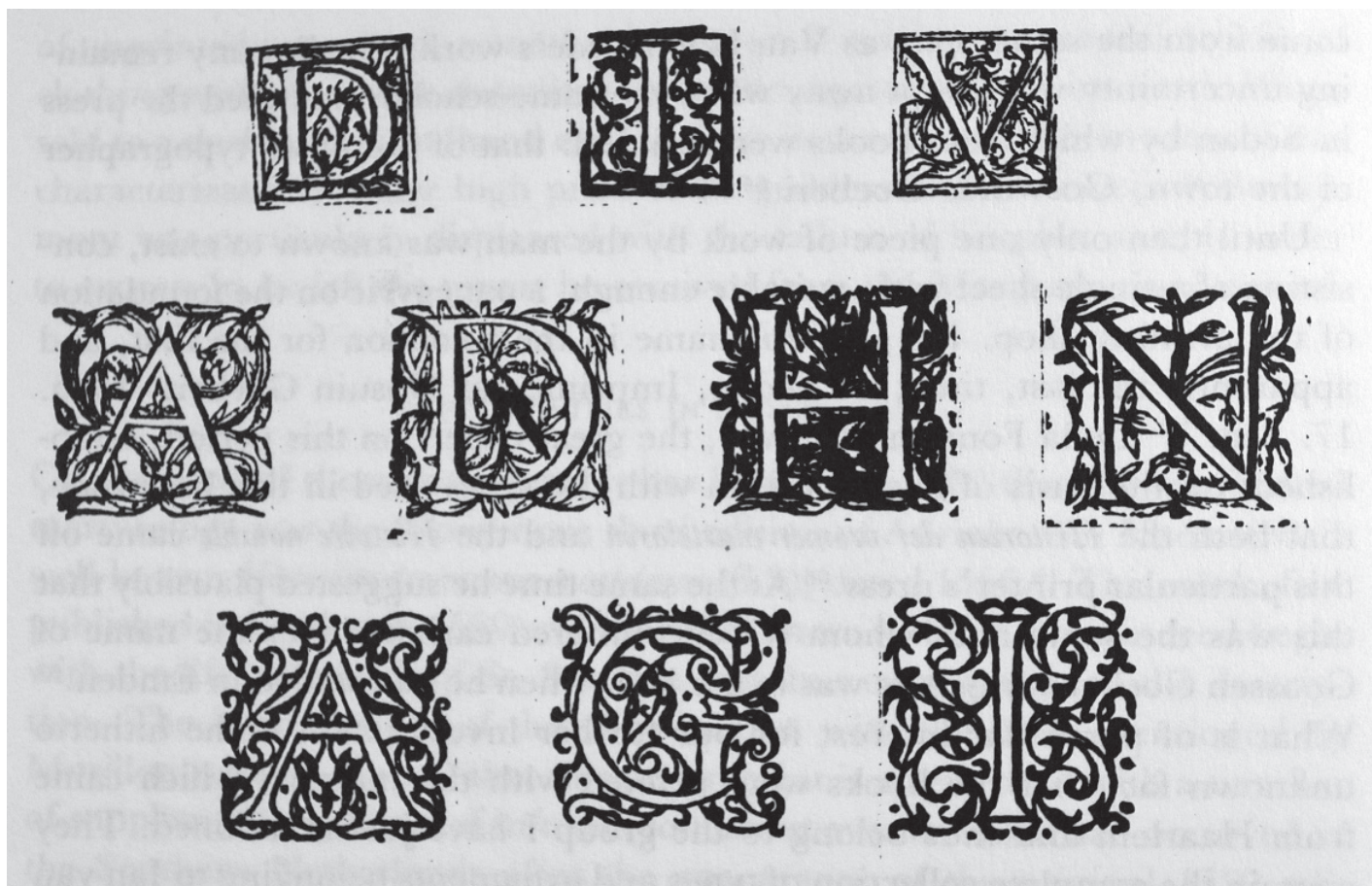
[Proclamation by Margaret of Parma on the provisional continuation of the trade treaty made with Queen Elizabeth I]. By den Coninc [heading]. | Men laet u weten, dat alsoe | onse ambassadeurs, commis- | [etc. Signed at end:] Van Hemmonez.

8vo. [2] leaves. *Collation*: 1². *Size*: 110:58 mm. *Types*: 11, 13. No ornaments. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, KBR.

(E 6) [Anon.] *Corte Apologie* ([Emden, Coornhert press], 1568)

Corte Apologie ofte | Ontschuldige der Nederland- | scher Christenen tegen de val- | sche beschuldigen haer- | der vyanden. | Waer in den Godlicken handel der Reformatien ende ghereformeerder Kerc- | ken, tsamen oock de grouwelijcke Ty- | rannye, diemen ouer haer ghebruyct, be- | wesen wort: de Tyrannen tot boetueer- | dicheyte vermaent, ende de verdructe Chri- | stenen ghetrootet worden. | Sapient. 6 | [5 lines] | Matth. 5 | [3 lines] | Anno, 1568.||

8vo. [36] leaves. *Collation*: A-D⁸ E⁴. *Size*: 124:55 mm. *Types*: 3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 13, 15. Initial I: V. Tailpiece on [A3]. — The preface is dated: 1. Martij. 1568. — Copy: Utrecht, UL.



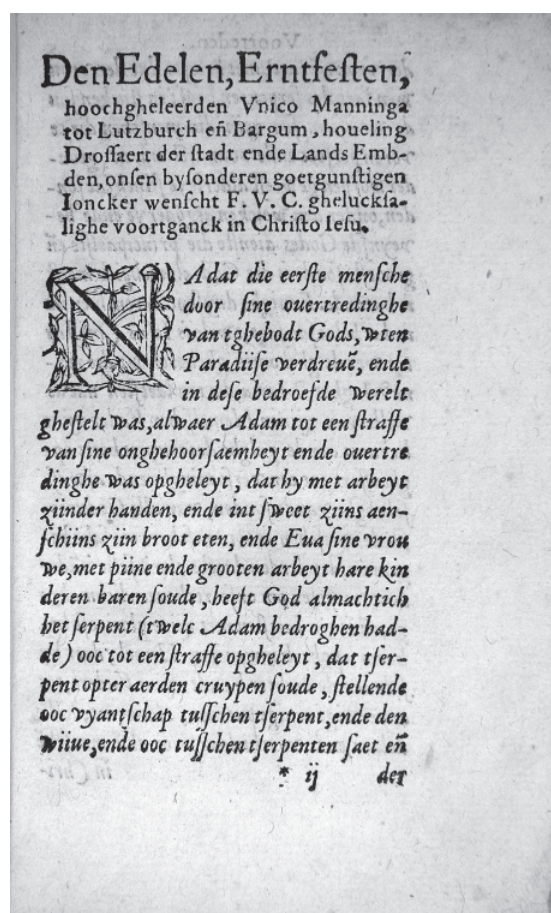
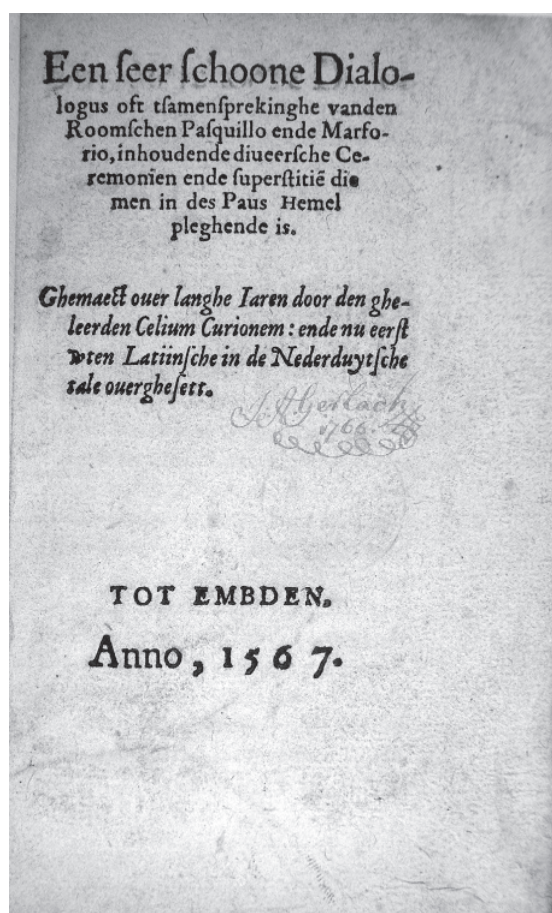
4

Specimens of the press' initials as used in Sedan: set I (at top), set 2 and set 3.
(Scan from the original publication)



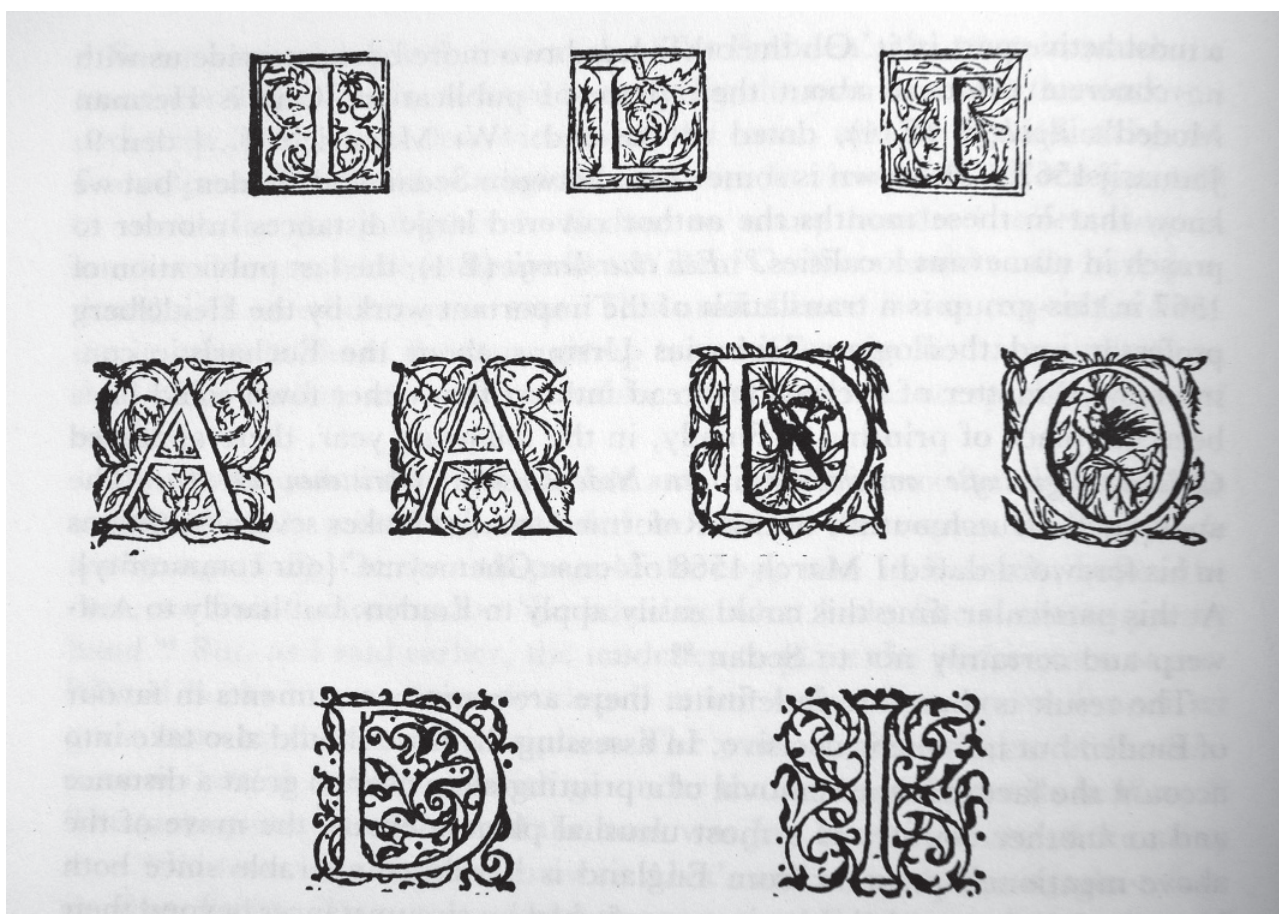
5

H. Bullinger, *Huysboeck* ([Sedan, Lenaert der Kinderen], 1567), S 8. Types 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8: two-line Double Pica, Double Pica and Pica Romans and Double Pica Italic, all by Guyot; English Italic by Tavernier; two-line Great Primer Roman; and the 'Alle boom' device (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OG 63-6553)



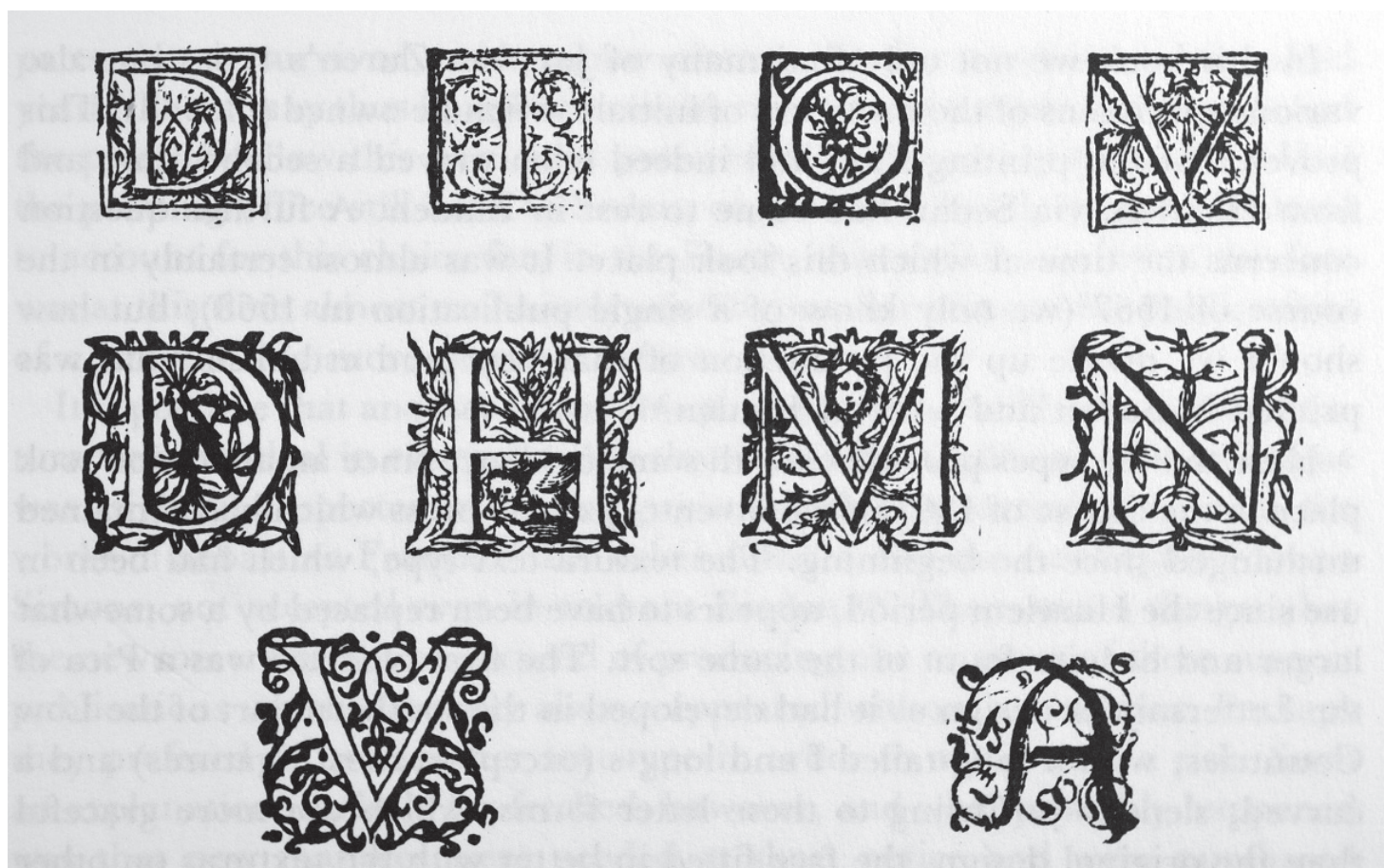
6

Curione, *Pasquillus ecstasticus* (Emden, Coornhert press], 1567), E2. Types 3, 4, 8: Guyot's Double Pica and Pica Romans and his English Italic, Initial 2 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 63-9065)



7

Initials in Heinrich Bullinger, *Teghens de Wederdoopers* (1569), printed by Jean Malet in Emden: set I (at top), set 2 and set 3.
(Scan from the original publication)



8

Specimens of the press' initials as used, presumably by the Coornherts, in Emden: set 1 (at top), set 2 and set 3 and Albert Christiaensz' initial A
(Scan from the original publication)

THE FIRST PRINTERS OF THE CITY OF LEIDEN

JAN MOYT JACOB SZ AND ANDRIES VERSCHOUT

1574 to 1578



Anyone working on the early material of the Leiden municipal archives (from 1574 to 1816) will have encountered in numerous places the hurried, somewhat cramped handwriting of Jan van Hout, Leiden Town Secretary from 1569 until his death in 1609 – with an interruption of four years, 1569-73, spent in Emden, after having been fired by the Duke of Alva, governor in the Netherlands for King Philip II of Spain. Van Hout's involvement in everything that occurred in the town at the time is impressive and testifies to a considerable versatility and an enormous energy. In his position as town secretary, where so many administrative and social threads converged, he also proved himself to be a thoroughly modern organizer. It is thanks to him that Leiden was the first city in the northern Low Countries – and long remained the only one – to have a press of its own and was thus in a position to print all sorts of official publications and forms. According to Van Hout's calculations this enabled him to save nine tenths of the expense of having documents repeatedly copied by hand.

The only existing study of the press 'Op 't Raethuys', as it calls itself on the title-pages of its printed work, dates from more than a hundred years ago.¹ The author there recounts the history of its foundation and provides a number of details about Van Hout's role as the manager of the enterprise. He also identifies, mainly on the basis of entries in the treasury accounts, eight or nine products of the press, out of the many hundreds produced in the first twenty-five years of its existence alone. In the framework of a wider research project I have tried, with the inestimably valuable assistance of Mr B.M. Leverland, Deputy Keeper of the Leiden Records, to provide as complete an inventory as possible of the surviving printed work.² Products of the Op 't Raethuys press are to be found not only in the Leiden library,

¹ W.I.C. Rammelman Elsevier, 'De voormalige drukkerij op het raadhuis der stad Leyden, a°. 1577-1610', *Werken van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, NS, 10 (1857), pp. 273-93. R. Breugelmans drew attention to the subject in the column 'De tijd van toen' in the *Leidsch Dagblad* of 23 January 1987.

² As part of a research project which aims to record everything printed within the present Dutch borders between 1541 and 1600 and anything elsewhere printed in Dutch excluding Belgium. See the article by the initiator of the plan, Prof. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De Nederlandse bibliografie 1541-1600', *Bibliotheekleven*, 49 (1964), pp. 1-9. Publication in the form of a 'Repertory' is in preparation. [P. Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1998). Eds.]

but are also scattered over the various archives of the time. It was even necessary to go through all Jan van Hout's notes and drafts, for he frequently wrote them on the unprinted verso side of unused forms and announcements.

Where the type stock of the municipal press is concerned we are well informed.³ In a petition to the magistrate⁴ Van Hout gave a survey of the typefaces present in 1600, mentioning the year in which they were acquired and the price paid, and he added a type specimen in which they were reproduced with all their signs.⁵ This detailed list of the available material corresponds to what we find in the printed works themselves. We thus know that in 1578 the press started out with no more than two typefaces, a fairly small Roman and a Civilité, or calligraphic face, on the same body. This material was supplemented over the years with some larger Civilité and Roman types. A Textura, the Gothic typeface used all over the northern Netherlands, was only added in 1593. The decision to set up a municipal printing-house was taken by the Town Council ('Vroedschap') on 15 November 1577, and almost a year later, on 5 November 1578, Van Hout was reimbursed for what he had in the meantime spent on a press, the first typefaces and other necessary equipment.⁶ The acquisitions consequently took place in the course of 1578, and if we encounter a publication with types belonging to the municipal press but with an earlier date, as is the case with a bye-law for the linen weavers of 27 February 1577, it cannot be a publication of that year.⁷ Van Hout's list shows that the types applied in this piece had not been bought before 1580 and that the initials only came into use even later. But this reprint is an exception. Other printed ordinances with 1577 as the year of issue (or earlier still, 1574) obviously appeared in the year in question and one of them even explicitly states *Ghedruckt tot Leyden 1577*. That was consequently before the municipal press had started work. What is striking, moreover, is that the documents are set in Texturas which do not appear in the type specimen.

There are two possibilities. Either Jan van Hout used this still popular Dutch

³ See C. Enschedé, *Fonderies de caractères et leur matériel dans les Pays-Bas du XVe au XIXe siècle* (Haarlem 1908), pp. 48-53, and *id.*, *Typefoundries in the Netherlands from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century*. Translated with revisions and notes by Harry Carter, ed. Lotte Hellings (Haarlem 1978), pp. 52-6.

⁴ Van Hout's autograph draft in the Leiden Municipal Archives (Gemeentearchief Leiden, hereafter cited as GAL), Town Archive (Stadsarchief, hereafter cited as SA) SA II, inv. no. 1052. Rammelman Elsevier, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 280 ff., gives various quotations from it. For the purchase of typefaces and other material, see pp. 282-6.

⁵ Enschedé, op. cit. (n. 3: 'Typefoundries'), pp. 437-8: 'List of type-specimens, no. 5'. The copy of the type specimen, there described as 'lost', has been recovered in the meantime and added to Van Hout's petition (see the n. 4).

⁶ GAL, SA II, inv. no. 7449 ('Tresoriersrekening' (Treasurer's Account) for 1578), f. 413v.

⁷ GAL, Bibl. 254, in portfolio 24.

typeface for a brief period before buying what seemed to him more suitable typesets in 1578, or else we are dealing with another printer. On closer investigation this second possibility appears to be the case. In the treasury accounts from 1574 to 1576 various payments have been entered to Jan Moyt Jacobszoon, 'bouckdrucker', which show that the town was using his services before it possessed a press of its own. The earliest entry concerns a printing order with a political purpose. A few days after the relief of Leiden, admiral Louis de Boisot, liberator of the city, dispatched letters to the magistrates of Amsterdam and those of Utrecht, with an appeal to renounce their subjection to Spanish rule and join the side of William of Orange. At the behest of the admiral each of these documents was produced in 400 copies for distribution in the towns to which it was addressed.⁸ The texts were printed on loose sheets and could thus be posted up. A little later, with an order of 14 October, Moyt was paid for his work by the city.

Before the printer received this commission he had already published an extensive account of the siege of Haarlem, compiled by N. [van] R[ooswijck], an inhabitant of that town.⁹ The author's dedication to the former governor and commander of Leiden, George de Montigny, is dated 26 March 1573, which means that the book appeared before Haarlem had fallen. It is quite understandable that in Leiden, between two sieges, there should have been a strong interest in a similar struggle taking place so close at hand. On the title-page Moyt calls himself 'gheswooren bouck prenter ende figuer snijder der C[oninckijcke] M[aiesteyt] woonende op de Oosterlinck plaets'. Where he obtained the right to style himself 'sworn printer and woodcutter to His Royal Majesty' in this manner is not clear.

Apart from the young Jan Bouwensz, who had carried on the publishing firm of Jan Matthijsz after the latter's death in 1569, Jan Moyt was the only printer in Leiden at the time.¹⁰ He was born there in about 1540¹¹ and obviously received training as

⁸ L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. I, nos. 182 and 183 respectively. The payment entry in the Treasurer's Account for 1573/4, f. 333, is quoted in a note to the description of the title-page.

⁹ N. [van] R[ooswijck], *Cort ende waerachtich verhael van alle gheschiedenissen [...] in ende voor der stadt Haerlem in Hollandt gheschiet zedert de belegeringhe ...* (Leiden, Jan Moyt Jacobszoon, s.a. [1573]) – W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, vol. I, pt. I, no. 202. – Copies: Ghent, UL; Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek; The Hague, Royal Library (KB); Leiden, Municipal Archives (GAL) and UL, and elsewhere.

¹⁰ See the survey of Leiden printers in J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus. Typographi & bibliopolae neerlandici usque ad annum MDCC. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers tot 1700* (Nieuwkoop 1980), p. 139.

¹¹ On 30 June 1576 he stated that he was almost sixty years old, see GAL, Notariële Archieven

a printer. Where, and with whom, is not known. In 1566 he was one of a number of people summoned as heretics,¹² but he managed to escape condemnation. He is wrongly reported to have been in Haarlem in 1573,¹³ but was in fact again residing in Leiden where he was married and lived through the siege.¹⁴ In the following year he was a witness of the marriage banns of Andries Verschout from Antwerp, a fellow printer.¹⁵ We shall see that he sold his press in June 1576, and was subsequently appointed lieutenant to the captain ('rotmeester') of the civic militia, Jan Pietersz.¹⁶ His name appears again a year later in a notarial deed in Leiden¹⁷ and in the census of 1581 he and his wife Annetgen Adriaensdr appear to have been living at a new address, owned by a bargeman's widow in the Gasthuisvierendeel.¹⁸ His profession is listed as printer's journeyman ('boucdruckersknecht'), which seems to imply that he was working as a salaried compositor. In (apparent) contradiction to this fact, a political news report *ghedruckt* (printed) by my Jan Moyt Jacobszoon van Leyden appeared in 1582. I shall be returning to this publication at the end of this article.

This is all the information we have about Jan Moyt's life and his firm. What is particularly interesting is the hitherto unknown fact that he sold his press in 1576 to Dirck Mullem, a man from the land of Cleves, who worked with it as a printer-publisher in his town of residence, Rotterdam. The presence of a third party in this transaction might suggest that Moyt could not meet his obligations to a financial backer and was thus obliged to go into liquidation.¹⁹

(NA), inv. no. 5, f. 278.

¹² D.H.A. Kolff, 'Libertatis ergo. De beroerten binnen Leiden in de jaren 1566 en 1567', *Leids Jaarboekje*, 58 (1966), p. 143.

¹³ J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), p. 73: 'Jan Moyt Jacobszoon gheswooren Bouckprenter en Figuersnijder'. The author does not give his source for this information. The name does not appear in H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* ('s-Gravenhage 1951). The statement is probably based, erroneously, on the address of N. van Rooswijck's *Verhael* quoted above in n. 9.

¹⁴ As we see from the census of 1574, GAL, SA I, inv. no. 24: 'Jan Moyt Jacobsz., Oesterlynplaets, 2 personen', see D.E.H. de Boer & R.C.J. van Maanen, *De volkstelling van 1574. Leiden ten tijde van het beleg* (Leiden 1986), p. 65.

¹⁵ Briels, op. cit. (n. 13), p. 509, (a), with a reference to GAL, 'Trouwboek' (Register of Marriages), A, f. 12v.

¹⁶ GAL, NA, inv. no. 5 (Salomon Lenaerts. van der Wuert), f. 278; 30 June 1576.

¹⁷ GAL, NA, no. 6 (*idem*), f. 536.

¹⁸ GAL, SA II, no. 1289, f. 40: 'Jan Jacobszn Moyt, boucdruckersknecht, met Annetgen Adriaensdr., zijn wijff, bij Maritgen Jansdr., weduwe van Geryt Pietersz., schipper'.

¹⁹ GAL, Oudrechterlijk Archief (Court Archive, hereafter cited as RA) 73 (Inbrengboek

For the time being, however, he was able to survive with commissions from the city. In the year after the siege he again received a payment from the municipality, this time for some ordinances of the civic militia and certain receipts concerning loans issued on 3 November ('eenighe ordonnantien van de schutterije ende zeeckere quitantien beroerende de leeninghe, 3 November anno voorsz. Gegeven').²⁰ Neither the ordinances nor the receipts have so far come to light. But we do indeed know the debenture concerning the large city loan of which Moyt supplied 500 copies and for which he was paid on 28 June 1576.²¹ Several hundred of these receipts have survived and make it possible to establish how the printer proceeded with such a commission. He set the text four times and placed the type matter in the forme to occupy the space of half a sheet. After a first printing he turned the sheet over and printed again, thus obtaining eight impressions per sheet, which he then cut out and turned into as many forms.

In 1576 Jan Moyt also produced the receipts for the assessments in the municipal taxes of that year. Only one of these has survived. According to the order of payment of 16 March this, too, was a print run of 500 copies.²² At about the same time he printed 100 copies of a new ordinance concerning the civic militia, not one of which survives, and 150 posters for the important horse market in Valkenburg, which, unfortunately, have also disappeared.²³ On the other hand we do indeed have a printed guild ordinance dated December 1574 regulating the bakeries.²⁴ In contrast to similar publications of a later date, which appeared in the form of gatherings, this ordinance is printed on a full sheet. Although the city accorded an administrative authority to reciprocally agreed regulations such as these, and

B), f. 101v. The act runs: 'Op huyden den naestlesten Julij 1576 compareerde voor schepenen ondergeschreven Dirck Mulm van Rotterdam, boeckprenter, ende bekende schuldich te wesen Jan Moyt Jacobsz, mede bouckprenter, ende Cornelis Willemsz; tinnegieter de somme van hondertendeachtien gulden, te 40 grooten Vlaems elcke gulden voorseyt, ter cause ende van coope van seeckere bouckdruckerije, eertijts gebruyct sijnde bij Jan Moyt Jacobsz voorseyt, te betalen 30 gulden in gereden gelde ende 25 derselver gulden Jacobi anno '77 eerstcomende ende soe voorts van jaere te jaere geduyrende ter volre betalinge toe ...' – I am most grateful to Mr R.M.T.E. Oomes, who was so kind as to inform me of this discovery. Dirck Mullem published his first book in the same year, 1576; see F. Kossmann, 'Dierck Mullem, de oudste Rotterdamsche boekdrukker', *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 3rd S., 9 (1931), pp. 69-84; Briels, op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 373-6.

²⁰ GAL, SA II, inv. no. 7446 ('Tresoriersrekening' 1575), f. 362.

²¹ GAL, SA II, inv. no. 3972. For the payment entry, see SA II, inv. no. 7447 ('Tresoriersrekening' 1576), f. 395v.

²² The surviving copy is in the 'Vroedschapsboek' (Town Council's Book) K, GAL, SA II, inv. no. 472, by f. 65. For the payment entry see SA II, inv. no. 7447 ('Tresoriersrekening' 1576), f. 378v.

²³ *Id.*, ff. 376 and 399 f. respectively (7 March and 8 August 1576 respectively).

²⁴ GAL, Bibl. 59300; another copy in Bibl. 254, portfolio 24.

Jan van Hout put his signature to every copy, the printing costs were evidently met by the parties involved, since they do not appear in the municipal accounts. The Rhineland bailiwick, the district over which the bailiff had jurisdiction and of which Jan van Hout was secretary, also had an ordinance printed by Moyt, in which matrimonial rights were regulated and instructions given regarding possible irregularities and abuses in marriage. The loose leaf is decorated by an initial which also appears in the book by Van Rooswijck.²⁵

Even in 1577, in other words after Moyt had disposed of his press, three guild ordinances appeared in print. They concerned the trades of millers (both male and female), bargemen and linen weavers. These, too, are on full sheets, two of which were needed to contain all the provisions regarding the weavers. Each copy is signed personally by Van Hout,²⁶ who at the time also issued some printing orders in his capacity as secretary of the Rhineland bailiwick. In the same year, 1577, there appeared, again as a loose leaf, an ordinance on the division of property and the regulation of inheritances in the countryside.²⁷ It was followed a year later by a by-law and an ordinance about the testing of weights and measures in the territory of the bailiwick.²⁸ The printer appears to have had various Texturas and an Italic typeface at his disposal and the last of these publications is also decorated with a large calligraphic initial.

While, as far as we know, Jan Bouwensz published nothing whatsoever in this period, elsewhere in Leiden a total of no more than two books appeared between 1573 and 1577 – a nadir in the history of publishing in that town. We again see that these publications, of a nature completely different from the printed work we have so far discussed, were commissioned by Jan van Hout. At his expense, too, ‘impensis Ioannis Hauteni’, a collection of Latin poems by Janus Douza (Jan van der Does) appeared in 1575, with the imprint ‘In nova Academia nostra Lugdunensi excusum’;²⁹ this was followed by *Carminum Lugdunensium sylvā* by Hadrianus Junius,

²⁵ General State Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief, hereafter cited as ARA), arch. Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, inv. no. 1000.

²⁶ Millers: GAL, Bibl. 59715 and Bibl. 254, portfolio. 24; bargemen: Bibl. 59790 and Bibl. 254, portfolio 30; linen weavers: Bibl. 59665 and 59666. This last copy is cut out and stuck together as a gathering.

²⁷ GAL, Bibl. 82110* (damaged copy) and in RA, inv. no. 125. The leaf was printed between 2 and 16 April 1577; this last date, on which it was proclaimed, has been filled in by pen.

²⁸ GAL, Arch. Hallen, inv. no. 710: 3 copies, one of which is damaged, with notes on the back. Printed between 27 May and 8 July 1578 (proclaimed). The last date is filled in by pen.

²⁹ Janus Duza, *Nova poemata. Quorum catalogum altera ab hac pagina indicabit. Item Hadrian Junii Carminum Lugdunensium sylvā. In nova Academia nostra Lugdunensi excusum, impensis Joannis Hauteni* (s.l.e.n. [Leiden, Andries Verschout, at Jan Moyt Jacobsz.?, for Jan van Hout], 1575. 8vo) . – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB); Leiden, UL (2x), and in foreign libraries.

a physician and rector in Haarlem who had recently been appointed professor of medicine at the Academy but who died before his first lecture. Van Hout was a close friend of both men, and his assistance in the publication comes as no surprise, even if it is unusual for someone outside the trade to proclaim himself the backer of a publication on the title-page.

But who was the anonymous printer? The book is set in Roman types of various formats, with an Italic typeface for the eulogies in the preliminary matter. The title-page has an oval woodcut with the arms of Leiden, held by a helmeted lion with a sword lifted menacingly. On the verso of the title-page we see an almost identical representation, now with the legend 'Haec libertatis ergo' placed as a separate block in a large compartment adorned with all sorts of military attributes. The second municipal coat of arms also appears on the title-page of the considerably expanded edition of the book a year later, on which Van Hout is no longer mentioned.³⁰ On the last page the compartment is printed again, but is now left empty, without the coat of arms. The typefaces prove that the books originated from the same press. The *secunda editio*, moreover, is largely a title edition of the *Nova poemata*, enlarged by a number of new poems.

The woodcut of the city arms without the device also appears in a municipal publication of a slightly later date, May 1578, proclaiming that the States had granted religious freedom to the students at the Academy. This authorization gave new possibilities to the young university and the city immediately proceeded to give the important information as much publicity as possible.³¹ At about the same time the other block with the city arms was used again, this time on a poster proclaiming the celebration of the 3rd of October as a day of thanksgiving for the relief of the city.³² On this leaf the establishment of an annual market was also announced, to be held in the first ten days of the same month. Above the text an occasional poem of ten lines, possibly by Van Hout himself, is printed in the aforesaid Italic, and below are three lines set in Roman capitals of different sizes. These correspond to the typefaces used on the title-pages of the Dousa volumes. On both leaves, moreover, the text starts with a large calligraphic initial from the same series we have already encountered in a publication of the bailiwick.

³⁰ Janus Douza, *Novorum poematum secunda Lugdunensis editio, plus dimidia parte, hoc est novem librorum accessione recens locupleta & aucta [...]. Impressum in nova Lugduni Batavorum Academia, Anno M.D.LXXVI. (s.l.e.n. [Leiden, Andries Verschout, at Jan Moyt Jacobsz.'v?], 1576. 8vo). — Copies: Amsterdam, UL; The Hague, KB (2x); Leiden, Municipal Archives (GAL) and UL (2x); Utrecht, UL, and in foreign libraries.*

³¹ GAL, SA II, no. 298 ('Missivenboek' (Book of Missives) A): 32 copies, added to the binding in the form of a separate quire; in RA inv. no. 80, one copy used for notes; Leiden, AC: inv. 38, f. 72.

³² GAL, SA II, inv. no. 785: 4 copies, used for notes.

The blocks with the city arms, together with the similarity of the typefaces (in so far as they can be compared) establish a direct link between the official publications ordered, and partly signed, by Jan van Hout, and the poetry collections the first of which appeared at his expense. There is every reason to believe that they were produced by the same press and that he used a single supplier for both purposes – until he had access to a printing-press of his own. So who was the typographer to whom he turned? Only one man can be taken into consideration: Andries Verschout. The census of 1581 shows that he had been living in the town for six years.³³ His marriage had thus been celebrated shortly after his arrival. It is quite likely that, as in Antwerp, he did not have a press of his own in his first years in Leiden.³⁴ Not until 1577 did a book appear in his name.³⁵ In view of his evident friendship with Moyt it seems to me perfectly possible that Verschout started off by staying with his colleague and printed the two Dousa books on his press. He may even have been asked to come to Leiden for that very purpose, for he had extensive experience in setting Latin. Plantin's account books show that he had been engaged in doing so for a good six months in 1564.³⁶

That Verschout was the printer is clearly confirmed by what he produced for a couple of Leiden scholars in 1579 and 1580. In so doing he fulfilled the function of printer to the Academy until Willem Silvius obtained the official appointment. The external similarity is particularly striking with Guil. Feugeraeus, *Responsa ad cuiusdam obscuri inquisitoris in Zelandia [...] questiones* (1579), and with Jacobus Brocardus (Giacopo Brocardo), *Mystica et prophetica libri Levitici interpretatio* (1580). Both title-pages display the block of the Leiden arms without a legend and, in addition to the name of the publisher, Feugeraeus' tract has as its imprint 'In nova Academia Lugdunensi in Bata.', thus a variant of the address used for the Dousa books.

Verschout's position when he was working for the city was not the same as that of Moyt. The latter presented his own bills to the municipality and signed personally for the sums he received. With Verschout it was otherwise. The Town's Cumulative Account for 1578 reports two consignments of printed work for that year, including

³³ GAL, SA II, inv. no. 1289, f. 31. Cf. Briels, op. cit. (n. 13), p. 509 (d).

³⁴ He is not mentioned by A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), or by *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, vols. 1-2, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, (Nieuwkoop 1968 & 1977-80). – For information about his later life in Holland, see Briels, op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 508-13.

³⁵ His earliest known publication is a poem by Jeronimus van der Voort which appeared in 1577. The only known copy disappeared in Louvain in 1914. For a description, see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), vol. 5, p. 747, no. V 39.

³⁶ Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. 31 ('Livre des ouvriers'), f. IV.

the posters announcing the annual market in the first week of October,³⁷ payment for which was not made to the printer but to Jan van Hout. The situation remained the same when the municipal press started printing and the services of Verschout were no longer required. The town secretary managed the new enterprise as if it were a firm of his own. Orders of payment for all printed work performed for the city were made out in his name and the printers must have received their wages straight from him since their names do not appear in the municipal account books. So we do not even know whether Moyt worked for the press. He may equally well have entered the service of Willem Silvius or of Jan Paets Jacobsz, both of whom opened a printing-house in Leiden at about this time.

We saw that Moyt's name again appears in a printed work in 1582, but now for the last time. It is an account of the assassination attempt by Jean Jaureguy³⁸ on the Prince of Orange in that year, taken from a Brussels news report.³⁹ Now, it is perfectly conceivable that Moyt, even if he no longer had a press of his own, quickly availed himself of this startling episode to launch an unauthorized edition on the market. What is surprising, however, is that he should put 'van Leyden' on the title-page rather than the usual 'te Leyden' or 'tot Leyden'. Stranger still is the fact that a number of the typefaces used cannot be found in Leiden. This applies above all to the English Roman, an uncommon typeface which I have only encountered at about this time, in combination with the Pica Italic also used here, in work by Antonis Ketel in Haarlem and Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam. On closer investigation it emerges that Ketel had other Texturas and thus could not have been the printer. Such a work, moreover, was hardly in his line. It does, on the other hand, fit in perfectly with the early production of Cornelis Claesz, who also owned *all* the typefaces used in it. For this reason, and in the absence of any other candidate, we can only assume that the pamphlet in question was produced by his press. Was it commissioned by Moyt? That is most unlikely. Claesz hardly ever worked for third parties. On the contrary, he himself had many works printed by others, and it seems implausible that he was prepared to print, for a printer's journeyman in Leiden, an eight-page pamphlet which was not of the slightest interest from a commercial point of view.

³⁷ '... chaerten jegens d'aenstaende marct dewelcke den Ien octobris toecomende zoude werden gehouden'; GAL, SA II, inv. no. 7449 ('Tresoriersrekening' 1578), f. 413. The other payment (*ibid.*, f. 412v.) was for 'zeecker billetten' (certain posters), without any further specification. This entry may have referred to the proclamation of freedom of worship for students discussed above.

³⁸ GAL, Bibl. 72121: *Wreede Turcksche, wonderlijcke verhalinge van dit leste verraet, voorgehenomen teghen Ducks Dangiū [Duc d'Anjou] [...] ende teghen den Eedelen Prince van Orangien, gheschiet binnen Brugghe ...* ('Ghedrukt by my Jan Moyt Jacobszoon van Leyden Anno 1582'. 4to). – Kn 600. Copies are also in Leiden, UL and Bibliotheca Thysiana, and Ghent, UL.

³⁹ *Coppe van eenen brief geschreven wt Brugghe ... (s.l.a.n. [Brussels, Jan van Brecht, 1582])*. – Kn 601.

We must therefore conclude that Cornelis Claesz chose to hide behind the name of Moyt, knowing that Moyt no longer had a press of his own and could thus not be persecuted. Cornelis Claesz did this on more than one occasion in the first year of his activity as a printer. He published, for example, a report about the relief of Lochem in 1582 with, as an imprint 'Ghedruct tot Aernhem by Willem Jansens'.⁴⁰ He consequently took over the name of an existing printer, Willem Jansz van Campen (who always indicated his place of residence as 'Arnhem'),⁴¹ and changed just enough in the name and the address to suggest that that was where the publication was produced, while the printer in question could always point to these differences to prove that he was *not* involved. This may not have been a particularly elegant procedure, but it was resorted to with some frequency. Misspelled names of publishers or printers on title-pages should always put us on our guard against misuse by a third party, since the bearer of the name himself would hardly ever have allowed such a misprint.

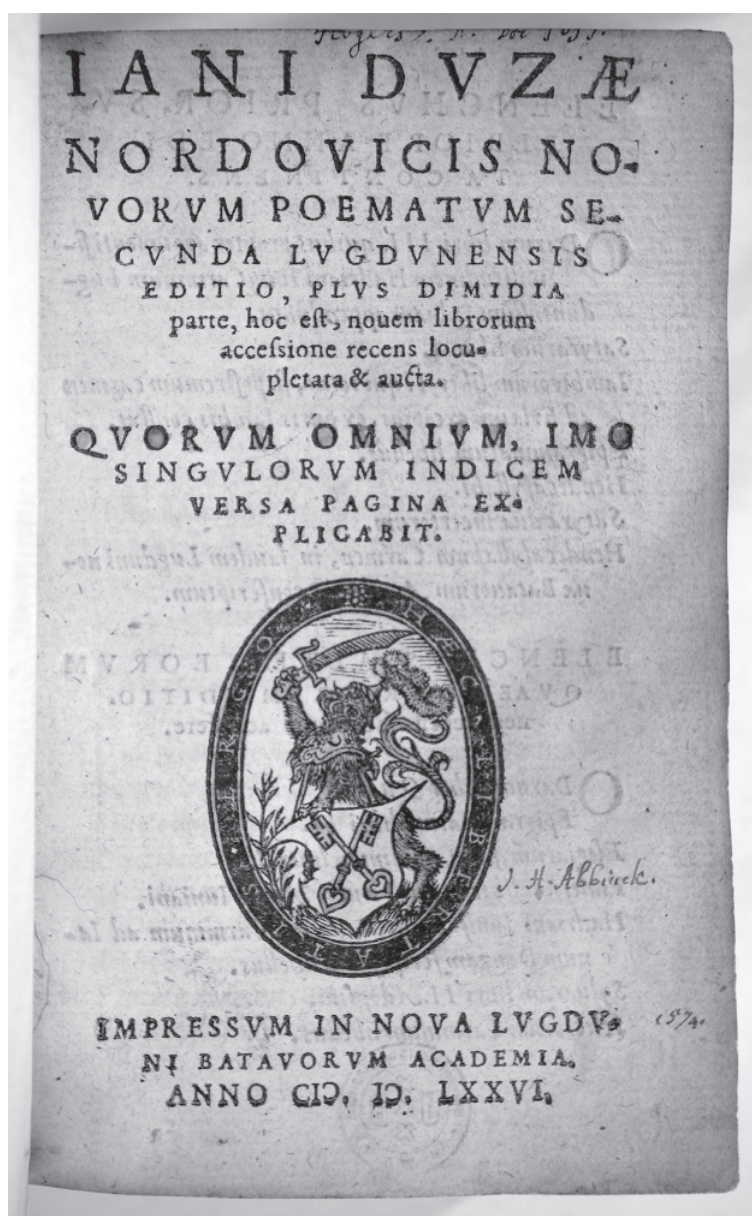
Only once more do we see Moyt in action. In 1591 he made some woodcuts for the town representing two scaling ladders and two fire buckets, intended for the 'Aenhang van de burgerlicke keuren belangende de opzicht [...] jegens brand' ('Poster of the civil bye-laws concerning the control [...] of fire-fighting'), printed in that year by the Op 't Raethuys press.⁴² The order of payment to Moyt, together with his receipt, survives on the verso side of a proof sheet with impressions of the woodcuts.⁴³ He there shows himself to have been a mediocre woodcutter. The work is far from the level of the city arms discussed above, which are superbly cut and probably came from Antwerp. This is the last time we encounter Moyt's name. His career was not very successful and it is no wonder that he should have been all but forgotten. Nevertheless, as one of the first city printers in Holland I feel he deserves a brief mention in the history of the Dutch book. Verschout's later career, which was also anything but smooth, lies outside the scope of this article.

⁴⁰ Kn 614.

⁴¹ For this printer-publisher who subsequently settled in Amsterdam, see E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/'s-Gravenhage 1910-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol.3, pp. 336-65. The pamphlet discussed above, Kn 614, was still regarded by Burger (no. 586) as a publication by Willem Jansz van Campen.

⁴² J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de Bibliotheek der Rijks Universiteit te Utrecht niet voorkomend in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22), vol. I, no. 156. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, GAL (shelf-mark Bibl. 17872-4).

⁴³ GAL, SA II, inv. no. 7794 (Appendices 'Tresoriersrekening' 1591), on f. 614.



I

Iani Dvzae Nordovicis novorum poematum secunda Lvgdvnensis editio (Impressum in Nova Lvgdvni Batavorum Academia, 1575)

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 76-136)

NICOLAES BIESTKENS VAN DIEST,

IN DUPLO, 1558 to 1583



In the entire history of the book, it is hard to find a more successful copy imprint than the words ‘Gedruct na de Copye van Nicolaes Biestkens’. For over a hundred and sixty years this imprint appeared on the title-pages of two sorts of Bible publications: a complete Bible and a New Testament. The original editions indicated by the copy imprint date from 1560 and 1562 respectively and had ‘Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest’ as the name of the publisher but no mention of place.¹ These were not new translations, but reprints of editions published earlier. The Bible² – adapted from a Low German Luther Bible published in Magdeburg in 1554 – was first produced in Emden in 1558 by Steven Mierdmans and Jan Gailliart.³ The text of the New Testament too,⁴ based

¹ The most important studies on Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest are: E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger, jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/s-Gravenhage 1907-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 2, hereafter quoted as Moes-Burger, pp. 1-25, and H.F. Wijnman, ‘Grep en uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (2): De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen’, *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51 (121 ff., 126 f.). For further literature, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 15 f.

² *Den Bibel, inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament ...* (s.l., ‘Ghedruct by my Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest. Int Jaer ons Heeren 1560’. 4to in eights). See P.H. Vogel, ‘Der niederlandische Bibeldruck in Emden 1556-1568’, *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), pp. 162-71, no. 7; Moes-Burger, no. 253 (pp. 1 ff.); *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts ...*, quoted as VD 16, vol. 2 (Stuttgart 1984), no. B 2866 (‘Emden’); M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emder Buchdrucks (1554-1602) ...* (Aurich 1986), pp. 45-116: ‘Verzeichnis der Emder Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602’, quoted as Tielke, no. 117; Wijnman, art. cit. (n.1), pp. 121 ff.; C.C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden 1937), p. 218. – The size is sometimes wrongly given as folio.

³ *Biblia. Dat is de gheheele Heylighe Schrift, in gemeyn Nederlantsch duytsch ...* (Emden, Steven Mierdmans & Jan Gailliart, 1558. f°). See Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 3 (p. 165); T.H. Darlow & H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, vols. 1-2 in 4 parts (London 1903-11), pt. 2, no. 3291; H.F. Wijnman, ‘Grep en uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (1): De totstandkoming van de Emdense uitgaven van de Liesveldt-Bijbel uit 1559 en volgende jaren’, *Het Boek*, 36 (1963-4), pp. 140-68 (pp. 145 ff.); De Bruin, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 216 f.; Tielke, op. cit. (n. 2), no. 88.

⁴ *Dat nieuwe Testament ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi [...]. Ghecorrigeert ende verbeterd ...* (s.l., ‘Ghedruct by my Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest. Int Jaer ons Heeren 1562’; at the end: ‘den VI. dach Julij’. 8vo.). See Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 9; Moes-Burger, no. 257; Tielke, op. cit. (n. 2), no. 137; Wijnman, art. cit.

on the so-called Liesveldt Bible, dated from 1554⁵ and had since been reprinted on various occasions.⁶

Although they were not new, Biestkens' publications had a striking success, as we see from the constant references to his name in or on reprints. Already in 1563, one year after the appearance of his New Testament, there appeared at least one new edition with the copy imprint⁷ and in that same year Biestkens' publication was explicitly mentioned as *exemplar* in the foreword to a Bible.⁸ This rapid popularity had various causes, for Biestkens' editions differ in three respects from their predecessors. To start with, where the complete Bible is concerned, this was the first edition in the Dutch-speaking world to be entirely 'op versekens gesteld', in other words provided with a numeration of the verses. Furthermore, thanks to the use of a smaller typeface, they could be sold far more cheaply than most other editions: their smaller format entailed a considerable economy in paper – an expense factor not second to the composing costs. Finally, the compiler of the index devoted extra space to points of faith like the ban, baptism and the swearing of oaths, which were of special importance to the followers of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. And these were the circles in which a demand for 'Biestkens' Bibles persisted for many years, the copy imprint thereby serving as a confessional indication. It was above all of the New Testament that what Le Long described as an 'unbelievable' number of impressions appeared after the original edition.⁹

In contrast to a younger namesake, whose career as printer in Amsterdam can be clearly documented and followed from 1595, our Nicolaes Biestkens always remained a mysterious figure. 'I doubt whether we shall ever discover the truth

(n.1), pp. 131, 140.

⁵ *Dat nieuwe Testament ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi ...* (s.l., 'Gedruct by Mattheus Jacobszoon [pseud.], An.1554'). See Darlow & Moule, op. cit. (n. 3), pt. 2, no. 3288; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 123 ff. For documentation on the course of this enterprise, see M. Keyser, 'De drukkerij van Mattheus Jacobszoon, Lübeck 1554', in *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 5 (1979), pp. 91-4.

⁶ Tielke, op. cit. (n. 2), nos. 89 (1558), 108 (1559) and 118 (1560 = Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 6). In attributing these editions to Emden, the author follows Wijnman in his art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 123 ff., and art. cit. (n. 3), p. 147. Closer investigation shows that this attribution of place of publication for the 1558 and 1560 editions is erroneous.

⁷ I. le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduitsche Bybels* (Amsterdam 1732; reissue Hoorn 1764), p. 689, mentions two editions from 1563 with the aforesaid copy imprint, one dated 20 Augustus and the other 16 November. No copy of either is known, but the latter may be the same as an undated edition from 1563 which has survived: Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 12 and Tielke, op. cit. (n. 2), no. 158. This is no Emden publication either; as I hope to show elsewhere, the book very probably was printed in Franeker.

⁸ Le Long, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 689.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 688.

about the father. We know very little for sure about that wanderer from the years of religious persecution who, judging from his name, originated from Diest, a town on the river Demer in the southern Netherlands, who, according to a seventeenth-century tradition, must have worked in Emden, where one of his sons was born, and who later settled in Hoorn and, for a few years, in Amsterdam. Every scholar attributes different publications to him which do not bear his name, and I myself sometimes have my doubts, even about whether various books which do indeed bear his name are really his.' Such is the view of Dr C.P. Burger, jr., the great expert on Dutch books who was very seldom faced with a problem he was unable to solve.¹⁰ He wrote these lines shortly before the completion of *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers*, the four-volume standard work, the completion of which he took over from the original author, E.W. Moes. In the second volume Moes had already composed the chapter on Nicolaes Biestkens and had managed to record thirteen publications produced by him between 1560 and 1570 and another eight from his later activity in Amsterdam. Of the early series of publications only the Bible and the New Testament bore Biestkens' name, seven had no imprint and four others were only known from secondary sources. With a single exception, on the other hand, the Amsterdam publications produced between 1578 and 1583 all had his imprint, even if there was no surviving copy of two of them.¹¹ We can deduce from Burger's words that he did not agree with a number of Moes' attributions – rightly, as we shall see.

After Moes' extensive description of Biestkens' activities only a single investigator has tried to penetrate his secrets. This was the Amsterdam bibliographer and historian Dr H.F. Wijnman, who followed the trail of the Dutch emigrant presses in Emden in two substantial articles – the first, and hitherto almost the only, scholarly and bibliographically responsible study on an area filled with pitfalls.¹² His work is still of the greatest value as a collection of historical data and as a stimulating contribution to our knowledge of this important period of the Dutch book which still remains obscure in so many respects.

Wijnman's investigation into the Biestkens problem can be summarized as follows. As a starting point he took certain known items of information. The first was the fact observed by H. de la Fontaine Verwey that, in contrast to earlier views,

¹⁰ Statement in a book review in *Het Boek*, 3 (1914), p. 214.

¹¹ Moes-Burger, nos. 253-65 and 266-73.

¹² These articles by Wijnman have been mentioned in notes 1 and 3. The author repeated his view of the Biestkens question in his 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [=1968]), pp. 448-78 (pp. 471 f.).

only two printing-presses were functioning in Emden in about 1560:¹³ that of Gillis van der Erven (Gellius Ctematius) as the successor of Nicolaes van den Berghe (Nicholas Hill) and that of Willem Gailliart, who carried on the business of Steven Mierdmans. Wijnman's second starting point was the circumstance which emerged from the acts of the Emden church consistory: the governing board of the Dutch community was intensely preoccupied with everything concerning the publication of Bibles and guarded against the violation of existing publishing rights wherever these might be – in the hands of the printer or of his backer(s), individual or in company. Shortly before, in 1558, Van der Erven, a member and even an elder of the community, had received a warning in this connection as a result of a complaint filed against him.¹⁴

As I said earlier, Biestkens' Bible is a reprint of a Bible which had been published in 1558 by Steven Mierdmans together with the businessman Jan Gailliart, who probably subsidized most of the enterprise. Shortly after the appearance of the work the printer died and Gailliart's son Willem took over the firm, undoubtedly backed by his father's capital. They thus possessed all the publication rights of the Bible, and this also applied to the 1554 New Testament, since Willem Gailliart had obtained the remaining stock of the original edition, published under the name of the probably fictitious Mattheus Jacobsz,¹⁵ and consequently also the reprinting rights.¹⁶

¹³ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *De geboorte van het moderne boek in de XVIe eeuw* (Het model voor de uitgever, 1954; Amsterdam 1954), pp. 22 f. It had previously been believed that a larger number of printers were active in Emden at about this time.

¹⁴ *Dat nieuwe Testament ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi, dwelck hy [...] hier beneden ghebracht heeft, ende heeft dat beleeft, gheleert ende met zijnen dierbaren bloede beseghelt ...* (s.l. [Groessen], Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1562. 16mo). Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); London, British Library (BL); Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek. See Moes-Burger, no. 257; Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 9; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 131, 140.

¹⁵ Keyser, art. cit. (n. 5), leaves the question of his historicity open. See also *idem*, 'The Fresenburg Press: an investigation pertaining to Menno Simons' printing office in Holstein, Germany, 1554-1555', *The Dutch Dissenters. A Critical Companion to their History and Ideas ...*, ed. I.B. Horst (Leiden 1986), pp. 179-86 (pp. 184 f). For Menno's possible involvement in Bible editions, see also C. Krahm, *Menno Simons (1496-1561). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten* (Karlsruhe 1936), pp. 84 ff.

¹⁶ The Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche in Emden contains, from the F. Ritter collection, a copy of this New Testament which differs from the others. It is augmented with 'Die Epistel Pauli totten Laodicien' and a 'Tafel of Register', the last page of which bears Willem Gailliart's imprint, 'Ghedruct tot Emden bi mi Wille(m) Ghelliaert'. See Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 126 f. and the note by F. Ritter in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden*, 15 (1903-5), pp. 516-17, n. 1. Tielke, op. cit. (n. 2), no. 43 (= p. 26, no. 1), regards the Testament too as a possible Gailliart publication from the period before he settled in Emden. This must be rejected on typographical grounds, however.

From these facts Wijnman concluded the following:¹⁷ the Gailliarts, of whom the father was a prominent figure in the Emden business world, would have immediately responded to any infringement of their publishing rights within the jurisdiction of the town by demanding the cessation of the illegal act and eventually by claiming damages. Nowhere does it appear from the legal documents or from the acts of the church consistory that they took any steps against Biestkens, however. This curious absence of any reaction on their part can only have one logical explanation: they printed the editions in question themselves and, in order to avoid problems with the Calvinist-orientated church consistory, launched them under the pseudonym 'Biestkens' – the name of a non-existing figure who, as the writer points out, 'was supposed to give a southern-Netherlandish shade to the publication.'¹⁸

This ingenious theory does indeed provide a convincing explanation of the fact that Bibles with such an imprint could appear, while the owners of the rights were others than those who put their name to the publication. In this manner the Gailliarts, who sometimes took considerable chances in their choice of books for publication, could continue to produce such works without running any risk in a town where both the magistracy and the church were on their guard against sectarian currents and acted with particular rigour against anything resembling Anabaptist activity.¹⁹ The hypothesis also makes it possible to understand how two tracts by Dirk Philips could appear with Biestkens' imprint in 1562²⁰ – Wijnman would certainly have used them to support his theory had he known about their existence at the time – and it explains why the name never appears in municipal documents. In contrast to colleagues who worked before or after him in Emden and are all entered in the register of citizens, he, oddly enough, would have printed autonomously without ever having obtained citizenship – a most unusual breach of the guild rules.

There is, furthermore, a contemporary document which fully confirms Wijnman's view of the fictitious existence of Biestkens. Had he known it, he would have found two testimonies which explicitly confirm, first, that no Mennonite works at all were

¹⁷ For Wijnman's analysis of Gailliart's involvement, see his art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 123 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 124.

¹⁹ J.P. Müller, *Die Mennoniten in Ostfriesland vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Aktenmässige kulturgeschichtliche Darstellung, I; Emden/Amsterdam 1887), pp. 25 ff.

²⁰ M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips 1504-1568. A Catalogue of his Printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam/Nieuwkoop 1975), no. 27: *Van de gheestelijcke Restitution ...*, and no. 28: *Van de Ghemeynte Gods ...*; both with the imprint: 'Ghedruc(k)t by my Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, Anno 1562'. The only copies known, formerly bound in a single volume in the Stadtbibliothek Hamburg, were lost in the Second World War; Keyser's description is based on manuscript notes by J. ten Doornkaat Koolman. Cf. also the latter's biography: *Dirk Philips, vriend en medewerker van Menno Simons, 1504-1568* (Haarlem 1964), pp. III ff.

printed in Emden and, further, that the name Biestkens on the title-page of books was simply a fabrication. These statements were made during an interrogation in 1564 of Jan Hendrickx, an apostate chaplain from West Flanders who fled to Emden via England in the course of 1562 and who worked for some time in that town in the service of the bookbinder and dealer Lucas Silvius.²¹ There he also met a fellow-Fleming, the printer and publisher Gillis van der Erven from Ghent, and thus had first-hand knowledge about the local circumstances in the book trade. In view of so much reliable information any doubt about the matter seems to be excluded.

In constructing his theory, Wijnman had to reckon with the existence of a Nicolaes Biestkens who is known to have been living in Amsterdam since 1579.²² Building on the work of Moes, he managed to construct, partly from archival documents, a biography of this namesake, which, although not documented in every respect, gives a convincing idea of his life.²³ According to Wijnman, he was born in Hoorn in c.1545-8 with the name of Claes Claesz and as the son of a citizen who had no surname. In the late sixties he entered into a marriage from which his first child was born in Amsterdam in 1570 – the later printer Nicolaes Biestkens, jr. He settled as a bookseller in his birthplace in 1572 and there published a single book. As a sign for his business, he chose ‘Het Biestkens Testament’ and, in that connection, soon had himself called Biestkens – a wise step from a business point of view. Shortly after Amsterdam’s conversion to the party of William-of Orange in 1578, he moved his firm to that town and, in the following year, acquired citizenship (the act calls him a book dealer). Finally he died in reduced circumstances in 1585. His profession at the time is given as that of bookbinder.²⁴

But what of the books which appeared in Amsterdam between 1578 and 1583 under the name of Nicolaes Biestkens? According to Wijnman, these are not the work of the aforesaid Biestkens but of an as yet unknown printer-publisher (perhaps, he thinks, Jan Canin in Dordrecht?) who, because of the nature of these largely Mennonite works, hid, in his turn, behind the pseudonym which had become

²¹ For this new information about Emden printers, see the statement of a contemporary in J. Decavele, ‘Enkele gegevens betreffende de relaties tussen het drukkerscentrum Emden en het gebied Gent-Oudenaarde tijdens het “Wonderjaar”’, *Liber amicorum Dr. J. Scheerder. Tijdingen uit Leuven over de Spaanse Nederlanden, de Leuvense universiteit en Historiografie* (Leuven 1987), pp. 17-28; the statement about Biestkens on p. 18, n. 9.

²² ‘Nicolaes Biestkens, van Hoorn, boeckvercooper’ was entered in the register of citizens on 7 May 1579 – Cf. Moes-Burger, p. 19.

²³ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 132 ff.

²⁴ ‘Claes Claeszn Bieskens, boeckbinder in de Warmoesstraet’ was buried in the Oude Kerk of Amsterdam on 26 March 1585. Moes-Burger, vol. 2, p. 25; W.F.H. Oldewelt, *Amsterdamsche archiefvondsten* (Amsterdam 1942), p. 39.

so famous in Protestant circles in the sixties through Gaillart's publications. The Nicolaes Biestkens of Hoorn and Amsterdam had nothing to do with this, Wijnman continues, and adds with a certain malicious pleasure that this led 'an expert bibliographer like Moes to draw up a bio-bibliography of the insignificant little bookseller from Hoorn not a word of which appears to be right.'²⁵

It must be granted that Wijnman succeeded in fitting all the available factual evidence into his hypothesis. What he and his predecessor Moes published about Biestkens includes almost everything that is known about him to this day. All that has been discovered since by others is confined to the titles of certain publications which were unknown to Wijnman, two of which, those of 1576 and 1578, have the imprint 'Emdae, Nicolaes Biestcanus'.²⁶ But although nobody can charge Wijnman with unscrupulous treatment of his sources, an essential part of the investigation was nevertheless missing: he never analysed the available printed matter as a typographical product. By treating his material exclusively as a historian, he never checked the results of his research bibliographically. If we try to fill this hiatus and examine the typographical aspects of Biestkens' two signed works from the first period – the Bible of 1560 and the New Testament of 1562 – the following can be said.

Both works are printed (*Den Bibel* in two columns) in the smallest Textura available at the time, the so-called Parisian Textura on Brevier (VPT, T 47).²⁷ The set of matrices used, which, in contrast to many others, contains no Rotunda capitals, has a variant A of the Bastarda model (with a middle bar), which thus differs from the usual one illustrated in Vervliet's specimen of the type. The W differs too and is here substituted by a letter which corresponds to Isaac's W 18.²⁸ The book also contains Lettersnijder's widely used Augustijn and Mediaen Texturas (T 20 and T 30 respectively), the latter after the original design with the characteristic 'square' y, and an f and a long s which stand on the line. On the title-page of the New Testament we see that the largest typeface is the French two-line Great Primer Textura widely used in the Low Countries (T 3), while the equivalent

²⁵ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 138.

²⁶ Pointed out by J. Stellingwerff, 'De drukker van de Emden bedingen', *Uit bibliotheektuin en informatieveld. Opstellen aangeboden aan dr. D. Grosheide bij zijn afscheid als bibliothecaris aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht*, eds. H.F. Hofman, K. van der Horst & A.H.H.M. Mathijsen (Deventer 1978)), pp. 199-208 (p. 200: Gerardus Velthuisius, *Carmen* ... (1576); Tielke, 243), and by D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellings Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225-31 (p. 230, n. 7: Erasmus Joannis, *In natalem Filii Dei carmina* ... (1578); Tielke, 247).

²⁷ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), p. 167. Hereafter quoted as VPT.

²⁸ Cf. the Keyplate (fig. 1) in *English and Scottish Printing Types 1535-58, 1552-58*, collected and annotated by Frank Isaac (Facsimiles and Illustrations, issued by the Bibliographical Society, 3; Oxford 1932).

in *Den Bibel* is the ‘Grobe Canon Fraktura’ which was equally popular in Germany.²⁹ Apart from the title border of the Bible, a replica of the woodcut in the original 1558 edition of this translation,³⁰ the most characteristic decorative element is an alphabet of arabesque initials, probably of German origin, in which one is struck by the presence of three almost identical blocks of the P, which were thus especially designed for their use in Bibles.³¹ Besides this, various odd letters cut in wood are used, including three (D and two P’s) from an alphabet of calligraphic initials, probably originating from the southern Netherlands, replicas of which also appear in other printing shops.³²

Further investigation proves that all this material can already be found in earlier printed work and that the printer was already using it in 1558. In that year, always without an imprint, he published one of Dirk Philips’ earlier tracts (G 1)³³ as well as a collection of *Refereynen* (G 2) and a work by the martyr Wouter van Stoelwijck (G 3). In the following year, he again produced a treatise by Dirk Philips (G 4) and a reprint (G 5) of *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of 1554, the same version which was to appear in 1562 with Biestkens’ name. This is followed, in 1560-2, by the signed

²⁹ ‘Grobe Canon’ is the name given to this typeface (20/288 mm) in H. Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia* (Lipsiae 1608; facsimile edited by O. Clemen, 1940, and by Martin Boghardt, 1983), pp. 40 and 42.

³⁰ That this is a replica was already remarked on by Le Long, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 668. There is no reason for the doubt expressed by Grosheide, art. cit. (n. 26), pp. 225 and 230, n. 5.

³¹ In the Dutch Bible translations of this period, nearly all the Epistles of Paul and Peter start with the name of the apostle. Since some of the texts are very short, the compositor sometimes needed three initial P’s in a single forme. He could provide for this by using material from another alphabet, but there were printing shops where this particular requirement was taken into account when purchasing ornamental letters. Sometimes there was also an extra initial D for the Johannine Epistles. Biestkens evidently bought his second and third P especially for use in his Bible. In the 1559 New Testament they are still replaced by cast capitals.

³² The first five letters of another set of the same design are reproduced in M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, ‘Typographica Plantiniana, III. Ameet Tavernier, punchcutter (ca. 1522-1570)’, *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 17-76, illus 56 (p. 70): Gothic initials, n. 7. These initials, generally described as woodcuts, were used by several printers in Antwerp, Ghent, Emden (Van der Erven, Gailliart) and elsewhere. The large number of sets extant and the occurrence of only minute differences between their corresponding letters suggest that these are no woodcuts, but ‘dabs’: metal casts in relief, mounted on wood to be used to print along with type. A mould or matrix of the design was produced by dropping the original block of wood or metal sharply into a bed of molten lead on the point of cooling (see *Oxford English Dictionary*, in voce). This process of producing cast ornaments for printing, preceding the introduction of electrotyping, seems to have been known even before 1500; cf. A.J. Dunston, ‘Venetian “woodcut” capitals’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 30 (1978), pp. 136-44.

³³ For the indications G 1, G 2, etc. see the Checklist of publications by the press at the end of this article.

Bible editions and other publications most of which Moes has already attributed to him (G 7-G 14). Later books published between 1563 and 1570 which this bibliographer ascribed to his name (Moes-Burger 259-65) do not appear to have been produced by the same press: the material used suggests a different origin.

It must now be possible to establish whether Wijnman was on the right track when attributing this group of publications to Willem Gailliart. Were he indeed right, we could expect to find the typefaces and ornaments again in those books which this printer issued between 1558 and 1562. Here, however, we encounter a problem: there is not a single work with Gailliarts' imprint in the years 1561 and 1562. After his 1560 edition of Erasmus' *Laus stultitiae* in a translation by his father,³⁴ not a single book appears to have come out under his name for years on end. Not until he took over Gillis van der Erven's press after his death and continued his work for the Dutch Reformed immigrant community, did publications again appear with his imprint. That was in 1566, but we know that he did not down his tools for all that time, since we come across his material in a series of important Protestant books and Bible editions published in the intervening years. These include various works by Sebastian Franck³⁵ and other authors, which were dangerous publications even in relatively liberal Emden. Was there also a book by Menno Simons? Shortly after the leader's death and probably commissioned by his East-Frisian adherents, there appeared in 1562 a vastly expanded edition of his *Een Fondament*, extended into a collection of his most important dogmatic writings.³⁶ This book, without any printer's name, got Gailliart into trouble with the Emden church consistory which suspected him of being responsible. As we might expect he denied any part in the venture and he was fortunate enough to be believed.³⁷ The fact that his father, who was closely involved in the firm, was a prominent businessman in Emden may well have effected the outcome.

Een Fondament is the only book from the period 1561/2 that can be directly connected

³⁴ J. Trapman, 'De eerste Nederlandse vertaling van Erasmus' *Moria* (Emden 1560) en Sebastiaan Franck', *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen. Opstellen door vrienden en collega's van dr. C. Reedijk ...* (Hilversum 1986), pp. 308-15.

³⁵ K. Kaczerowsky, *Sebastian Franck Bibliographie. Verzeichnisse von Francks Werken, der von ihm gedruckten Bücher sowie der Sekundär-Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1976). The attributions of nos. A 56, 57, 81, 82, III, 126, 132, 133 and 148 (Tielke, 94, 161, 124, 146, 121, 127-30) to Willem Gailliart in Emden are correct. I would like to ascribe A 100 (Tielke, 126) to the Gaillarts' press before they settled there (see n. 40). On the translations, cf. also B. Becker, 'Nederlandsche vertalingen van Sebastiaan Franck's geschriften', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 21 (1928), pp. 149-60.

³⁶ I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch reformer* (Nieuwkoop 1962), pp. 58 f., no. 12 and illus. II (reproduction of the title-page).

³⁷ For the account of this interrogation as it was recorded in the Acts of the Emden church consistory, see F. Ritter, art. cit. (n. 16), pp. 516 f.

with Gailliar's printing-press not only by way of a bibliographic analysis but also on the basis of documentary information. It is thus the most appropriate work to compare to the 'Biestkens' publications of the same years and has to occupy a central place in my investigation. Then we see the following. Like Biestkens' 1562 New Testament, the work is set in the Parisian Textura on Brevier (T 47). The Texturas T 3 and T 30 are also used, while nine letters from Biestkens' arabesque alphabet serve as decoration.³⁸ Besides this we also find thirteen initials of Willem Gailliar, originally belonging to his predecessor Steven Mierdmans, whose firm he took over after the latter's partnership with his father.³⁹ It emerges from a later use of these woodcuts that they never left Gailliar's printing-office, and we continue to encounter them among his successors.

The appearance of Gailliar's woodcut initials in Menno Simons' book shows, in the first place, that the suspicions of the Emden church consistory were only too justified. But quite apart from this, their presence in a volume together with Biestkens' arabesque initials provides considerable support for Wijnman's hypothesis. For when two books appear in a particular year – Biestkens' New Testament and Gailliar's *Een Fondament* – containing both the same typefaces and the same initials, we have every reason to believe that they came off the same press, which, in view of the later use of both groups of ornamental letters, can only be that of Gailliar.

In bibliographical matters, however, complications are forever on the lurk. Reality is often different to what one might at first expect, and usually far more complicated. A bibliographer should arm himself with a healthy suspicion about obvious solutions which are attractive because of their simplicity but which later incur the danger of no longer being tenable. Closer investigation reveals certain features which unhinge the conclusions reached. It seems odd that the arabesque initials which appear regularly in the group of Biestkens publications from 1558 on should be entirely lacking in Gailliar's publications of before 1562. Nor can they even be found in his early Bibles with their numerous initials, for there we only have ornaments originally coming from Mierdmans together with a number of earlier ornamental letters from an alphabet which Gailliar already owned before he took over Mierdmans' press.⁴⁰ Should we conclude from this that he had had

³⁸ Viz. the letters A, B, G, H, L, M, Q, T and W. Four of these also appear in the signed Bible editions: A, H, Q (used as O) and T.

³⁹ The letters A, C, D, E, G, H, I, M, N, S, T, V and W of his smallest set of initials, format 15:15 mm, with human and animal figures within a double frame line.

⁴⁰ They came from the *Fratres S. Gregorii* in 's-Hertogenbosch; cf. W. Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. + *Supplément* (La Haye

two separate groups of initials in his possession for four years and painstakingly avoided ever using them together in the same book? Such an exceptional procedure urges us to seek an explanation better suited to the customs of the time. We thereby come across other surprising elements: the Brevier type (T 47) in *Een Fondament* and later books published by Gailliart – it does not appear in his pre-1562 publications – differs in several details from the type as it is used in *Den Bibel* and *Dat Nieuwe Testament*. Gailliart's Textura has the A without a bar normally belonging to this face, the capital L, V and W have a Rotunda form without hairline, and the lower case w (Isaac's w⁷) is not the same as the Bastarda w (Isaac's w^{sb}) of the Biestkens editions. These are substantial differences which show that we are here dealing with material from different type cases which were employed separately: the two founts never appear together in one single book. Finally it also emerges that in *Een Fondament* the Lettersnijder Pica Textura (T 30) has the southern Netherlands form, with an f and a long s extending below the line and a y of a French model – corresponding to the type owned by Gailliart since 1559.

If we assume that Gailliart did indeed print under the pseudonym of Biestkens what I have just set forth would imply that he had replaced the matrices of his two most current types, within a few years and without any demonstrable cause, by others of the same typeface, and this seems improbable. Besides, such an assumption provides no solution for the riddle of the two separately used groups of initials. I believe that there is only one interpretation which can supply a satisfactory explanation of the situation described: we are here faced with material belonging to two different printing-shops, Gailliart's and another one whose woodcut initials he took over in the course of 1562 and which he used for the first time in his risky edition of *Een Fondament*. Now, it is virtually unthinkable that a press should give up its only set of initials while it was still functioning. The assumption thus implies that, after the appearance of *Dat Nieuwe Testament* probably as its last publication, that firm ceased to exist and was sold, whereby the woodcut ornaments together with the typographical material (as it emerges from later publications by Gailliart) came into the hands of the Emden printer.

This exposition has a good chance of being correct since it also elucidates another remarkable fact: that the name of Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest no longer appears as a publisher for many years after 1562 while at the same time countless Bible publications were issued 'na de Copye van Nicolaes Biestkens'. We would

1926-35), vol. I (La Haye 1926), *Fratres domus S. Gregorii*, I. 2 and 4. The initial A, reproduced there, appears, with others from the set, in Seb. Franck's *Die Gulden arcke* (s.l. 1560; Kaczerowsky, op. cit. (n. 35), A 126; Tielke, 127), undoubtedly a publication of Willem Gailliart. He had already used this set of letters in the books published under the pseudonym Theophilus Brugensen before he settled in Emden. As Wijnman showed, art. cit. (n. 3), pp. 148 ff., the Gailliarts' press was then probably in Büderich, near Wesel.

expect a publisher who had been so successful in such an evidently profitable area to consolidate his advantage over his competitors by issuing reprints as soon as possible. What we see, however, is that others gather the fruits of his initiative by using his name and exploiting the good will attached to it by the public. There seems to be no other possible explanation of the sudden end of the original publisher's production than the disappearance of his firm.

If we assume the existence of a second, separate, press we have to answer the following question: was the name Biestkens indeed someone's alias, or was that what the printer was really called? Wijnman regarded it as a pseudonym and based his argument about the publication rights on this view: the curious passivity of the Gailliarts towards Biestkens' reprints of their Bible editions allowed him to argue that they had printed them themselves. Here, however, he neglected an important point. They were only in a position to defend their rights against colleagues who resided in Emden, while they were powerless outside the jurisdiction of the town and the protection which the guild rules gave them there. The authorities usually did not provide privileges for Bible translations, but if the Gailliarts had, as an exception, obtained such a protection for their publications, they would surely have printed the text in the books or at least have referred to it. Only by possessing such a document issued by the government could they make a stand against reprinters outside Emden and appeal to a regional tribunal. That they should never have done so is not a proof that they were involved in the reprinting but a result of their incapacity to take steps against the pirates (and there were soon more than one) who were at work elsewhere and out of their reach. And so the main foundation of a theory disintegrates, a theory which, moreover, cannot hold its own against a bibliographical investigation of what appeared under Biestkens' name between 1578 and 1583. For we can also find the Emden arabesque initials in these later publications, which Wijnman thinks came from an unidentified press which had nothing more to do with a Biestkens than the use of the name as a pseudonym – just as we can, later still, in books by the printer Nicolaes Biestkens the Younger, whom we have already met as the son of his homonymous father, the book dealer and binder of Hoorn and Amsterdam.

It is clear that these facts in no way fit into Wijnman's construction of the events. If Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest was indeed a pseudonym invented by Gailliart, it is impossible to explain how initials which had first been used at his press in Emden and later at an unknown firm somewhere in the Netherlands, could subsequently turn up in Amsterdam in the work of a printer of that very name. The element of chance in such a concurrence of circumstances seems too great to rest on reality. There is no alternative: we must accept that the imprint of *Den Bibel* and *Dat Nieuwe Testament* provides the true name of the printer.

At the time, Wijnman investigated the presence in Diest of the name Biestkens

and found that, in about 1600, there were indeed some families with that name.⁴¹ There is earlier evidence, too, however: on 15 August 1539 a certain Claes Bieskens, who came from Diest, acquired the citizenship of Antwerp.⁴² This could perhaps be our man, but even if it was someone else the entry still shows that in the early sixteenth century there was at least one family of that name residing in Diest. Yet there is a still more decisive indication of the existence of a printer called Nicolaes Biestkens. In about 1590 the Utrecht historian and genealogist Arnold van Buchell (Buchelius) recorded the following acquisition in a list of purchases for his library:⁴³ ‘Toveren wat dat voor een werck sij ende wat remedien men daer voor doen sall, door H. Jacob Vallick pastoor tot Groessen in 8. tot Groessen bij Claes bieskens – 1559’.

Unfortunately no copy of this book (G 6) has ever come to light,⁴⁴ but a reprint which appeared in Hoorn⁴⁵ in 1598 allows us to conclude that the description of the title is correct – as usually appears to be the case in Buchell’s list. The publisher’s imprint alone cannot be checked, but the spelling of the name corresponds so strikingly to that in the register of citizens in Antwerp that we can assume that this item of information, so important for our subject, has also been transcribed

⁴¹ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 124, n. 5.

⁴² Stadsarchief (Municipal Archives), Antwerp, Vierschaar 143, in dato. In *Antwerpse poortersboeken 1533-1608* [ed. F. Melis-Taeymans], vol. 1 (3 Oktober 1533– 24 Maart 1559), in dato, the Christian name is modernized to ‘Klaas’ and the profession is given as ‘arbeider’ (worker).

⁴³ Utrecht UL, MSS 845-7, f. 47v.; in the collector’s autograph manuscript, with the title: ‘Duytsche boecken. Mitsgaders diuerse ordonnantien placaten tractaten etc.’ Vallick’s book does not appear in the auction catalogue of Van Buchell’s library (*Catalogus librorum [...] D. Arnoldi Buchelii, J.Cti, quorum auctio habebitur ...* (Ultrajecti, Aegidius Roman 1642, 4to) (copy in Utrecht UL). If it was still in existence it must have been sold, unmentioned, in a lot.

⁴⁴ Extensive research in foreign libraries has not led anywhere either.

⁴⁵ *Tooveren, wat dat voor een werc is, wat crancheit schade ende hinder daer van comende is, ende wat remedien men daer voor doen sal.* Beschreven door H. Jacob Vallick pastoor te Grossen. Psalm 4 (2 lines). Tot Hoorn, By Willem Andriessz, woonende opt Noort int Schrijf-Boeck, 1598. 8vo. 44 leaves, collation A-E⁸F⁴. – J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books printed at Hoorn before 1701. A Specimen of the STCN ...* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 12; Nieuwkoop 1979), no. 321; J. Scheltema, *Geschiedenis der heksenprocessen* (Haarlem 1828), Aanteekeningen pp. 27-35. – In this reprint the date of the original edition appears from the date of the foreword which seems to have been reproduced without any alterations: ‘Ghedaen te Grossen op den eersten dach Meert [...] 1559 [...] Jacob Valek Pastoor te Grossen’. The author, who took his father’s place in 1546 (and was himself succeeded by his son), appears to have been imperial notary in 1557. He also compiled a memorial, preserved in a transcript and containing many details about the church in Groessen and its possessions as well as about his own activity there. See the edition by L.J. van der Heyden, ‘Het kerspel Groessen en zijn “Kerckenboek”’, *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*, 46 (1921), pp. 1-107; biographical information on Jacob Vallick on pp. 3 and 7 ff. His date of death is unknown but he was apparently still alive in 1571.

correctly. We thus have an indication that, in about 1560, a Nicolaes Bies(t)kens was working as a publisher in Groessen where he almost certainly had his own printing-press. Groessen is a hamlet in the Liemers, close to Zevenaar and now part of that municipality, at present in the Netherlands, but then just over the border in an enclave of the Duchy of Cleves and thus out of reach of the Dutch authorities and their jurisdiction. So far no one has ever suspected that a printing-office existed there.⁴⁶

As we saw, the printer's brief career came to an end in 1562 and in the same year his woodcut initials appear to have been used by Willem Gailliart. We could imagine a development whereby Gailliart bought out the tiresome printer who pirated his Bible editions by taking over his press, but this is too modern an explanation. What probably happened is that Biestkens died and this enabled Gailliart to eliminate the firm as a competitor by taking the inventory over from the heirs. But the question then arises how Biestkens' death can be reconciled with the appearance, many years later, of the two above-mentioned publications of 1576 and 1578 with the imprint 'Emdae, Nicolaus Biestcanus'? The name Biestcanus cannot but be regarded as a Latinized form of Biestkens. On this point, too, a typographical analysis can provide an answer: both publications were printed with the types and ornaments which Willem Gailliart had in his possession at a later stage, namely since he had taken over Gillis van der Erven's press in 1566 and had expanded his inventory with the latter's material. Finally, we find all these elements shortly afterwards in the Amsterdam editions which appeared between 1578 and 1583 in Nicolaes Biestkens' name – according to Wijnman, here again used as a pseudonym.

The continuity which emerges from the printer's inventory used, provides the key to the solution of the problem and clarifies the course of events: we are not dealing with one, but with two printers of the same name. The oldest, who indeed came from Diest and rightly mentions this place of origin, was the owner of a printing-office in Groessen between 1558 and 1562 and there, besides a single book by a local inhabitant, published exclusively Protestant works – undoubtedly the reason for settling on the other side of the border. A younger man of the same name, very probably his son (he is occasionally called Claes Claesz in a document), was not old enough to carry on the business at the death of the man we can thus regard as his father. His year of birth can be placed between 1540 and 1545 since in 1570 he, in his turn, gave what appears to have been his first son the Christian

⁴⁶ No archival sources have survived. See W. Zondervan, *Het oud-archief van Zevenaar en het ambt Liemers, 1501-1816* (Zevenaar 1973), p. iii; with the exception of a single treasurer's account all the town's documents of before 1600 have been lost. The surviving register of citizens begins in 1612. (*ibid.* p. 2, no. 25).

name Niclaes.⁴⁷ At what point he entered Gailliart's service – as an apprentice, at the time the firm was taken over, or later, as a compositor, after being trained elsewhere? – and how long he received his wages cannot be established, but what is certain is that after some time he had the chance to take over the business, so that he became the owner of a printing shop with an inventory which included material that had once belonged to his father. The transfer may have occurred in 1574, when Jan Gailliart died⁴⁸ and Willem had to succeed him in his business, or it may have been earlier. It was probably between 1571, the year in which a news report appeared with the copy imprint of Gailliart,⁴⁹ and 1576, when as we saw, a work appeared with the name of Nicolaes (II) Biestkens. In the intervening period at least eight publications came off the press, all relatively brief. They are dated but have no imprint, so that it is impossible to tell who the publisher was – the earlier owner or the new one. Soon after the so-called 'Alteratie', whereby Amsterdam at last chose the side of William of Orange, Biestkens moved his press to that town, where he appears to have spent some time at an earlier date, since his eldest son was born there in 1570. We later encounter a similar situation: a younger son, Abraham, was born in Emden in about 1582, while the family had stayed in Amsterdam in both previous and later years.⁵⁰ In his last years, probably because of the renown of the name in Mennonite circles, Biestkens (II) called himself 'van Diest',⁵¹ although he had been entered as a citizen in 1579 with the words 'van Hoorn' to indicate his birthplace. From an entry in the chancery records, where he is called a bookbinder, it appears that he left no goods of any value at his death in 1585.⁵² Nevertheless Wijnman's conclusion that 'he died as poor as a church mouse' can hardly be right since we can deduce from the material with which his son Niclaes (III) Biestkens was later to print, that the press remained intact and in the family.

The above reconstruction of the facts is, with the exception of a few archival data, entirely based on an analytic investigation of printed work from the various

⁴⁷ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 135.

⁴⁸ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 3), p. 166.

⁴⁹ At least according to Wijnman's view, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 138, adopted by Tielke, no. 230. The report, about an astonishing natural phenomenon, offered as 'Nachdruck so zu Emden by Wilhelm Galiars gedruckt ist worden' is recorded in E. Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen, herausgegeben mit einer Bibliographie (1505-1599)* (Tübingen 1872; repr. Hildesheim 1962), no. 389. Did such an original edition exist and was it indeed printed by Gailliart? The odd spelling of the name leaves it open to doubt.

⁵⁰ Moes-Burger, p. 20.

⁵¹ On the title-pages and in the colophons of Moes-Burger, nos. 270-2: *Veelderhande liedekens* and *Dat Nieuwe Testament*, both of 1582, and *Het tweede liedeboek* of 1583, his last publication.

⁵² 'Geen goet gebleven' (no property bequeathed); Moes-Burger, p. 25; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 132 and 137.

phases of the press and the material used therein. That enables us to establish that Biestkens (II), in the five years in which he resided in Amsterdam, had at his disposal virtually the entire inventory of types and ornaments which Gailliart owned at the end of his career as a printer. By no means all of it can be found in the publications of Nicolaes himself since he only printed Dutch texts in octavo or smaller formats which were almost entirely set in Texturas. In Johannes Tauler's *Predicatie oft Sermonen*, a book published by the Amsterdam publisher Barent Adriaensz in 1588, on the other hand, we find many of Gailliart's German and Italic typefaces together with a number of Emden initials, including several from the press in Groessen. The typographical contents of this folio volume prove not only that the inventory of the printing shop of Biestkens (II) remained intact, but also that it was used after his death under another name. His son, the third printer in the family, was then eighteen, and was consequently not yet old enough to run a firm, although he may well have been able, perhaps under guidance of a third party, to carry out such an order. Other possibilities are also conceivable, such as the renting of the material. He later worked for the printer Jan Bouwens in Leiden, in which town he met his future wife.⁵³ He married her when he reached his majority in 1595 and was thus of an age at which he could carry on the family business on his own.⁵⁴ Thereafter the Emden ornaments and a part of the types can regularly be found in his work.

There is no point in going into the further history of the press, since C.P. Burger, jr. has already described it in the last volume of *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers*.⁵⁵ Nicolaes Biestkens de Jonghe (the Younger), as Biestkens (III) called himself, was off to a good start and soon received a series of orders from Amsterdam publishers like Cornelis Claesz, Laurens Jacobsz and Willem Jansz Buys. On this point Burger's list could be considerably expanded, also with anonymous editions. Yet the young Nicolaes apparently felt more strongly about the bookshop attached to the firm. He had a literary interest, published poetry, and wrote a play which went through three editions before 1640 and must thus have long been in repertory.⁵⁶ In the

⁵³ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 134 f.

⁵⁴ For information on Nicolaes Biestkens de Jonghe, see Moes-Burger, vol. 4, pp. 286 ff. and, especially for his literary work, the introduction in Nicolaes Biestkens, *De drie delen van de Klucht van Claas Kloet*, ed. G.R.W. Dibbets (Zutphen [1970]), pp. 6 ff.

⁵⁵ A list of books printed by Biestkens (III) in as far as Burger knew of them is to be found in Moes-Burger, vol. 4, pp. 296 f. Meanwhile it seems possible to multiply the number of 14 sixteenth-century editions by three, notably by attributions. The entire production of Nicolaes Biestkens de Jonghe is now being investigated bibliographically by P.J. Koopman.

⁵⁶ See the edition of Biestkens' play listed in n. 54 and the bibliographical information in the introduction (pp. 15 f.).

course of 1599 he put the press in the hands of Herman de Buck,⁵⁷ a printer who only remained in charge briefly since his name disappears after 1602 and Biestkens again took over the management. In 1617 he joined Samuel Coster's 'Duytsche Academie' and became 'ordinaris drucker' (regular printer) of that society. When he died – he was buried on 2 January 1624⁵⁸ – he had a homonymous son who had chosen a different career and had gone to study in Leiden.⁵⁹ Nicolaes' younger brother Abraham, who acted as a book dealer in Amsterdam from 1618 on, was the last member of the family to remain in the profession and was active until 1642.⁶⁰

Both Nicolaes (II) Biestkens and his sons hung before their various addresses in Amsterdam the sign 'Gelyck een Lelie onder de doornen' (As the lily among thorns), the device which originated with Lenaert der Kinderen (and his backers)⁶¹ and then went over to Willem Gailliart.⁶² The Biestkens also used it as their printer's device and, for that purpose, possessed a reduced copy of the original woodcut which first appears in two books which Nicolaes (II) published in 1582.⁶³ In an earlier, anonymous publication of his we find another device which came from Emden: 'O heere, hoe langhe en wreket ghy onse bloet niet ouer den gheene die opter aerden woenen. Apocalip.' (How long, O Lord, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? Revelation 6:10) It is a woodcut which Gailliart had used in 1565 on the title-page of a reprint of *De geschiedenissen ende den doot der vromer martelaren* by Adriaan Cornelisz

⁵⁷ Moes-Burger, vol. 4, pp. 350-61.

⁵⁸ Biestkens, op. cit. (n. 54), p. 10.

⁵⁹ Nicolaus Biestkenius, aged 20, matriculated as a student of Leiden on 9 August 1634, 'apparently the last in the male line of his family', see Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 134, n. 3.

⁶⁰ Abraham Nicolasz Biestkens van Eemden, 46 years old, had his marriage banns published on 20 Jan. 1628. On 13 March 1642 he was buried in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam. Cf. M.M. Kleerkooper & W.P. van Stockum, jr., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw. Biographische en geschiedkundige aanteekeningen*, 2 vols ('s-Gravenhage 1914-16), vol. 1, p. 38. On him, see also F.K.H. Kossmann in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 7 (Leiden 1927), col. 133.

⁶¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (pp. 86, 90 and illus. 1 and 5a).

⁶² P.H. Vogel, 'Die Druckermarken in den Emdener niederländischen Bibeldrucken 1556-1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 37 (Mainz 1962), pp. 456-8 (pp. 457 f. and illus. 2, reduced); D. Grosheide, 'The "Short Confession of Faith" of 1566', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [=1968]), pp. 155-70 (pp. 156 ff.).

⁶³ Reproduced in Moes-Burger, p. 21.

van Haemstede,⁶⁴ and which had since then only been used on one occasion.⁶⁵

At this point the story of three generations of the Biestkens family could come to an end were it not for a remaining question about a book supposedly published by Nicolaes (II) in Hoorn in 1578. Wijnman quotes the title as evidence of a brief residence on the part of the printer in that town in a period which must be between his last Emden publication in 1578 and the date of 7 May 1579, when he became a citizen of Amsterdam. It is an edition of two apocryphal letters by a certain Martialis Cephe or Cephias of the third century who was reputed to have been the first bishop of Limoges. An additional letter, also translated by St Polycarp, is authentic. Isaac le Long owned an edition of these texts which, according to him, was published by Nicolaes Biestkens in Hoorn, but of which not a single copy has come to light. He describes the book both in his *Boek-zaal*⁶⁶ and in the auction catalogue, mainly compiled by himself, of his superb library, the most extensive collection of Dutch Protestant literature ever to have been assembled.⁶⁷ These statements would seem to be an irrefutable proof of the existence of this publication, but nevertheless we cannot be entirely sure. For Le Long's copy is described in his catalogue as part of a volume containing three other booklets⁶⁸ and, strikingly enough, exactly such a volume has survived in which the *Cephias* and two of the three others which make up its contents bear the imprint of Derick Wylicx van Santen. The fourth, unsigned, book in the same volume can also be recognized as coming from the press of this printer who resided in Rees in Germany near the Dutch border. The volume, formerly owned by the collector J.L. Beijers and now in the Royal Library in The

⁶⁴ *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), quoted as *BB*, vol. 3, pp. 377 f., no. H 171; Tielke, 179 ('Emden?'). The title-page with the device is reproduced in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41 (illus. 6 on p. 19).

⁶⁵ The device also appears at the end of Scheltco a Jeveren, *Brevi ex verbo Dei tractatus ...* (Emdae, s.n., 1575); Tielke, 242. This, too, is a publication of the Gailliart press, which in the meantime had presumably been transferred to Nicolaes Biestkens.

⁶⁶ Le Long, op. cit. (n. 7), pp. 352 and 669. Cf. Moes-Burger, p. 19, no. 268; Gruys & de Wolf, op. cit. (n. 45), Appendix (p. 119), no. 13.

⁶⁷ *Bibliotheca selectissima sive Catalogus librorum [...] quae per 50 annos continuos comparatae [ab Isaac Le Long], auctione publica venduntur ...* (Amsterdam 1744), [pt.2:] Libri in Octavo, pp. 43 f., no. 510.

⁶⁸ The description of Le Long's copy runs: 'Dat Boeck Herma, die een Discipel oft tydgenoot van den Apostel Paulus is geweest, te Reesz gedrukt Omtrent 1580. Sebast Castellion wtlegginge van de Predestinatie. Gedrukt te Reesz. Twee Epistelen van den Apostel Martialis Cephe, binnen onsen tydt in Vrankryk gevonden. Noch een Epistel van Polycarpus Martyr tot de Philipenssen. Hoorn, by Nicolaes Biestkens. 1578. Extra Raar.'

Hague,⁶⁹ has been extensively described in *Bibliotheca Belgica*.⁷⁰ The similarity of the contents to those in Le Long's copy gives rise to various hypotheses. A possible explanation, albeit highly speculative, is that he was misled and had taken a name inscribed for the address of the printer. This can no longer be established, but the coincidence would seem to be a reason for regarding a residence by the printer in Hoorn, however brief, as uncertain.⁷¹

As I said earlier, it is impossible to establish what Nicolaes (II) Biestkens produced in Emden, since we do not know in what year he took over the Gailliart press. It seems likely that he printed more than the two occasional publications which appeared there in his name. What his press produced later in Amsterdam has been described, albeit not fully, by Moes. Under nos. 267 and 269 to 273, Moes described some six publications produced between 1578 and 1583 bearing Biestkens' imprint. Yet the printer also worked anonymously: in the first year of his activity in his new place of residence he published two works for the Mennonites in the area of Holland, probably with their backing – reprints of Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion*⁷² and, in an expanded version, of *Het offer des Heeren*,⁷³ the brotherhood's martyrology with an additional collection of songs. For the same circle he printed a

⁶⁹ No. 575 in the auction catalogue of the collection J.L. Beijers (LaHaye, Martinus Nijhoff, 1900) – it fetched 66 Dutch guilders; in the Royal Library at The Hague the tract binding now has the shelf-mark 1713 F 33.

⁷⁰ The contents are: *Dat boeck Henna ...* (Rees, Derick Wylicx van Santen, s.a. [c.1580]), BB, vol. 3, pp. 443 f., no. H 206. – *Twee epistelen ofte sentbrieve(n) Martialis Cephae ...* (*ibid.*, s.a.), BB, vol. 4, pp. 219 f., no. M 232. – Seb. Castellion, *Een nuttelijcke [...] wtlegginghe (voor alle menschen) van de Predestinatie ...* (*ibid.*, s.a.), BB, vol. 1, pp. 452 f., no. C 478. Bound with a book without an imprint but by the same printer: *Een testament van Soetken van den Route ...* ([*ibid.*], s.a.), BB, vol. 3, p. 518, no. H 207. – Under shelf-mark 1713 F 25 the Royal Library at The Hague has yet another such volume, in which, however, the three booklets first mentioned are followed by Thomas à Kempis, *Navolghinghe Christi* (Rees, Derick Wylicx van Santen, 1577).

⁷¹ For the Biestkens affair and the Hoorn publication in particular, see also J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, 'Boekdrukkers en boekverkopers te Hoorn tot 1700', *Hellings Feestbundel/Festschrift/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 249–76 (p. 263): 'One of the bibliographical riddles of the 16th century'.

⁷² D[irk] P[hilips], *Enchiridion oft Handtboecxken van de Christelijcke leere ...* (s.l.e.n. [Amsterdam, Nicolaes Biestkens], 1578. 8vo), Keyser, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 3 and illus. 9.

⁷³ *Dit boec wort genoe(m)t: Het Offer des Heeren ...*, followed by: *Een lietboecxken, tracterende vanden Offer des Heeren ...* (s.l.e.n. [Amsterdam, Nicolaes Biestkens], 1578, 5 Nov., 2 pts. 8vo), BB, vol. 4, pp. 497 f., no. O 22; F.C. Wieder, *De Schriftuurlijke Liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche hervormden tot op het jaar 1566; inhoudsbeschrijving en bibliographie* ('s-Gravenhage 1900), no. 83. For the additions in this edition, see *Het offer des Heeren (de oudste verzameling Doopsgezinde martelaarsbrieven en offerliederen)*, ed. S. Cramer (Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica. Geschriften uit de tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden, 2; 's-Gravenhage 1904), pp. 619–66. – The old attribution to Goossen Goebens (cf. Tielke, 245) was already revised by C.P. Burger, jr. in his *Catalogus van oudere werken op het gebied der Nederlandsche letteren [in de] Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1921), no. 98.

tract on the incarnation of Christ by Jan Smeitgen ('Joannes Tricht')⁷⁴ and probably also a work on the Trinity by Herman van den Greyn (Herman Timmerman), of which the only known copy was unfortunately lost during the war.⁷⁵ He also issued without an imprint one of the two translations published in 1578 of Sebastien Castellion's *Conseil à la France désolée: Raet aen dat verwoeste Vranckrijck*.⁷⁶ In the following year there was a reprint of *Twee schone brieven* by the martyr Hendrik Verstralen⁷⁷ and in 1581 a short treatise by an anonymous author on baptism: *Een gantsch claer grondighe bewijsinghe*.⁷⁸ Only in 1582 could the printer again produce larger works: a New Testament (Moes-Burger 271) and an expanded reprint of the particularly popular collection of songs *Veelderhande liedekens* (Moes-Burger 270) and its sequel, *Het tweede liedeboek* (Moes-Burger 272).

Apart from the uncertain point of a residence in Hoorn, we can now survey the entire history of the press: its birth in Groessen, the takeover and expansion by Willem Gailliart in Emden, and its continuation by the founder's namesake who subsequently moved the business to Amsterdam and was ultimately himself succeeded by another man with the same name. On two occasions in these years, the eldest son was too young immediately to occupy the place of his deceased father, but on both occasions, despite long interruptions in which others took over the management, the firm remained in the family. This course of events can be deduced from the continuity of the printing materials used in successive phases – an example of the advantages of bibliographical analysis in historical research in the

⁷⁴ *Een nut en (de) profitelijck Boecxken [...] aengaende de verclaringhe der Menschwerdinge ons Heeren Jesu Christi ...* (s.l.e.n. [Amsterdam, Nicolaes Biestkens], 1578. 16mo), see J.G. Boekennoogen, *Catalogus der werken over de Doopsgezinden en hunne geschiedenis, aanwezig in de bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1919), hereafter quoted as Boekennoogen, p. 181, and J. Hillerbrand, *A Bibliography of Anabaptism, 1520-1630* (Elkhart, Indiana, 1962), no. 3280. – 'Joannes Tricht' appears as the author at the beginning of the foreword. For his surname, see W.J. Kuhler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche doopsgezinden in de zestiende eeuw* (Haarlem 1932), p. 201.

⁷⁵ Herman [de] Timmerman, *Een corte Bekentenisse [...] dat Godt, Vader, Soon ende heylighe Gheest een onuerscheyden Godt is ...* (s.l.e.n. [Amsterdam, Nicolaes Biestkens?], 1578), see BB, vol. 3, pp. 439 f., no. H 142. The attribution to Biestkens can no longer be checked but, in view of the further contents of the volume in which the copy described was preserved, is presumably correct.

⁷⁶ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent* (Gent 1979), no. C 186. In the same year there appeared in the southern Netherlands another translation with the title *Vermaninghe ende raet voor de Nederlanden ...*; W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1890-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), vol. 1, no. 369.

⁷⁷ Hendrick Verstralen, *Twee schone Brieuen, geschreuen aen zijn huysrouwe [...] wt der geuanckenisse ...* (s.l.e.n. [Amsterdam, Nicolaes Biestkens], 1579. 16mo), see BB, vol. 5, pp. 685 f., no. V 145.

⁷⁸ *Een gantsch claer grondighe bewijsinghe ende onderrechtinghe van der Doope ...* (s.l.e.n. [Amsterdam, Nicolaes Biestkens], 1581. 8vo); Boekennoogen, op. cit. (n. 74), p. 174; Hillerbrand, op. cit. (n. 74), no. 3295.

world of the book. The method here shows how the grandfather's printing-office found its way into the hands of the grandson. In the absence of other sources, the riddle of the successive generations of Nicolaes Biestkens would seem to have been insoluble without a knowledge of these takeovers.

Finally, a further observation marginally connected with Biestkens. In a still valid study on Dutch alphabet books, C.P. Burger, jr. drew attention, among other things, to an important discovery: a prayer booklet without a title which was originally intended for the schools for children of Dutch emigrants in Emden.⁷⁹ These *Emder bedingen*, intended for elementary education, were later also used in other towns. The unique copy in the Amsterdam University Library contains a relatively large number of woodcut initials five of which were also found by Burger in Amsterdam publications of the Biestkens press. He consequently attributed the booklet to that name and dated it c.1582. In a different context J. Stellingwerff again examined the contents and the typographic material and came to the conclusion that the place of origin must have been not Amsterdam but Emden and the date between 1560 and 1562. He found both the text version of the Lord's Prayer and the typefaces and most of the initials in books printed by Gillis van der Erven.⁸⁰

After all this it must be clear that the two scholars had good reasons for their attributions, since Biestkens (II) used types and ornaments which had come into his hands, as part of Van der Erven's material, via the firm of Willem Gailliart. But not all Emden initials went the same way: from 1575 on we find a number of them used in work printed by Gautier (Gualterius) Manilius in Ghent. This younger son of a printer who was himself succeeded by his eldest son opened a press of his own in the course of 1574.⁸¹ That he owned initials from two alphabets belonging to Willem Gailliart makes it likely that he had worked for him for some time.⁸²

⁷⁹ C.P. Burger, jr., 'Zestiende-eeuwsche Nederlandsche ABC-boeken: De Emden bedingen', *Het Boek*, 17 (1928), pp. 103-172.

⁸⁰ Stellingwerff, art. cit. (n. 26), *passim*.

⁸¹ Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 135 f. Plantin opened an account for him on 5 March 1574. Over a year later Gautier Manilius was appointed guardian of the children of his brother Ghileyn (Gislenus), who had died in 1573. His printing-office was carried on by his widow, Adriana Teypins, and thereafter by her second husband Pieter de Clerck. After his early death she remarried with Cornelis de Rekenare, also a printer. In the meantime Gautier had set up his own press. His first production probably was an official publication of 23 August 1574 commissioned by the Ghent publisher Jan (II) van den Steene; *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), no. 2669.

⁸² Gautier Manilius brought two sets of initials back from Emden, both originating from the printing-shop of Gillis van der Erven which was subsequently taken over by Willem Gailliart. The easiest to recognize is a large calligraphic alphabet of varying format (28-34 mm high). The other is one of the many replicas extant of an alphabet of c.20:20 mm decorated with foliage and a single

The year in which he started to print on his own corresponds to the year in which Jan Gailliart died. That could mean that Willem made the press over to Biestkens in 1574, when he was called upon to carry on his father's business, and that, under the new owner, there was no further place for Manilius in the firm. At all events the presence in Ghent, immediately after that year, of initials which appear in the alphabet book, means that the booklet cannot have been produced in Amsterdam. But even if it undoubtedly came from Emden, Van der Erven is unlikely to have been the publisher. As Stellingwerff has already observed one of the initials had never belonged to him,⁸³ but we now know that, with the takeover of Biestkens' material, it became the property of Willem Gailliart. We can thus assume that he was the printer of the *Emder bedingen* – after his purchase of Van der Erven's press in 1566, but before certain sets of his initials were moved to Ghent in about 1574.

bird. Gautier continued to use both sets a long time.

⁸³ Stellingwerff, art. cit. (n. 26), p. 203. The identification of the second I in the *Emder bedingen* with Biestkens' initial is correct. The author erroneously thinks, however, that this letter does not appear in the Amsterdam editions. It was used, in a somewhat deteriorated condition, in 1582 both in *Veelderhande liedekens* (Moes-Burger 270) and in the New Testament (MoesBurger 271).

BOOKS PRINTED BY NICOLAES BIESTKENS VAN DIEST IN GROESSEN

(G 1) D[irk] P[hilips], *Een schoone vermaninghe ende cortte onderwysinghe vander warachtigher kennissen Godts* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1558. 8vo)

Copies: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library); Leeuwarden, Stadsbibliotheek. – Keyser, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 21 and illus. 27.

(G 2) *Refereynen. – Veel schoone gheestelijcke ende schriftuerlijcke refereynen, ghemaect wten ouden ende nyeuwen Testamente, die noyt in druck en zijn wtghegaen, met noch een genealogie ofte afcoempst des woeste ende grouwelijcken Antechrist ...* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1558. 8vo).

Copy: Amsterdam, UL (quire C wanting). – L. Roose, 'Voorlopers van de Dordse bundel met schriftuurlijke refreinen', *Spiegel der Letteren*, 4 (1960), pp. 212 f., with reproduction of the title.

(G 3) [Wouter van Stoelwijck], *Een trostelijcke vermaninghe ende seer schoon onderwysinghe van het lyden ende heerlicheyt der Christenen* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1558. 8vo).

Copies: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library); Rotterdam, Stadsbibliotheek. – Boekenoogen, op. cit. (n. 74), p. 59; Hillerbrand, op. cit. (n. 74), no. 3206.

(G 4) D[irk] P[hilips], *Vander zendinge der Predicanten oft Leeraers, te weten, welcke de rechte Leeraers zijn [...]. Met een verclaringhe van sommige Tegenspruecken ende Lasterwoorden, die teghen de rechte Dienaers [...] ghesproken werden* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1559. 8vo).

Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library). – Keyser, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 24 and illus. 31.

(G 5a) *Dat nieuwe Testament ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi, dwelck hy [...] hier beneden ghebracht heeft, ende heeft dat beleeft, geleert, ende met zijnen dierbaren bloede beseghelt ...* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1559. 16mo.)

Copy: London, British Library (BL), shelf-mark 3041.a.13. – *British Museum. General catalogue of printed books. Photolithographic edition to 1955. With supplement 1956-65, 263 vols.* (London 1959-66), vol. 18, col. 1361. First issue. The title is printed on the first leaf of quire A; A2 contains a concordance of Roman and Arabic numerals and a table; the text begins on A3.

(G 5b) *Dat nieuwe Testament ons Heeren Jesu Christi, beschreuen door dat ingheuen des heyligen Gheest, vanden Apostelen ende Euangelisten [...]. Met eenen schoonen Calengier ...* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1559. 16mo.)

Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library). – Boekenoogen, op. cit. (n. 74), p. 211. Second issue. The new title forms part of a preliminary quire of 8 leaves containing the calendar.

(G 6) Jacob Vallick, [*Toveren, wat dat voor een werck sij [...] ende wat remedien men daer voor doen sall*] (Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1559).

No copy known.

(G 7) *Den Bíbel, inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament ...* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen], Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1560. 3 parts. 4to.)

Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x), Bijbelmuseum, and FrUL; Goshen, Ind., Goshen College Biblical Seminary Library; Leiden, UL; London, BL; New York, Public Library; Stralsund, Stadtarchiv; Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek; Utrecht, UL; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB); and others. – Moes-Burger, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 253; Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 7; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 121 ff.

(G 8) *Liedekens – [Veelderhande liedekens, gemaect wt den Ouden ende Nieuwen Testamente]* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest?], 1560, 'den 28. Mey').

No copy known. – MoesBurger, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 254; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 73), no. 47; Hillerbrand, op. cit. (n. 74), no. 4143.

(G 9) *Offër des Heeren – [Dit boeck wort genaemt: Het offër des Heeren]* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest?], 1561).

No copy known. – Moes-Burger, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 255; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 73), no. 57 n.

(G 10) *Liedekens – [Veelderhande liedekens, gemaect wt den Ouden ende Nieuwen Testamente]* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest?], 1562, 'den 19. Febr.').

No copy known. – MoesBurger, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 256; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 73), no. 55; Hillerbrand, op. cit. (n. 74), no. 4144.

(G 11) *Liedenboeck – Een nieu Liedenboeck van alle nieuwe ghedichte liedekens, die noyt in druck en zijn gheweest, ghemaect wt den Ouden ende Nieuwen Testamente ...* (s.l.e.n. [Groessen, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest], 1562).

Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library). – Moes-Burger, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 258; P. Wackernagel, *Lieder der niederländischen Reformierten aus der Zeit der Verfolgung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a/M 1867), no. 17; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 73), no. 56; Hillerbrand, op. cit. (n. 74), no. 4167.

(G 12) D[irk] P[hilips], *Van de gheestelijcke Restitution, dat is, hoe datal wat vanden beghinne gheschiet is, in Christo Jesu gheestelijck veruult [...] is ...* (s.l. [Groessen], Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1562).

Copy: Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek (destroyed in 1943). – Keyser, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 27.

(G 13) D[irk] P[hilips], *Van de Ghemeynte Godts, hoe die vmden beghinne gheweest is [...] een*

corte bekentenisse (s.l. [Groessen], Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1562).

Copy: Hamburg, Stadtbibliothek (destroyed in 1943). – Keyser, op. cit. (n. 20), no. 28.

(G 14) *Dat nieuwe Testament ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi, dwelck hy [...] hier beneden ghebracht heeft, ende heeft dat beleeft, gheleert ende met zijnen dierbaren bloede beseghelt ...* (s.l. [Groessen], Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, 1562, 16mo.)

Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); London, BL; Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek. – Moes-Burger, op. cit. (n. 1), no. 257; Vogel, art. cit. (n. 2), no. 9; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 131, 140.

AN UNKNOWN MENNONITE PRESS IN FRIESLAND



None of the victims of the persecutions in the sixteenth century was directly involved in producing books for the followers of Menno Simons. Not a single printer who did so ran into serious difficulties – a striking, and in itself cheering, fact, which nevertheless removes one of the few means we have of establishing the printers' identity. In other cases the proceedings of trials provide us with the names of the men who dared to infringe the edicts, as well as with further details concerning them, and these documents are often our only source of information about their secret activities. Here, however, we have to forego such data. The books themselves hardly ever say anything about where they were printed, and their origin tends to remain a complete mystery.

Yet there is one roundabout way which often allows us to discover which press was responsible for one or more of these publications. Even if the printer involved took every precaution to hide his identity, he still had to work with the typographical material in his possession. The typefaces he had at his disposal, together with any ornaments or initials he may have used, form a characteristic combination which can betray him. A comparison with other signed works by the same press shows which firm we are dealing with. In fortunate circumstances this method can even be applied to printing-houses which refrained from mentioning their names in a book. It has thus proved possible to establish who produced a large number of anonymous publications in this period and where. This new source of information sometimes also leads to a revision of the year of publication and the ensuing date of origin of the work in question. What follows is based on the results of one such bibliographical analysis.

In view of the dangers incurred by anyone involved in the production or distribution of publications regarded as subversive by the authorities, it is no wonder that the authors of political and religious writings frequently had the greatest difficulty in finding a printer. David Joris still managed to have his *Wonderboek* printed in Deventer in 1542,¹ but some twelve years later he seems to have been

¹ As the last book in a series he managed to have printed in Deventer. For the printing and the persecution of those involved, Dirk (II) van den Borne and Albert Pafraet, see P.C. Molhuysen, 'Procedure over de werken van David Joris', *Nijhoff's Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en*

unable to find anyone closer at hand than in Rostock. At about the same time Hendrik Niclaes had to undertake the journey from Emden to Antwerp in order to have his major work, *Den Speghel der Gherechticheit* published. He encountered there the Frenchman Christopher Plantin who had recently set up a press of his own and was ready to produce the work.²

Ever since the bibliographer P.A. Tiele gave broader publicity to the relations between Plantin and the leader of the Family of Love – the true discoverer was the church historian Friedrich Nippold – and Max Rooses, in his turn, examined their dealings more extensively, scholars have wondered whether other clandestine activities could be attributed to Plantin, and if so, what they were. Some years ago Dr Daniël Grosheide published an interesting discovery in this domain: in 1567 Plantin had used the text of a Dutch Protestant Bible in his *Index sive specimen characterum* of 1567.³ The last sample in this large type specimen of the *Officina Plantiniana*⁴ is a fragment from Revelation 5, in the same typeface as the 1564 reprint of the so-called Biestkens Bible,⁵ a version of the Scriptures which derives its name from the printer of a Bible published in 1560 and which, even if the translation had appeared earlier, was particularly successful in his edition. There were various reasons for this. It was the first complete Dutch Bible with numbered verses, and this made it possible to refer on a large scale to particular passages. The register, moreover, paid ample attention to subjects such as baptism, the oath, and the ban, all essential articles of faith for the followers of Menno Simons. In the two centuries that followed many of them would remain loyal to the Biestkens Bible. And a subsidiary factor in its success was of a financial nature: by using a small

Oudheidkunde, 9 (1854), pp. 246–55; supplementary information in J. Frederichs, *De secte der Loisten, of Antwerpsche Libertijnen (1525-1545): Eligius Pruystinck (Loy de Schaliedecker) en zijne aanhangers* (Gent/'s-Gravenhage 1891), pp. xlv–xlvi.

² For the printing history of this Bible and the literature on the subject, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 253 ff.; *id.*, 'Plantin's betrekkingen met Hendrik Niclaes', *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (De Gulden Passer, 66–7; Antwerpen 1989), pp. 126 ff.

³ D. Grosheide, 'Plantin en de Biestkensbijbel', *Hellings Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 225–31, *passim*.

⁴ *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. 2 (16–18). *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), no. 16 and pp. 1–5; *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini* (1567), no. 45.

⁵ *Den Bibel, inhoudende dat Oude ende Nieuwe Testament*. Roman. 15.a.4 [AI, 6 lines] Apocal. 5.a.5 [AI, 4 lines]. (s.l.e.n., 'Ghedrukt int Jaer ons Heeren 1564'. 4to in eights). Cf. I. le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduitsche Bybels* (Amsterdam 1732; reissue Hoorn 1764), p. 672; P.H. Vogel, 'Der niederländische Bibeldruck in Emden 1556–1568', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 36 (Mainz 1961), p. 169, no. 16.

typeface it was possible to sell the quarto volume at a lower price than publishers who retained the usual folio format.⁶

Not only is Plantin's choice of this particular version of the text surprising, but also the manner in which he had the fragment printed. For the type matter is so similar to the model that it really takes a great effort to discover a few minute differences. In the fifth line from below, for example, an unnecessary point has been removed, and in the last line but one, a space has been omitted between two words. The compositor also left out the marginal notes (although the reference signs have remained in the text); he used a different initial letter, and added the caption 'Apocal. 5.' (illus. 1). But these are adaptations which can be explained by the different function of the fragment. Otherwise the typography is identical in every detail, even with the same misshaped German comma in the third line.

There are two possibilities. The first is that a compositor, instructed to copy the text exactly as it was in the exemplar, performed the task with the utmost precision. Although they are hardly numerous, other examples exist of such accurate copies, and I shall be discussing some of them later. Grosheide, however, chose another explanation. In his view a block of type matter was used which was again applied in the *Index*. This implied that Plantin printed a Dutch Bible when he was in Antwerp. Yet this was a somewhat unlikely hypothesis and it found little support. Voet, too, implicitly rejected it by not including the book in his great bibliography of the printer's presses in Antwerp and Leiden.⁷

Grosheide's hypothesis entailed various complications. In the first place it meant holding Plantin responsible, without any further evidence, for a 'Protestant' Bible, an infringement of the laws both ecclesiastical and secular. This objection is no longer acceptable. We now know about Plantin's views on this matter and that, despite all prohibitions, he was ready to do anything that would secure his prominent position in the production of Bibles – also where editions in the vernacular were concerned.⁸ Yet he was cautious enough not to publish them in Antwerp, even if,

⁶ For this Bible, see E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 2, pp. 1-25 (Nicolaes Biestkens), no. 253; Vogel, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 167, no. 7; C.C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden 1937), p. 218. – For the printer, who worked in Groessen near Zevenaar, and not in Emden as has hitherto been assumed, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens, in duplo, 1558-1583', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31.

⁷ L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle, 6 vols (Amsterdam 1980-3), hereafter cited as Voet PP.

⁸ See Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 1989), pp. 141 ff.; *id.*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 103 ff.; *id.*, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer

on no less than two occasions, he set up a special press for the purpose elsewhere. Other considerations of a typographical nature remain valid, however. One is that, if Plantin was indeed the printer in this case, he would have owned Lettersnijder's English Textura used in the book as a secondary typeface.⁹ Yet this type does not appear in any of the books he is known to have printed and is not mentioned in any of the inventories of his typographical material.¹⁰ Another consequence, also acknowledged by Grosheide, is that the Bible would then have been antedated and actually printed in 1567, three years later than the date on the title-page. We can only get round these objections if we believe that the block of type matter was simply lying around unused in his printing shop before Plantin started work on the *Index*. But this hypothesis too, in itself most unlikely, can be excluded since his records show that he only came into possession of the typeface in question towards the end of 1565.

That typeface is Tavernier's Nonpareil Textura, the smallest Dutch Textura in existence at the time. It is certain that Plantin owned this very small Gothic type, but it is equally certain that he could not have used it before 8 December 1565. We see from his account books that on that day he paid a certain Girard van Embden a sum of 84 guilders 'pour la petite nonpareille d'Amy [Ameet] fondue.'¹¹ He consequently purchased the cast type in this transaction, but not the matrices, which are never mentioned in his inventories of 1566 and later. The punches of this new typographical acquisition had only recently been completed, and even the punchcutter never used his design before 1564. But he was not the first to do so. A New Testament in this typeface had already appeared a year earlier elsewhere,¹² with a foreword in which the primacy is claimed with pride. The publisher there says: 'We have thus had a very small typeface made so that anyone who wishes to read it can easily carry a [New] Testament with him' ('Soo hebben wy een seer cleyn letterken doen maken: op dat de gene die lust ende begeerte hebben om lesen

in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109 and 163-90, esp. 96 ff.; *id.*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 18 (1988), pp. 97-103.

⁹ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT, pp. 120-1, T 20, illus. 68-70.

¹⁰ M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139.

¹¹ VPT, pp. 174-5, T 51, pp. 174-5, with illus. 126-7.

¹² *Dat Nieuwe Testament ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi*. Joan. 5.d.39 [A1.3 lines] Rom. 15.a.4 [A1.3 lines] ('Gedruct na de Copye van Nicolaes Biestkens 1563'. [Title in woodcut compartment]. 16mo). Cf. A. Vogel, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 168, no. 12.

lichtelyck een Testament met haer over wech moegen dragen').¹³ It was clearly he who commissioned the design and we can assume that he thereby obtained the exclusive rights of the typeface and became the owner of the punches. The punchcutter would have kept a set of the struck and justified matrices for himself, as was presumably customary and as we see from the work produced by his own press.

The absence of punches and matrices in Plantin's lists of his typographical assortment clearly proves that it was not the *Officina* which ordered them. The documented purchase of a large amount of cast types at a later stage is a further confirmation. This, in addition to the presence of Lettersnijder's English Textura in the printed work, shows that Plantin was not the printer of the New Testament in question – and still less of the Bible which appeared a year later in the same combination of typefaces, with Tavernier's Nonpareil Textura as the principal face. In that same typeface, moreover, there appeared, also in 1564, a collected edition of Dirk Philips' dogmatic tracts under the title *Enchiridion oft Hantboecxken*,¹⁴ followed a year later by a reprint of another fundamental work of a similar persuasion: *Een Fondament* by Menno Simons.¹⁵ That they were produced by the same press emerges from the woodcut initials which all belong to the same alphabet. It seems most unlikely that Plantin was in any way involved in publications for the Mennonite movement. We thus see that, after his purchase, he never used the striking typeface, rendered suspect on account of its earlier application, in any work published by the *Officina*, but sent (or gave) it to his agent Augustijn van Hasselt, who printed with it in Wesel – a New Testament and a collection of Psalms in 1567 and another New Testament in 1569, this time in a particularly small pocket format.¹⁶ As far as we know the small typeface only appears once in Plantin's own publications: in a few words on the title-page of one of his 1568 editions.¹⁷ A year later he bought a new typeface on this smallest of bodies, even before it had been completed, Hendrik van den Keere's 'Mignonne', a Minion Textura which recurs repeatedly in his books thereafter.¹⁸

¹³ The first scholar to draw attention to this passage was Isaac le Long, op. cit. (n. 5), p. 689. He was also the first to attribute the book to Willem Gailliart in Emden on the basis of the title woodcut.

¹⁴ M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips 1504-1568. A Catalogue of his Printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1975), hereafter cited as Keyser, pp. 41 ff., no. 2 and illus. 8.

¹⁵ I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch Reformer. With a Census of Known Copies* (Nieuwkoop 1962), hereafter cited as Horst, p. 60, no. 13.

¹⁶ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 8: 1986), nos. W 10, W 11 and W 15 respectively (pp. 188 ff.).

¹⁷ On the title-page of P. Canisius, *Waerachtighe ende oprechte onderwijsinghe* (1568), see Voet PP, no. 885.

¹⁸ VPT, pp. 172-3, T 50, and illus. 124-5.

So everything suggests that, before Plantin bought Tavernier's Nonpareil Textura at the end of 1565, the typeface was used exclusively by the punchcutter himself and by an anonymous press working for an apparently affluent group of followers of Menno Simons. That the movement was behind the publications is shown by Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion*, which can be regarded as the authorized edition of his dogmatic work on account of its arrangement. For the book was issued in reaction to a collection of reprints of his tracts which had recently been published elsewhere.¹⁹ The author added three previously unpublished epistles to the new edition and arranged the various pieces in a more logical sequence.

But who was the anonymous Mennonite printer responsible for these editions after having ordered the special typeface in which they are set? The title-page compartment of his New Testament (illus. 2b) gives as little indication as the four woodcuts surrounding the title of the Bible (illus. 3). They seem to have been cut for the occasion and never to have been used subsequently. Nor do the decorative initial letters with which the editions open provide any information about the origin of the printed work. *Een Fondament* and the *Enchiridion*, on the other hand, contain a number of characteristic initials which make further research possible, even if they cannot be found in any signed printed work of this period. We encounter other letters from the same set in an anonymously published Bible and New Testament which came out a few years later, in 1568, and we can thus assume that the books were produced by the same press. Now, in these editions we see a total of twelve blocks from the aforesaid alphabet, which include a D (illus. 4) and a P. In this connection these are important letters since they also appear in a third New Testament (illus. 5), dating from 1560, that has yet another decoration on the title-page (illus. 6).²⁰ And this plays a key role in our investigation, for it consists of a frame composed of four metal strips with *criblé* engravings, which can be found in the work of the Utrecht printer-publisher Jan Berntsz.²¹ They appear in a number of his books such as the *Groten herbarius* of 1538 and the richly illustrated *Thuis der fortune* of c.1540.

¹⁹ D[irk] P[hilips], *Een korte bekentnisse ende belydinge vanden eenigen, almachtigen leuendige[n] Godt Vader, Soon ende heylige Geest, etc.* Mit noch sommige ander leerachtige boecxkens (s.l. 1564. 8vo). See Keyser I; J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, *Dirk Philips, vriend en medewerker van Menno Simons, 1504-1568* (Haarlem 1964), pp. 63, 124; *id.*, 'The first edition of Dirk Philips's *Enchiridion*', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 38 (1964), pp. 357-60. In the meantime bibliographical research has established that the anonymous printer was Simon Steenbergen in Deventer.

²⁰ Vogel, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 166, no. 6; De Bruin, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 215.

²¹ Three of these frames are reproduced in W. Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, vol. 1: *Les Pays-Bas septentrionaux* (La Haye 1926), Jan Berntsz I.3 (at the bottom), I.4 (outer frame, bottom right) and II.5 (at the bottom).

These ornaments were originally owned by Jan van Doesborch, a man from the northern Netherlands who made a name for himself in Antwerp in the 1540s as the most important publisher of illustrated books in the Low Countries.²² In 1531 he left the city for reasons unknown to us and settled in Utrecht. It was there that two books appeared under his name in 1532 and that he evidently ended his career as a printer and publisher.²³ The numerous woodcuts and other book ornaments that he owned came into the hands of Jan Berntsz, a printer who had settled in Utrecht in 1514, had obtained citizenship in 1525, and, with the material once belonging to Jan van Doesborch, proceeded to issue reprints of books from his former colleague's list.²⁴ In about 1546 he was succeeded by his son Berent Jansz, who presumably carried on the firm mainly as a bindery and a bookshop. Although it is perfectly possible that other products of his press have been lost, we only know a single work printed by him, an edifying booklet which he completed on 8 January 1552 on the order of the Amsterdam printer Hendrick Albertsz. On the title-page we see, on either side of a large woodcut, two borders which had been owned by his father, as had the ornamental letter with which the text begins. The press consequently survived and at least a part of the illustrative material was still there.

JAN HENDRICKSZ VAN SCHOONREWOERD

In that very same year, the firm passed into other hands. One of the aforesaid borders, together with a number of other elements familiar to us from the work of Jan Berntsz, appears in a devotional book the title-page of which gives 'By my Jan Henriczoon', with, at the end, a privilege in the same name issued by the municipal authorities on 13 July 1552.²⁵ Two years later this 'Jan Henrickzoon

²² For biographical information, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et Xvie siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 56-7. For his Utrecht activities, see P.J.A. Franssen, 'Jan van Doesborch's departure from Antwerp and his influence on the Utrecht printer Jan Berntsz', *Quaerendo*, 18 (1988), pp. 163-90.

²³ He probably died in 1537. In that year Jan Stevensz van Doesborch who, according to various documents, was associated with Jan Berntsz, was interred in the Buurkerk. Cf. G.A. Evers, 'Utrechtsche gedrukte boeken', *De Tampon*, 18 (1938), p. 19.

²⁴ For what is known about Jan Berntsz' life, see G.A. Evers, 'Gegevens betreffende Utrechtsche Staten-, Stads- en Akademiedrukkers', *Het Grafisch Museum*, 2 (1933), pp. 38-9; also as an offprint from nos. 1-5 (Utrecht 1935), pp. 30-1. For his continuation of the list of Jan van Doesborch, see Franssen, art. cit. (n. 22), pp. 163-90. The business relations between the two men are still unclear.

²⁵ *Een sonderlinge deuote oeffeninghe der passien ons Heeren [...] op die articulen des heylighen Pater noster gedeclareert, met noch meer ander schone ghebeden* ([Utrecht], Jan Henricksz, [1552]. 8vo). Copy: Ghent, UL, see J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent* (Gent 1979), no. O 25. The booklet contains various woodcuts and vignettes which had belonged to Jan Berntsz.

gesworen boeckprenter onder S. Martens toorn in den gulden Bibel' published the *Ordonnantie der stadt Amersfoort*, an edition of the procedural law which the Emperor had granted the city.²⁶ The privilege on the verso of the title-page, dated 23 April 1554, names the publisher as Jan van Schoonrewoerdt – Schoonrewoert is a little village south of Utrecht in the neighbourhood of Vianen. The privilege also applied to publications concerning the manner of litigation in the towns of Utrecht and Rhenen, as well as to the *Ordinarius* of the cathedral of Utrecht – a concise calendar of the ecclesiastical year of the cathedral for which a privilege had already been granted in 1553 – and to 'Prosoedia (ofte vulgariter) versificatione.'²⁷

Jan Hendicksz never got round to producing the edicts for Utrecht and Rhenen and all the copies of his *Ordinarius* appear to have been lost, but the edition of Georgius Macropedius' *Prosoedia* has survived.²⁸ The booklet by the famous rector of the Latin school in Utrecht, and later in 's-Hertogenbosch, is here accompanied by an interlinear translation for the benefit of the schoolchildren. According to the title-page, Jan Hendricksz provided the translation himself, so he must have known Latin and may have had some didactic experience. Nor was this his first publication of this kind. In 1552, the same year in which he started printing, Jan van der Loë in Antwerp printed two similar language books, 'Ioanne Henrico Scoenderwordano collectore & interprete', in which the translator also names himself as the publisher.²⁹ Besides the books mentioned above, he printed a currency

²⁶ *Ordonnantie der stadt Amersfoort, gemaect by der K.M. int iaer ons heren M.D.XLIIII* (Utrecht, Jan Henricksz van Schoonrewoerd, 1554. 4to). Copies: Amsterdam, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB); Utrecht, UL, and elsewhere. J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht niet voorkomend in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22), no. 232, with a reproduction of the title-page. Another reproduction, as well as further information, are to be found in G.A. Evers, 'De Bijbel als gevelsteen te Utrecht ...', *Bibliotheekleven*, 2 (1917), pp. 100 ff.

²⁷ M. Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 40 (1962), p. 44, no. 32.

²⁸ *Verborum seu vocum quae in Prosoedia Georgii Macropaedii continentur, interpretatio germanica*. Ioanne Henrico collectore et interprete ('Impressum Trajecti, sub turri Divi Martini in aedibus Ioannis Henrici Schoonderwoerdani, sub intersignio Bibliorum inauratorum, 1554'. 4to). Copy: Strängnäs, Domkyrkbibliotek; see H. Aminson, *Bibliotheca templi cathedralis Strengnesensis* (Stockholm 1863), p. 317 (s.v. Ioannes HENRICUS).

²⁹ Georgius Macropedius, *Fundamentum scholasticorum, seu prima literariae institutionis rudimenta, germanicè enarrata per Ioannem Henricum Scoenderwordanum. Item declinationes nominum verborumque conjugationes ...* (Antwerpen, Jan van der Loë, voor Jan Hendricksz van Schoonrewoerd, 1552. 4to). Copy: Ghent, UL. – *id.*, *Nominum et verborum quae in Institutionibus grammaticae exemplorum loco passim assumuntur germanica interpretatio*. Ioanne Henrico Scoenderwordano collectore et interprete. [...] *Vocabularius puerorum* (*ibid.* 1552. 4to). Copy: Ghent, UL, see Machiels, op. cit. (n. 25), nos. M 35 and M 40 respectively; *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as BB, vol. 4, pp. 8 (no. M 43) and 10

edict of Emperor Charles V in 1553 which also contains some initials and other ornaments once owned by Jan Berntsz.³⁰ He even used a printer's device which strongly resembles that of his predecessor, with a representation of St Martin, the patron saint of the town.³¹ Finally, an early source mentions a printed work dating from 1556 of which I have been unable to find a copy: *Mons aureus*, a translation, probably of the devotional treatise *Den gulden berch*, by Jasper Verhorst, the vicar of the convent of Nieuwlicht in Utrecht.³²

So we only know very little work by Jan Hendricksz and we are hardly better informed about his career.³³ From what we have said it appears that he had had more than an elementary education when he was inscribed among the 'nye borgeren', the new burghers, in Utrecht on 31 January 1540.³⁴ He was then called a 'boekbynder', just as he was later in a deed of transfer dated 7 May 1555, although, as we saw, he had by then for some time been active as a printer. He was presumably unmarried at the time since his heirs were only referred to in general terms, without any further specification.³⁵ In 1557 matters were different. A similar document names Anna Reyersdr as his wife and his profession is given as 'boeckprinter'.³⁶ The deed concerns the transfer of the house in which Anna's father, Reyer Pauwelsz, had

(no. M 48) respectively.

³⁰ *Ordinantie ende moderatie des Keyzers Kaerle die vijffste, opt stuck van der munten [...] totten 15 [...] Meye 1553* ('Geprent tot Utrecht [...] bi mi Jan Henriczoon gesworen boeckprenter [...] 1553'. 4to). Copy: Leiden, UL, see L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882), no. 84. The title-page is reproduced in Evers, art. cit. (n. 26), p. 101. The Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KB) in The Hague possesses a copy with an imprint in another typeface, and the text variant 'by my'.

³¹ Jan Berntsz' printer's device is reproduced in Nijhoff, op. cit. (n. 21), Jan Berntsz 13.

³² *Mons aureus, e vulgari germanica in latinam linguam transl. opera Gaspari Verhorst* ('Ultrajecti, typis Joan. Schoonderwoerdii, 1556'). See Valerius Andreas, *Bibliotheca belgica; de Belgis vita scriptisque claris. Praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae Inferioris descriptione. Editio renovata et tertio parte auctior* (Leuven 1643; repr. Nieuwkoop 1973), p. 258. Taken over by J.F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca belgica* (Brussels 1739), vol. 1, p. 330.

³³ The information published about him so far is contained in two articles by G.A. Evers, the one cited in n. 26 and 'De Bijbel als merkteeken van Utrechtsche boekverkoopers en -drukkers', *De Tampon*, 14 (1934), pp. 18-20.

³⁴ Evers, art. cit. (n. 33: 'Bijbel als merkteeken'), p. 19.

³⁵ Utrecht Municipal Archives (Gemeentearchief; hereafter cited as GA), Transporten en plechten; minuten (OA 704: 1555).

³⁶ *Ibid.* (OA 704: 1557). Quoted by Evers, art. cit. (n. 26: 'Bijbel als gevelsteen'), pp. 102-3, and *id.*, art. cit. (n. 33: 'Bijbel als merkteeken'), pp. 19-20.

lived since 1539. Besides also being a binder and bookseller,³⁷ Reyer had been active as a man of letters and made his name as the author of the *Spel van der Cristenkercke*,³⁸ a play for the chambers of rhetoric which can be regarded as an orthodox answer to a Protestant play very successfully performed in Middelburg in 1539, *De boom der Schriftueren*.³⁹ It can be assumed that he wrote (or collaborated in writing) the play in order to escape suspicion of heresy: in 1540 he was caught selling a prohibited book.⁴⁰

From the deed of transfer of his house we can conclude that Reyer had either died in the meantime or had moved elsewhere. The scarce data show that Anna was apparently a daughter from a later marriage. The ensuing age difference with her husband suggests that Jan Hendricksz, too, had been married before, but may not have had any children. We have already seen that he had been working as a bookbinder in Utrecht since 1540 and that he took over from Berent Jansz in 1552 the firm that had once belonged to his deceased father Jan Berntsz. The premises of the press – it was then called ‘Den gulden leeuw’ (The golden lion) – were included in the purchase, so Jan Hendricksz found himself living next to his colleague Herman van Borculo, whose other neighbour was Reyer Pauwelsz. This concentration of the book trade in Utrecht existed throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A preference was shown for the area of the cathedral, close to the palace of the bishop, who was also the lord of the land until 1528. The land on which these houses stood – the present-day Servetstraat⁴¹ – was in the prolongation of the Zadel[makers]straat, the street of the saddlers, the guild to which the bookbinders, together with other ‘decorative’ trades, belonged until they formed an organization of their own with the printers and booksellers in 1599. Judging from the same source, Jan Hendricksz consequently lived in the centre

³⁷ Cf. G.A. Evers, ‘De Utrechtsche boekbinder en rederijker Reyer Pauwelsz’, *Het Boek*, 9 (1920), pp. 253–65, and the introduction to the text edition cited in the following note.

³⁸ *Tspel van de Cristenkercke*, ed. G.A. Brands (Utrecht 1921; thesis Leiden); W.M.H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het rederijksdrama 1500-ca.1620* (Assen 1968), pp. 42–3, no. 1 L 2.

³⁹ ‘The structure and the symbolic theme of the two plays are so similar – albeit applied in a contrary sense – that there would seem to be little chance of coincidence. From a literary point of view, however, it is far superior to its predecessor and could even be considered the finest product of the chambers of rhetoric in this period.’ G.A. van Es, *Geschiedenis van de letterkunde der Nederlanden*, vol. 3 (1944), p. 288. Cf. also J.J. Mak, *De rederijkers* (Amsterdam 1944), pp. 125–6.

⁴⁰ For details about the trial, taken from the Council’s Daily Book (‘s Raads Dagelijks Boek’), see A.M.C. van Asch van Wijck, ‘Bescheiden betreffende het eerste tijdvak van de geschiedenis der hervorming in de stad en provincie Utrecht, 1524–1566’, *Berigten van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (1851), pp. 141 f. The accused was obviously spared and given no more than a light sentence for the sake of formality.

⁴¹ Cf. G.A. Evers, ‘Van “Borth” tot “Servet”-straat’, *Maandblad van “Oud-Utrecht”*, 20 (1947), p. 39.

of the Utrecht book trade until 1556, even if a book with that date could of course already have appeared at the end of the previous year.

We must now establish what happened to the printing-press between this date and 1560 when, as we have already shown, the typographical material was again used in a New Testament and later publications intended for the followers of Menno Simons. Did the firm pass into other hands, and if so who was the new proprietor? And, also, did it remain in Utrecht or was it moved elsewhere? There is an obvious reason for asking this last question: it seems most unlikely that anyone would dare to print Mennonite books on any scale in Utrecht a few yards away from the episcopal court; until Utrecht opted for William of Orange in 1577, one of the last large cities in the northern Netherlands to do so. The magistracy, who was also under pressure from the Spanish troops in the Vreeburg stronghold, remained loyal to the central government. After drastic measures in its initial stages, the Reformation never obtained a firm hold on the town, even if we know that both Dirk Philips and Lenaert Bouwensz made converts there.⁴² The latter is said to have baptised fourteen people in Utrecht between 1554 and 1556, and six or nine more in 1557. These, however, are small numbers compared to the massive results elsewhere.⁴³ The political and religious climate in the episcopal city was particularly unsuitable for a clandestine press.

To the question 'Utrecht or elsewhere?' the printed work can give no further answer. It did indeed enable us to trace the press which used the typographical material until about 1556: the books it produced in those years could announce their origin with impunity. But in 1560 and later, we come across various ornaments owned by the firm in publications to which no publisher within the national borders could lend his name without running a serious risk. We are here confronted with the narrow confines of a bibliographical analysis. With the help of such a method we can discover the existence of a press and determine its production, but without further evidence it is impossible to say where the firm was working and who owned, or managed, it. Here we must depend on a historical source which might provide some information, if necessary, indirectly.

In this case the indication is contained in a draft of a deed of transfer which happens to have been preserved in the Utrecht municipal archives. On 22 May 1560, Jan Hendricksz again sold a house in Utrecht, but he was not personally present when the deed was passed. He was represented by a certain Roelof Hendricksz

⁴² Leenaert Bouwensz was baptized in 1552 or 1553 at the house of a certain Gerrit in Utrecht. Both Joos Verbeek and Dirk Philips also visited the city. See S. Cramer in *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, 43 (1903), pp. 3, 11, 13, 17 and 21.

⁴³ Cf. K. Vos, 'De dooplijst van Leenaert Bouwens', *Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap [te Utrecht]*, 36 (1915), pp. 49, 69.

who lived in Hagestein, which was also close to Vianen, and who may have been a brother. What is of particular interest is the fact that the power of attorney of this mandatory was legalized by the magistrates of Franeker.⁴⁴ This shows that Jan van Schoonrewoerd Henricksz, as he is called in full in the document, had left Utrecht and had moved to Friesland. He had probably even obtained citizenship there: on 3 July 1555, a Jan Henricksz was inscribed together with fourteen other people in the Franeker Register of Citizens.⁴⁵ The name is too common for there to be any certainty that this was our printer, but it is striking that the man, in contrast to nearly everybody else, should have obtained citizenship free of charge. This was a privilege which was generally only accorded to those whom the community was eager to adopt for economic or other reasons. For a town in an area where only a single printer was at work, the establishment of that trade undoubtedly entailed both prestige and opportunities for employment. Since Jan Hendricksz, as we saw, was still in Utrecht on 7 May of that same year, we can assume that he left for the north shortly afterwards, albeit not yet necessarily as a resident.

In contrast to Utrecht, Franeker was a particularly good place in which to set up a Mennonite press. The town contained a large group of Mennonites. Until about 1560 they were reckoned to number around 1,300 (620 confirmed members), many of whom had been baptized by Lenaert Bouwensz – one source states that he baptized some hundred devotees on a single occasion.⁴⁶ Subsequent developments show that a particularly lively religious activity prevailed in these circles in the years following.⁴⁷ Here in the north, moreover, where the largest concentration of disciples of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips was to be found, persecution for religious reasons was, at best, sporadic. In Franeker, the magistrates were far from inclined to proceed against them and no martyrs

⁴⁴ Utrecht GA (OA 704: 1560): 'Anno 1560 den 22en Maey. Dat voer ons quam Intgerechte roeloff Henricssz tot Hagesteyn als gemachticht van Jan van Schoonrewoerd Henricssz boeckbynder ende Anna reyniers dochter sijn huysfrouwe wesende den machtbrieff gepasseert voer Olderman Burgermeester en schepenen ende raden der stadt Franeker in Vriesslant, van date 15c tsestich den 29 aprilis, doer den welcken deese onsen brieff gesteken is ...'. The power of attorney has not come to light in Franeker. The municipal Recesboeken go no further back than 1602.

⁴⁵ Franeker Municipal Archives (OA 27). Information concerning the origin and profession of new burghers was not recorded in Franeker.

⁴⁶ S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der doopsgezinden in Friesland [...] uit oorspronkelijke stukken en echte berigten opgemaakt* (Leeuwarden 1839), pp. 91-2, takes from Gerard Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie* (1671) the number of some 300 members in 1566.

⁴⁷ For the history of the Mennonites in Franeker, see above all N. van der Zijpp in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, eds. H.S. Bender et al., 4 vols. (Hillsboro [etc.] 1956-9; repr. 1972), vol. 2, pp. 370-2. The establishment of the press in Franeker may have been facilitated by the considerable influence of Hendrik Naeldeman in 1555/6 as the leader of the moderates who opposed the supporters of the severe ban under Lenaert Bouwensz.

were made in that town. There could hardly have been safer surroundings for a clandestine press of this sort.

Yet, however well-documented it may be, the removal to Franeker of Jan Hendricksz does not in itself prove that his press followed the same path. It is conceivable that he might have sold his business and embarked on a new existence, in different surroundings and in a different craft, unusual though such a change may be in this particular trade. That he did take the inventory of his press with him emerges, however, from the fact that a number of his initials, part of which had come from Jan van Doesborch, appear in the work of Pieter Hendricksz van Campen, a younger colleague who took over the firm of the printer to the States, Is(e)brandt ter Steghe in Leeuwarden in 1579. The presence of the material in his printed work shows that it did indeed travel to Friesland. But I shall return to these publications later.

So everything suggests that Jan Hendricksz received an offer for a contract which he could not refuse, whether for commercial or ideological reasons. The nature and the content of the offer can be deduced from what his press would produce in the years to come: publications intended exclusively for the followers of Menno Simons. Before then the leader of the movement had been faced, for many years, with countless difficulties in publishing his writings. After a printer for his first books had been found in Deventer (?) – and these included the original version of *Dat Fundament des Christelycken leers*⁴⁸ – he had to turn to Antwerp for further publications. In 1540 three of his works appeared there, followed some ten years later by reprints of two shorter tracts.⁴⁹ After that he managed to enlist a typographer who was prepared to print the new version of *Een Fondament* in his later haven, the estate of Fresenburg near Oldesloe in Holstein. His host, Bartholomaeus von Ahlefeldt, made room available to him where, besides this work, three more of Menno's treatises were printed in 1554/5. Then, however, these activities came to an end. We do not know why, any more than we know the identity of the printer who signed himself with the initials B.L.⁵⁰

In the course of 1555, therefore, new printing facilities had to be found. The

⁴⁸ In the course of his interrogation on 31 March 1545 Quirijn Pieterssen declared 'that he had sold at least 25 books made by Menno Simons and printed in Deventer by a tall man living near the great church' ('wel 25 boucken gemaict by Menno Symonis vercoft te hebben die zijn gedruet tot Deventer bij een lange man wonende bij die groote kerck'), cf. *Amsterdam (1536-1578)*, ed. A.F. Mellink (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 2; Leiden 1980), pp. 53 and 55 (no. 48). Who the printer was is still uncertain.

⁴⁹ I hope to publish my bibliographical investigation into the printers of the editions elsewhere.

⁵⁰ M. Keyser, 'The Fresenburg Press: An Investigation pertaining to Menno Simons's Printing Office in Holstein, Germany, 1554-1555', *The Dutch Dissenters. A Critical Companion to their History and Ideas ...*, ed. I.B. Horst (Leiden 1986), pp. 179-86.

need was all the greater since various dogmatic tracts by Dirk Philips, the second leader of the movement, were waiting to be printed. At least one was circulating in manuscript,⁵¹ but there was a call for broader distribution. Other sectarian leaders in the Low Countries were also making an increasing use of the printing-press in order to spread their doctrine. Shortly before his death, David Joris had had two large series of his writings printed in Rostock⁵² and, at about the same time, Hendrik Niclaes, as we saw, found in Plantin a man ready to print works such as *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*, an extensive announcement of which had already appeared.⁵³ The possibilities were strictly limited, however. In the western Netherlands surveillance was presumably too strict, and in the north and east only Emden, Leeuwarden, Deventer, Kampen and Nijmegen had one or more printers within the city walls.⁵⁴ None of them appears to have been prepared to accept the order, and the dangers were indeed not to be underestimated. Only in Utrecht were Menno Simons and his followers successful, for Jan Hendricksz was willing to enter into association with them and to transfer his press to a safer area for that purpose.

The events just described allow us to expect Jan Hendricksz to have set to work on his new task immediately after his arrival in Franeker – and that seems to be exactly what he did. We have already encountered his material in this phase in a New Testament of 1560, but further investigation shows that he had in fact printed three or four of Menno Simons' writings in 1556. The first of these was probably a revised edition of his treatise on the heavenly birth and the new creature (Horst 39), with a *Vermaninghe* printed at the end and dated 28 June 1556. This is obviously the date on which the text was written and not the date of printing, but that it was indeed published soon afterwards emerges from the fact that 'van der nieuwer geboorten' is mentioned in Menno's anonymously published *Een christelycke ende*

⁵¹ On 7 August 1555 Otto Berentsz declared in Amsterdam that a handwritten booklet found in his possession was in fact the property of Henrick Jansz, a carpenter, and that he had understood from him that it was by Dirk Philips ('verstaen heeft dat Dirck Philipsz tselve boexken hadde gemaickt'), see *Amsterdam*, op. cit. (n. 48), pp. 54-5. See also Ten Doornkaat Koolman, op. cit. (n. 19), p. 63.

⁵² One of these series was indicated over a century ago by A. Hofmeister, in C.M. Wiechmann, *Mecklenburgs altniedersächsische Literatur. Ein bibliographisches Repertorium*, vol. 3 (Schwerin 1885), pp. 131-41. See also: A. Hofmeister, 'Nog iets over de Rostocker band met tractaten van David Joris', *Bibliographische Adversaria*, 2nd S., 1 (1888), pp. 86-93.

⁵³ *Register unde ordentlicke anwysinge van die inholdinge aller dingen, die in [...] dem Spygel der gerechticheit begrepen zyn* (s.l.a.n., [Deventer, Dirck (II) van den Borne, c.1553]. 8vo). See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De geschriften van Hendrik Niclaes', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2; also published as an offprint with the year 1942), p. 192, no. 7, and see p. 169.

⁵⁴ For a survey of the small number of printers in the northern Netherlands in the 1550s and the difficulties they encountered, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden (1561-1569)', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50, 253-98.

lieffijcke vermaninge (Horst 19), a publication by the same press which was confiscated in Culemborg in February 1557.⁵⁵ The same work also mentions (f. A5v.) *Van het rechte christen ghelooue* (Horst 43), published with an authorization by the author dated 8 July 1556. A little later there appeared two epistles by Menno Simons to Martinus Micron written, judging from the signatures, on 7 and 16 October 1556 respectively. The combined publication (Horst 59) may, however, have occurred a little later since the title-page says that the first piece was composed in 1556 ('A°. 1556 vervaetet'). Such a statement on a title-page usually suggests a later date of issue.

In 1557 there appeared Dirk Philips' 'geloofsboeck', his confession of faith, as he himself called it in the index, *Eene corte bekentenisse ende belydinghe vanden eenigen [...] God, Vader, Soon ende heylige Geest* (Keyser 17). On the title-page and in the foreword we make our first encounter with an Italic typeface.⁵⁶ This is also used, presumably at about the same time, in another of Dirk's early writings, *Van de menschwerdinghe onses Heeren Jesu Christi* (Keyser 20), which, with a separate title-page (but with continuous signatures), is followed by *Van die rechte kennisse Jesu Christi*.⁵⁷ Probably a year later the same author's *Een liefficke vermaninghe wt des Heeren woort* (Keyser 23) appeared in print, a treatise on the ban which, according to the date at the end, was completed on 5 February 1558. Shortly afterwards, on 11 June, Menno Simons, in his turn, completed his third and last 'ban book', *Een gans grontlijcke onderwijs oft bericht van de Excommunicatie* (Horst 72). This work does not give a date of publication either, but probably also appeared in the same year.

With the exception of the recently procured Italic, all these books are printed almost exclusively with material, both typefaces and ornaments, which Jan Hendricksz had brought from Utrecht.⁵⁸ In *Dat Nieuwe Testament* which he published in the course of 1558, however, we can detect a change.⁵⁹ It is a reprint of a translation

⁵⁵ The printed work confiscated included 'a little booklet of prophecy, exhortation and reprimand addressed to the authorities, the learned and the common people, for the wicked sects' ('een cleyn boecxken profetelicken vermaenende ende bestraffende redene aen die overheit, geleerde ende gemeyn volck, aen die verdorven secten'), cf. O.J. de Jong, *De reformatie in Culemborg* (Assen 1957; thesis Amsterdam), pp. 62-3; A.J. van de Ven, *Het oud-archief van de gemeente Culemborg* (Utrecht 1938), p. 77.

⁵⁶ Keyser, op. cit. (n. 14), illus. 21-2. The typeface is Tavernier's Pica Italic, for which, see VPT, pp. 298-9, IT 8, and illus. 228-9. As we see from his work the printer had too few lower case k's and w's. He replaced the k's by Texturas, and for the w's he used two adjoining v's.

⁵⁷ This dating corresponds to the one given by W. Keeney, 'The writings of Dirk Philips', *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 32 (1958), p. 300.

⁵⁸ The only exception is his replacement in 1558 of his largest Textura, Severszoon's two-line English Textura (VPT T 4), by the two-line Great Primer Textura of Simon Vostre (T 3) in general use in the Low Countries.

⁵⁹ Le Long, op. cit. (n. 5), p. 684; H.F. Wijnman ('Grepn uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse

which had appeared in 1554, perhaps in Lübeck, under the probably fictitious publisher's name Mattheus Jacobszoon,⁶⁰ but the text has now been presented in verse ('op versen gesteld') and contains numbered verses. This sort of verse numbering was a recent innovation introduced from abroad, which, as we saw, was eagerly and promptly adopted in the Low Countries for the entire Bible. Like the model that was being imitated, the New Testament appeared in a pocket format, and it was for that purpose that the firm acquired the smallest Textura available at the time, an originally French type on Brevier, or 'Bible', which was also preferred for similar editions elsewhere in the Netherlands.⁶¹ In order to replace the worn and antiquated blocks of Jan van Doesborch, a modern set of decorated initials was also purchased, the aforesaid arabesque letters.

The newly acquired typeface was now also used in the undated *Concordantie ende aenwysinghe der vernaemster sproken aller Bybelscher boecken*, a translation from the German of a work which, in the choice and explanation of subjects and terms, was primarily intended for Anabaptists.⁶² The typeface was also used for an edition of *Veelderhande liedekens, ghemaect uut den Ouden ende Nieuwen Testamente*, a particularly popular collection of spiritual songs which had already been issued several times in Antwerp and Emden. Unfortunately the only surviving copy of this reprint, especially expanded for use by Mennonites, lacks a few leaves, and these include the last one, which might have given a date. The contents, however, have made it possible to establish that the book must have appeared in 1559.⁶³

emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (2): De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51) had already pointed out (p. 145) that the two surviving copies of this edition are not identical. The copy in London, British Library, shelf-mark 3041.a.12, has, after the Book of Revelation, a leaf containing the Epistle to the Laodiceans. In the copy in Amsterdam, Mennonite Library (on loan to Amsterdam UL) this space is occupied by various Errata.

⁶⁰ For this edition, see Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 59), pp. 123-7, and for the entire episode M. Keyser, 'De drukkerij van Mattheus Jacobszoon, Lübeck 1554', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 5 (1979), pp. 91-4.

⁶¹ VPT, p. 167 and illus. 119.

⁶² The only known copy, belonging to the Mennonite Library (on loan to Amsterdam UL), shelf-mark OK 65-206, is bound together with the *Broederlicke vereeninge*. This last work, however, is in an edition dated 1560 and printed by another press. We also find this combination of texts in a German edition; cf. H.J. Hillerbrand, *Bibliographie des Täuferturns, 1520-1630* (Gütersloh 1962), no. 2841.

⁶³ P. Wackernagel, *Lieder der niederländischen Reformierten aus der Zeit der Verfolgung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a/Main 1867; repr. Nieuwkoop 1965), no. 51; F.C. Wieder, *De Schriftuurlijke liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche hervormden tot op het jaar 1566. Inhoudsbeschrijving en bibliographie* ('s-Gravenhage 1900), no.46 (= 113). The result of the author's investigation of the text thus corresponds to that of the bibliographical analysis. The printed leaf inserted before the title-page with 'Ghedaen Ter

This survey of Jan Hendricksz' publications shows that he worked exclusively for the followers of Menno Simons after moving to Franeker in 1556. Each title in his list says as much and proves that he had placed himself entirely at the service of the movement, an association which evidently left no room for any other sort of publication. In the meantime we have reached the year 1560, when *Dat Nieuwe Testament* appeared with the title decoration which set us on the printer's trail (see illus. 6). At about this time he also published Dirk Philips' *Eene Apologia [...] dat wy [...] gheen weederdoopers noch sectemakers en sijn* (Keyser 32).⁶⁴ This marked the end of the first period of these publishing activities. The texts awaiting publication were now available in printed form, with one particularly important exception, *Het Offer des Heeren*. The movement's martyrology, which was to be the source of so much edification and consolation for an entire century, finally appeared in 1562, and was supplemented a year later by *Een Liedtboecxken tracterende van den Offer des Heeren*.⁶⁵ This first edition of the immensely popular work was followed by at least ten others before the century was out.

The production of the press described above also forms a unity as regards its outward appearance. An important factor is the limited typographical material at the printer's disposal: a small number of typefaces and a few ornaments originating from the press of Jan Berntsz, subsequently supplemented as we saw with a few other typefaces and a new set of ornamental letters. This minimal diversity in the material inevitably entails a certain uniformity in the printed work. But there is also another element which plays a part: the compositor stuck to the traditional style customary in the Low Countries and applied it somewhat pedantically. In one detail, however, his way of composing differs from the usual pattern: in his signature marks, at the foot of the page, he always places the figure between two points, the first one directly after the gathering letter (see illus. 5 and 7). This was a method used above all in France and Geneva,⁶⁶ and which was also adopted by some presses in the southern Netherlands. Elsewhere it is very seldom seen and, as far as I can ascertain, Jan Hendricksz was the only printer applying it in the Low Countries at the time. That all the books mentioned so far should have this peculiarity show

Liefden Van Maeyken Tijssen [...] Ao. 1598' has nothing to do with a reissue, however, as Wieder supposed, but contains the dedication of a gift by a young man in love.

⁶⁴ Ten Doornkaat Koolman, op. cit. (n. 19), p. 64, dates the tract c.1562, 'since it was written at a time of renewed persecution and alludes to the consequent desertion of many believers'.

⁶⁵ BB, vol. 4, pp. 489-93, no. O 17; Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 6), nos. 259 & 260; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 57; J.I. Doedes, *Nieuwe bibliographisch-historische ontdekkingen. Bijdragen tot de kennis [...] van de oudste drukken van het doopsgezinde martelaarsboek 'Het Offer des Heeren'* (Utrecht 1876), pp. 66-8.

⁶⁶ See R.A. Sayce, 'Compositorial Practices and the Localization of Printed Books, 1530-1800', *The Library*, 5th S., 21 (1966; repr. with addenda & corrigenda, Oxford 1979), p. 26.

that they were produced by the same man. We see this same style for the last time in the 'Nonpareil' New Testament of 1563, printed with the new, specially ordered, miniature Nonpareil Textura typeface – in itself a remarkable initiative and a large investment for a press of this size. But the edition was a success, for, even before the printing had been completed, the decision could be taken to increase the print run considerably. Consequently extra copies were printed of the very last sheet, whereupon the entire book was set again with the exception of that gathering (illus. 2a and 2b). The original impression was followed with such precision that it is no wonder that the difference between the two editions should have been hitherto unnoticed. The accuracy we encountered in Plantin's *Index* was thus by no means exceptional. Such exact line for line copying presumably facilitated the task of the compositor.

Jan Hendricksz also appears to have worked on the next publication, the Nonpareil Bible. He set the first six sheets (A-F) of the body of the book – but thereafter we see another hand at work which omits the points in the signature marks and consequently follows the manner generally applied in the Low Countries (see illus. 4). This change can probably be explained by a documented event. In the Candlemas accounts of 1564/5 of the churchwarden of the Buurkerk in Utrecht we find a receipt of 20 stivers paid for the digging of a grave for 'Jan Hendrickssen boeckbynder'. Since nobody else of that name seems to have practised this trade in the town, we can assume that our printer, presumably because of ill health, moved back to his former place of residence in the course of 1564 and died there.⁶⁷ The press which he left, and had perhaps already sold, continued to work for the same patrons – or at any rate for the same circle of sympathizers – under his successor. Who the new owner was, however, and whether he took over the day-to-day management himself or entrusted the task to a typographer, cannot be ascertained. We do not even know whether the press remained in Franeker, although I have found no indication that it moved elsewhere.

FURTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE MENNONITE PRESS

The production continued along the same lines under the new management. First of all, in 1564, *Den Bibel* was completed, which later served as a model for Plantin's *Index*. It is a very competently produced book which, as regards the printing, hardly falls short of the Bible that appeared a year earlier with Plantin's collaboration under the name of Lenaert der Kinderen, very probably printed by a press in Kampen belonging to Hendrik Niclaes, the leader of the Family of Love.⁶⁸ The two

⁶⁷ The entry is mentioned by Evers, art. cit. (n. 33: 'Bijbel als merkteken'), p. 20.

⁶⁸ For the genesis and the printing of the Bible which appeared under Lenaert's name, see Valkema

publications follow the same Biestkens translation, with minute variations only in the spelling and marginal notes. A great deal of care was bestowed on both. Yet each has a particular quality all of its own: Tavernier's Nonpareil Textura had to compete with Granjon's attractive 'Bible' Italic (Brevier Italic). Although Lenaert's edition undoubtedly turned into a more elegant book, his colleague in the north, too, had every reason to be most satisfied with his work.

In the same year, as we saw, there also appeared the first complete edition of Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion oft hantboecxken* (Keyser 2), followed in 1565 by another work which was just as important for the movement, a reprint of Menno Simons' *Een Fondament ende clare aenwijzinge van de salichmakende Leere Jesu Christi* (Horst 13). In these books we find both the Nonpareil – used as the second typeface for such things as marginalia – and the arabesque initials. After a year in which no publication was produced (unless there is something we do not know about), an enlarged reprint of *Het offer des Heeren* appeared in 1567, which was soon sold out.⁶⁹ In the following year the arabesque initials, as we saw, were used in reprints of the New Testament and the 'Biestkens' Bible. In contrast to the previous one this last publication is decorated with the same title compartment as the original edition of 1560. The printer had obviously managed to lay his hands on the original block. This time the book is set in the Parisian Textura on Brevier (VPT T 47) mentioned above. The same typeface is also used for the marginalia, so that there is no difference in the size of the types in the text and in the margins – an unusual feature which suggests that the Nonpareils had been disposed of in the meantime. And that may well be why in 1567/8 they appear in various New Testaments which can be attributed to Willem Gailliart.⁷⁰ This Emden printer-publisher seems to have been the only man to own the typeface apart from the designer himself and Plantin's agent Augustijn van Hasselt in Wesel.

The last publications of the press consist of reprints of *Veelderhandeliedekens* in 1569,⁷¹ and again of *Het offer des Heeren* in 1570.⁷² The first of these books is distinguished by an imprint on the title-page which might indicate the printer: 'Ghedrukt int

Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 1989), pp. 141-4, and *id.*, art. cit. (n. 8: 1987), pp. 87-90.

⁶⁹ BB, vol. 4, p. 494, no. O 19; Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 6), no. 263; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 74; Doedes, op. cit. (n. 65), pp. 69-72.

⁷⁰ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 8: 1987), pp. 123-4 and illus. 9. That there were business dealings between the two printing houses emerges from Gailliart's aforesaid use of Biestkens' title frame for his Bible.

⁷¹ Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 6), no. 264. Wackernagel, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 35; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 77.

⁷² BB, vol. 4, pp. 494-6, no. O 20. Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 6), no. 265; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 78.

Jaer ons Heeren M.D.LXIX. G.B.V.' These initials, the only evidence we possess, could be those of Jan Hendricksz' successor, but the name to be filled in remains a mystery.

Our investigation has thus led to the somewhat surprising discovery that, between 1556 and 1570, a hitherto entirely unknown press was at work in Friesland. As far as we can see it was responsible for the publication of twenty-four works, some of which were fairly voluminous and one of which even appeared in two immediately consecutive editions. Of these books sixteen came out when the firm was run by the original owner, Jan Hendricksz van Schoonrewoerd. After his departure, apparently for reasons of health, the production continued under another unknown manager, and a further eight books were published. All the publications were intended primarily for the followers of Menno Simons, so that we can assume that it was they who financed the press and its list. For their sake the firm was moved from Utrecht to a town where the movement had great support, Franeker. Whether Jan Hendricksz himself converted to their faith or whether the association was solely the result of commercial considerations cannot be ascertained, but the first hypothesis seems the most likely.

So far scholars have sought the origin of these books in East Frisia. According to recent lists four of them would have been printed in Fresenburg,⁷³ and the rest, with a single exception, in that 'hotbed of heretical printers', Emden.⁷⁴ In the meantime, however, it has also emerged in another connection that Emden's role in the field of publishing, important though it was, has clearly been overestimated. By no means everything thought to have been printed there actually was. In the Netherlands, too, printers of religious writings were at work who were prepared to run risks by infringing the hated edicts, and not everywhere was the application of the edicts by the authorities equally strict. We now know that a number of Dutch Bible editions were once wrongly regarded as Emden products, and the same applies to a series of Mennonite publications. In actual fact very few such works were printed in Emden.⁷⁵ The magistrates repeatedly announced severe measures against Anabaptists living in the city, and the consistory of the Dutch Reformed

⁷³ Horst 19, 39, 43 and 59. Other attributions to Fresenburg were already rejected by Marja Keyser in her article cited in n. 50 (p. 183).

⁷⁴ M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emden Buchdrucks (1554-1602)...* (Aurich 1986), pp. 45-120: 'Verzeichnis der Emden Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602', nos. 73, 74, 89, 91, 92, 109, 118, 120, 139, 158, 162, 168, 169, 171, 213, 216, 217, 223 and 227.

⁷⁵ For further information, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Mennonitica en bibliografisch onderzoek', *Theologie in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam. Bijdragen over de collecties en verwante verzamelingen alsmede Doopsgezinde Adversaria verschenen bij het afscheid van Dr. Simon L. Verheus als conservator van de kerkelijke collecties...* (Amsterdam 1985), pp. 144-5; *id.*, art. cit. (n. 8: 1987), pp. 84-5 and 108 ff.; *id.*, art. cit. (n. 6: 1989), pp. 312-13.

Church also kept an eye on their activities. Only once was it found necessary to intervene when it became known that a printer had accepted an order from these circles. Although he naturally denied it he was called to account, and, as far as we know, this measure put an end to any further attempts of this kind.⁷⁶

It is, of course, striking that these activities, so important for the history of Franeker, should have fallen into oblivion. An explanation must first be sought in the anonymity of the enterprise. Not one of the Franeker publications name either the town or the printer. The letters which may be the initials of Jan Hendricksz' successor provide no foothold. Not even was the arrival in the town of Gillis van den Rade (Aegidius Radaeus), fifteen years later, a reason to remember the earlier press. His work as printer to a Reformed academy was, after all, in a completely different domain. Another important cause of the absence of any tradition may be the loss of a large part of the city archive, whereby our knowledge of all sorts of events is either negligible or non-existent. Nothing remains to suggest that the printing-press was ever discussed by the magistrates, or that Jan Hendricksz purchased premises for his firm or was involved in any other legal affairs. But it is above all the clandestine nature of his work which must be seen as the cause of a secrecy which finally led to his being entirely forgotten.

As far as we can see, the reprint of *Het offer des Heeren* in 1570 marked the end of the episode. What became of the press after that is unknown. Almost ten years elapse before we again find parts of the material in a printed work. A number of the arabesque initials appear in a Biestkens Bible issued in 1579 without any place of publication – reprints give 'Harlinghen' – under the pseudonym Peter van Putte. The book also contains various woodcut initials characteristic of the Leeuwarden printer Pieter Hendricksz van Campen.⁷⁷ In 1581 he used some of the arabesque initials in publications which he printed for the Court of Friesland. The alphabet had thus come into his possession, possibly via Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, whose firm and position as official printer he had taken over. So far, however, I have not found these types in anything printed by this predecessor.

Besides working as printer to the Friesland Court and States, Pieter Hendricksz van Campen availed himself of the possibility of continuing the list of the Franeker press and of expanding it. He thus turned into one of the four or five most

⁷⁶ The culprit was Willem Gailliart. Cf. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 6: 1989), p. 315.

⁷⁷ He did indeed come from Kampen. 'Pieter Heyndrycxsz boeckvercooper tot Campen' appears as a debtor in the estate of the Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Aelbertsz. See the bill of the curators dated 31 May 1575, reproduced in Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 237. For data in the Leeuwarden archives concerning his stay in the town, see Ph. H. Breuker, 'Eekhoff's Geschiedenis van de Leeuwarder drukkers en uitgevers tot 1870', in C.P. Hoekema, *Eekhoff en zijn werk; leven en werken van Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880)* (Leeuwarden 1980), p. 177.

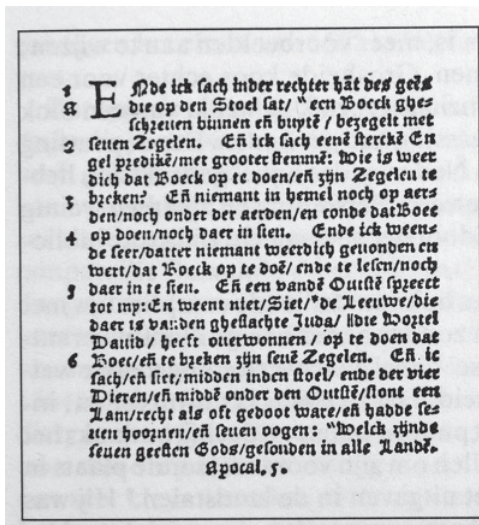
productive publishers in the liberated areas.⁷⁸ In addition to his production under the pseudonym Peter van Putte, he issued a great many anonymous publications – over twenty in all, for the Frisian Mennonites, including three complete Bibles ‘gedrukt na de Copie van Nicolaes Biestkens’ and three New Testaments with the same copy imprint. There were also two editions of Menno’s *Fondamentboeck* (Horst 15 and 16), and reprints of Dirk Philips’ *Enchiridion* (Keyser 4), of *Het offer des Heeren*⁷⁹ and of *Veelderhande liedekens* in the Mennonite arrangement.⁸⁰ The origin of these books, too, can only be established by way of an analysis of the typographical material used, although we are here assisted by the fortunate circumstance that Pieter Hendricksz sometimes gives his name and address in full. His anonymous printed work can thus be compared with his signed editions and an attribution can be established. How he managed to conceal a clandestine production of this extent from the Calvinist authorities, however, remains a mystery. In his quality as official printer he had regular dealings with the Court, but his contacts obviously had no control over his activities. The last publication of his firm, a posthumous edition of Menno Simons’ epistle to Zylis and Lemmeken, *Een seer grontlijcke antwoort* (Horst 82, Keyser 47), appeared in 1587 with the fake address ‘Gherit Andrieszoon in Harlingen’. It is not clear whether he was still alive at the time.

In the period of the greatest growth of the Mennonite movement, consequently, no more than two printers were involved in furnishing its adherents with literature: Jan Hendricksz (and his successor) presumably directly in their service, and Pieter Hendricksz in a more independent position. For almost thirty years their lists answered the growing demand for books of this sort and consequently gave Friesland a position of hitherto unsuspected importance in the book production of the time. After that, their task would be taken over by colleagues in Amsterdam and Hoorn – the Waterlanders succeeded the Frisians. For a brief period printers and publishers still resorted to the protection afforded by anonymity, but around the turn of the century toleration of the Mennonites had increased to such an extent that this precaution was no longer necessary. The days of persecution were over for the brethren and from then on their books could go their own way in broad daylight.

⁷⁸ See also P. Valkema Blouw, ‘Van Friese herkomst: de *Chronyc Historie*, Noordwitz 1579’, *Philologia frísica anno 1984. Lêzingen en neipetearen fan it tsiende Frysk filologekongres* (Ljouwert 1986), pp. 102–3.

⁷⁹ BB, vol. 4, pp. 489–99, no. O 23; Wieder, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 89.

⁸⁰ Wackernagel, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 40; Wider, op. cit. (n. 63), no. 88.

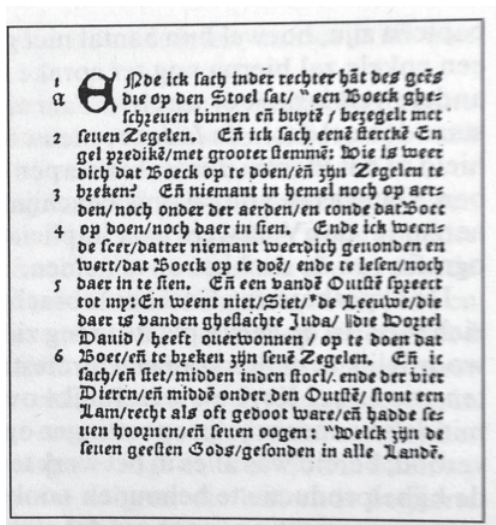


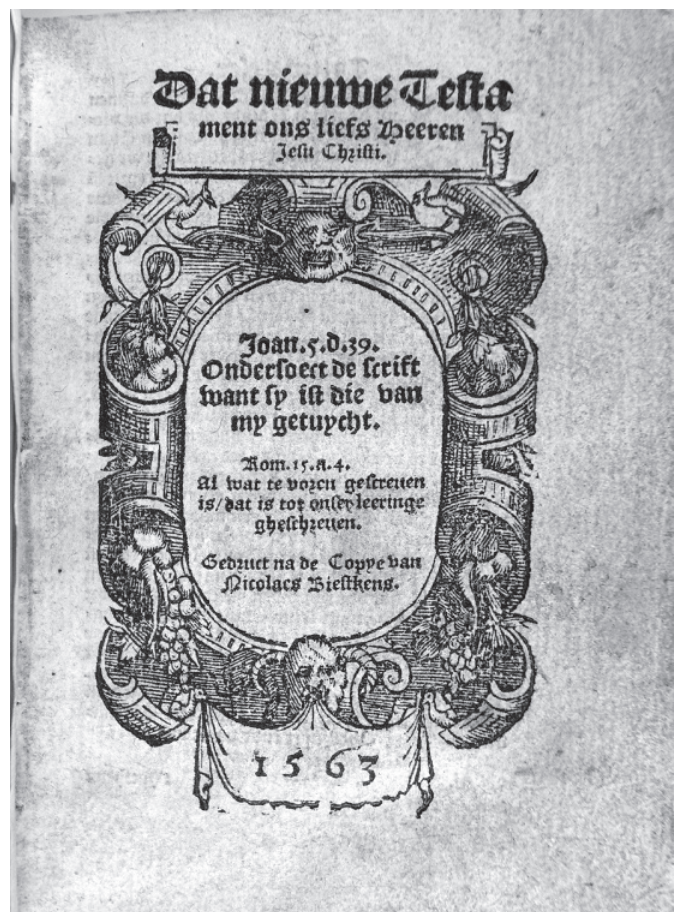
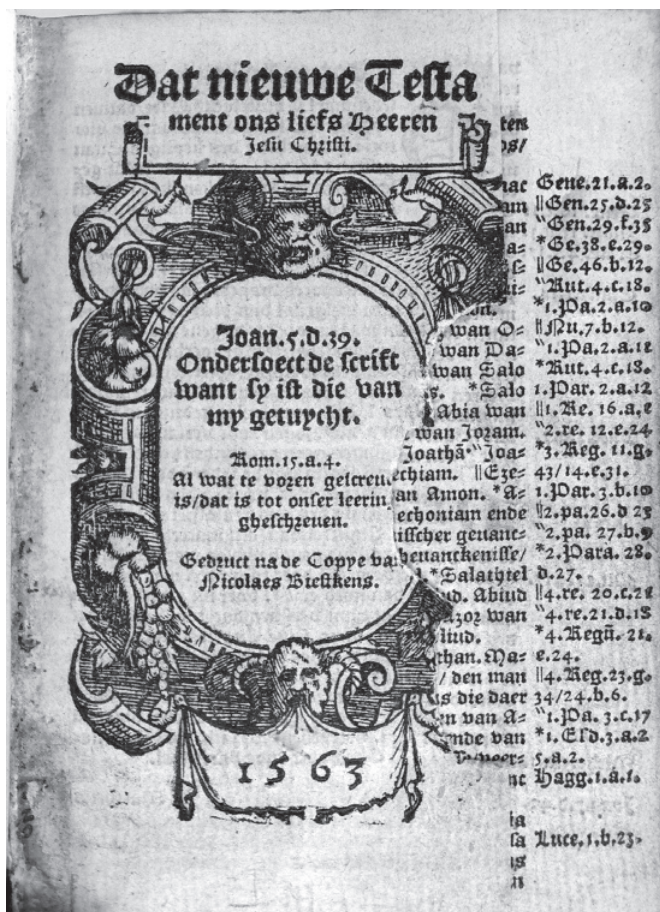
Ia

Plantin, *Index characterum* (1567) specimen no. 45

Ib

The same fragment in *Den Bibēl* ([Franecker, Jan Hendricksz], 1564)
 (Scan from the original publication)



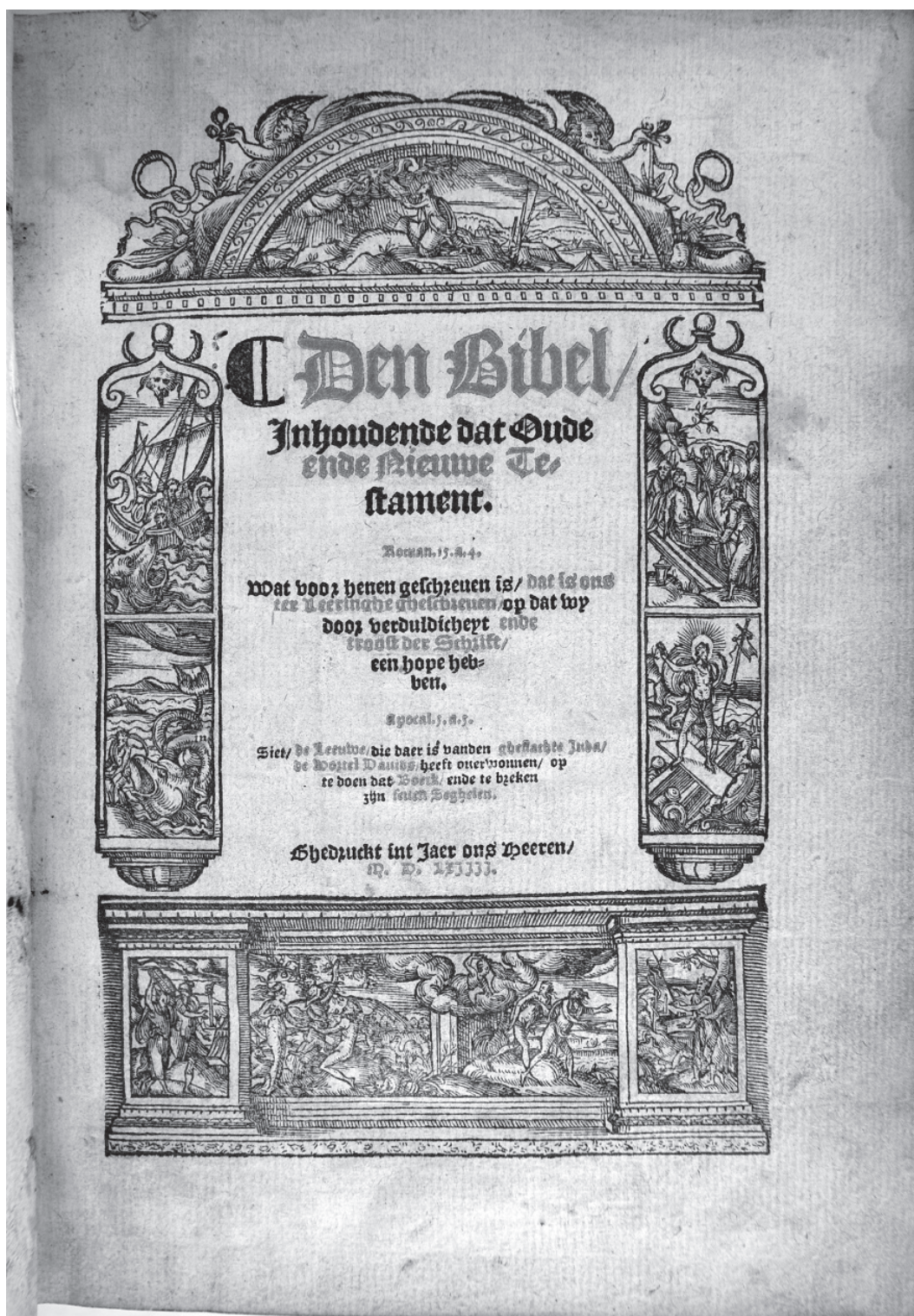


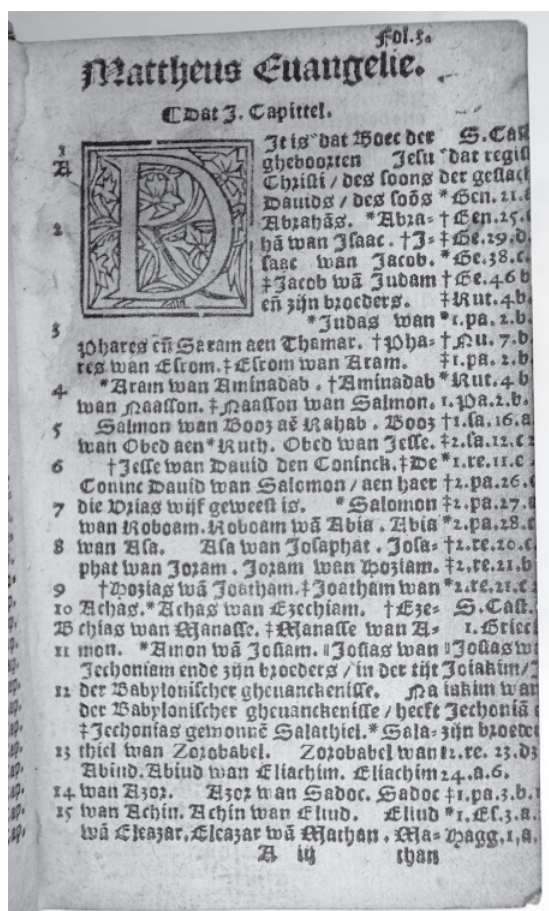
2a

Title-page: *Dat Nieuwe Testament* ([Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1563]), edition a (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-637)

2b

The same, edition b (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-638)



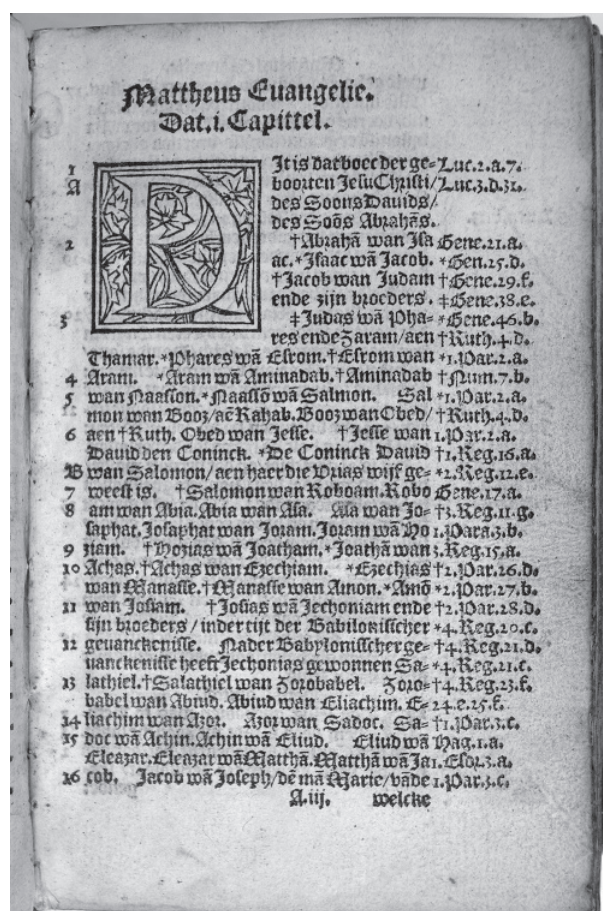


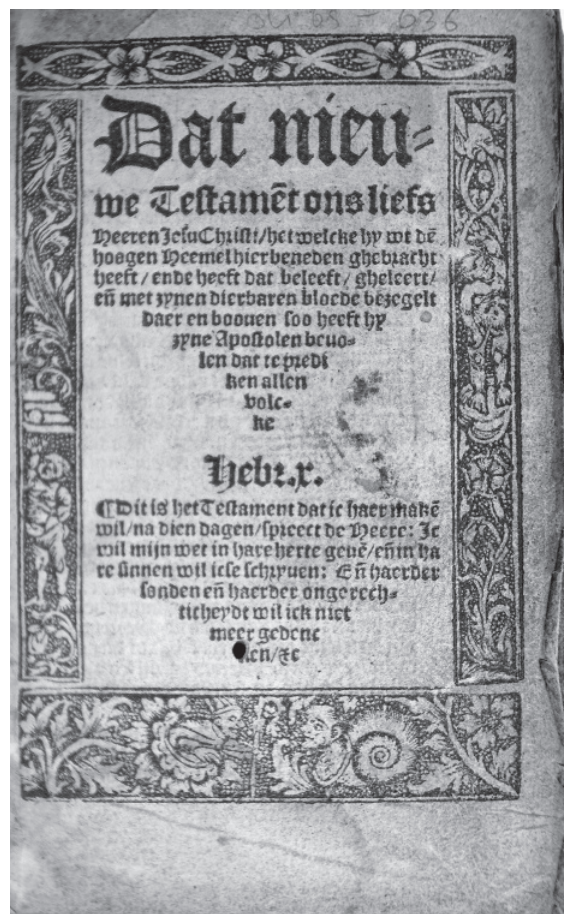
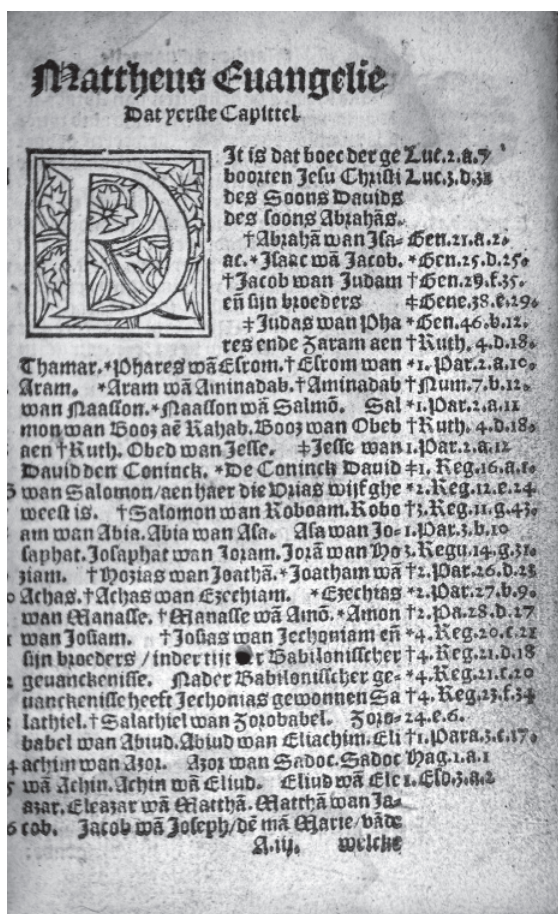
4

Dat Nieuwe Testament ([Franecker? Mennonite press], 1568), f. A3
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 63-5680)

7

Dat Nieuwe Testament ([Franecker, Jan Hendricksz], 1558), f. A3
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-661)





5

Dat Nieuwe Testament ([Franeker, Jan Hendricksz], 1558), f. A3
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-661)

6

Title-page Dat Nieuwe Testame(n)t ([Franeker, Jan Hendricksz], 1560)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-636)

WILLEM SILVIUS' REMARKABLE START,

1559 to 1562



A few years after Plantin had had to give up the trade of bookbinder and thus came to lay the foundations of his later fame, he found himself facing a redoubtable competitor: Willem Silvius.¹ This newcomer in the Antwerp book trade soon turned his hand to the same literary and scientific domain of publication as his colleague and thereby posed a real threat to the success of Plantin's ambitious plans. Despite their potential rivalry, however, their similar interests led to a close collaboration in the world of publishing. The temporary closure of Plantin's firm put an end to these common activities in 1562, but apparently the two men remained on the best of terms for many years thereafter: not only did Plantin print the first book which appeared in Silvius' name, but he also printed the last book which Silvius published in Antwerp. In addition to this they always purchased and sold each other's publications, sometimes on a large scale, Plantin probably being Silvius' best customer over a long period.²

¹ I want to thank Prof. Johan Gerritsen of Groningen for his willingness to read the manuscript of the present article and for his valuable suggestions. For Willem Silvius, see firstly C. Clair, 'Willem Silvius', *The Library*, 5th S., 14 (1959), pp. 192-205. General information and literature about him are to be found in A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 201-3 (with an extensive bibliography). For his Leiden period, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 6; Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 445-52. An (incomplete) list of his publications appears in A. de Backer, 'Quelques notes sur Guillaume Silvius, imprimeur d'Anvers (1560-1579)', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 18 [= 2nd S., 9] (1862), pp. 122-59 (pp. 156 ff.: Additions); formerly ascribed respectively to A. Namur, C.J. Nuyts and even to 'Brunet'. The attribution to De Backer rests on a contemporary note in an offprint of the article in the Library of the Netherlands Book Trade Association (*Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels*), on loan to Amsterdam UL. For supplementary bibliographical information, see *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), quoted hereafter as *BT*.

² The earliest information about their intensive dealings with one another is in Plantin's Debtor Book 1564-5, Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. 39, ff. 61r.-63v., where a large number of transactions are recorded on current account. There is no similar account for the previous years. One page of the accounts of 1566 (Arch. 40) covering the period from 3 February to 6 April is reproduced in L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activi-*

According to his own statements Willem Silvius was born in about 1520 and was therefore the same age as Plantin.³ However different their background and education, the two men had various points in common: not only did they choose the same profession but they were also active both in a literary and an artistic domain. Plantin's all too well-known creative talents are attested by his poems, the style of his letters, and the quality of his bookbinding, which was unique in the Low Countries. Silvius' stylistic aptitude emerges from the translations he made of, and from the introductions he wrote to, various of his own publications.⁴ He was also an excellent calligrapher who himself provided examples of Italian script for some of the school textbooks he produced⁵ and who, still earlier than Plantin and other printers in the southern Netherlands, had series of fine calligraphic initials cut, possibly after his own design.⁶

ties of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), hereafter quoted as Voet GC, vol. 2, Pl. 4.

³ In a deed of 20 July 1575 Silvius stated that he was about 54 years old. Cited by Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 201. It was not possible for me to check this source.

⁴ At the beginning of his career as a publisher Silvius translated the *Devises héroïques* of Claude Paradin: *Princelijcke devysen* (Antwerp, Silvius, 1562 [1563*]), after he had done the same for Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, which I shall be discussing later. Some years after that he himself produced the Dutch edition of the decrees of the Council of Trent: *Ordonnancien ende decreten van den heylighen concilie generael ghehouden tot Trenten* (Antwerpen, Silvius, 1565) – BT 2266; several reprints. He also provided the Dutch translation of Nicolas de Nicolay's *Navigations*, which he published in 1576 in no fewer than four languages: *De schipvaert ende reysen gedaen int landt van Turckyen* (BT 2206).

⁵ T. Croiset van Uchelen, 'Willem Silvius as writing-master', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 158-78; see also *idem*, 'Initial books and typographical writing-books from the sixteenth-century Low Countries', *Hellings Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 109-34 (pp. 110, 121).

⁶ These large calligraphic initials (h. 35-6 mm), the ornamental element of which consists exclusively of interlacing patterns, appear for the first time in two publications of 1561: *Oictroye ende ordonancie [...] tot voirderinghe vander dycaigien ende landen van Zijpe* (BT 2452, on f. A2r.) and: *Placaet en(de) mandement ons ghena. Heere des Conincx ghepubliceert [...] den 24. Novembris* (BT 7261, verso title-page). He also used them later in Leiden. Plantin only procured similar initials, but ornamented with human and animal figures and with tendrils (his 'lettres cadeaux'), after the reopening of his firm. Between 1564 and 1568 the French artist Geoffroy Ballain provided him with designs in three different sizes which were cut by Anton van Leest. Cf. S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials. The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin. A Complete Catalogue* (New York 1974), nos. 37, 40, 42-3. Since 1563 Silvius also used a set of calligraphic initials of a simpler design, which were obtained after the liquidation of the firm in 1582 by Jan van Hout for the Leiden town press 'Opt Raedhuys'. In about 1575 Silvius again had an alphabet of interlaced initials cut (h. 22-3 mm) and, shortly after, another set of a smaller size (h. 16-19 mm), both of which he used frequently. For his initial books and typographical writing-books he used an additional alphabet of large ornamented letters.

One can say that the publications from Silvius' first period are in no way inferior to those of his rival from the point of view either of content or of production. Socially speaking his academic degree and his swift appointment as typographer royal (which I shall be discussing later) gave him an advantage, as did, probably, the fact that Dutch was his native language. He did not prove to be a born businessman, however, and, in the course of his career, it appeared that his ambitions as a publisher sometimes went further than financial caution would have warranted. In the years in which Plantin, with his exceptional gifts as an organizer, financier, and diplomat, turned into the greatest printer-publisher in western Europe, Silvius remained ever further behind. He managed to keep up to a certain degree until 1568, and produced a number of important publications in those years, which he crowned with Ludovico Guicciardini's *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, the first topographical and historical description of the Low Countries with bird's eye views of towns – a work which appeared simultaneously in two languages in 1567.⁷ Other publications of his also display a remarkable audacity and originality, even in their typographical design. Shortly after, however, during the Duke of Alva's rule as governor of the Netherlands for King Philip II of Spain, he was arrested on suspicion of Protestant sympathies and of involvement in the iconoclastic riots of 1566.⁸ Although he was released a few months later after paying an immense caution of 2,000 Carolus guilders and was later exempted from further prosecution, the event had a strong effect on his subsequent career. His financial position had obviously become so vulnerable that he had to reduce his activities drastically and could only rarely tackle any major publications.⁹

⁷ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The history of Guicciardini's description of the Low Countries', *Quaerendo*, 12 (1982), pp. 22-51 (Silvius: pp. 24-9); R.H. Touwaide, 'Les éditions belges de la Description des Pays-Bas par Ludovico Guicciardini. Analyse iconographique et typographique', *De Gulden Passer*, 43 (1965), pp. 135-48; *ibidem*, 48 (1970), pp. 40-57.

⁸ The acts of this trial including the interrogations of witnesses, are published in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 10 [1874], pp. 10 f., 17-50, 52 f., 57 and 63 f. This includes (pp. 18 ff.) Silvius' own account of the events: *Cort verhael van tghene Mr. Willem Silvius, drucker der Con. Maiest., sinte Bernaerts* (the abbey of St Bernard, outside Antwerp) *ghesien ende tot dienst vanden godshuyse ghedaen heeft, als de beelden daer ghebroken worden*. A note says that the text is derived from an original printed by Silvius himself.

⁹ In 1576, moreover, he was faced with a further setback. Shortly after one of his largest enterprises was completed – the edition with sixteen woodcuts of De Nicolay's *Navigations* in four different languages (see n. 4) – Antwerp was plundered and set on fire by mutinous Spanish troops in November. During this 'Spanish fury' both Silvius and Plantin were obliged to ransom their lives and property for exorbitant sums. Despite the income connected with his position as printer to the States of Holland and the Leiden academy, Silvius' estate was still insolvent when he died in the summer of 1581. Cf. *The Leiden Afdrucksel. A Type Specimen of the Press of Willem Silvius in its Last Days* (1582). A Facsimile with an introduction and notes by Paul Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983), pp. 6 ff. For a list of the still unpaid liabilities from his Antwerp days, see the information in Briels, op. cit.

Willem Silvius was not born in Antwerp any more than Plantin was, nor does he seem ever to have become a citizen of the town. His Latin name (his true surname was Verwilt) might indicate his birthplace, 's-Hertogenbosch (The Duke's forest), and his full signature ran Gulielmus Silvius Buscoducensis.¹⁰ Owing to his provenance from the northern regions he had contacts which ensured him many official and private commissions from that area¹¹ and culminated later, in 1577, in his appointment as printer to the States of Holland and the newly founded Leiden University.¹² All we know about his education is that he matriculated at the University of Louvain on 3 February 1550¹³ and, on 31 March 1558, obtained a Master of Arts degree entitling him to the prefix Mr or Meester (the Dutch equivalent of MA), which he proudly used for the rest of his life.¹⁴ During his Louvain years, both according to himself and other sources, he gave calligraphy lessons to various students of princely birth. We do not know whether in that period he had anything to do with some branch of the book trade, whether he acted, for example, as corrector for one of the Louvain publishers, but in view of his future career this does not seem unlikely. A little later he settled in Antwerp, where he is said to have obtained a printer's license on 6 May 1558 and to have opened a bookshop in the winter of

(n. 1), pp. 451 f., n. 10.

¹⁰ That was the designation under which he was entered at the University of Louvain (cf. n. 13) and with which he also signed several of his dedications and calligraphic examples (n. 5).

¹¹ Until the end of 1564 Silvius' orders from the northern Netherlands included the charter for the reclamation of the Zype (see n. 6) and the municipal laws ('Costumen') of the city of Utrecht (BT 5526). In that same year he published the chamber of rhetoric plays which had been performed in Rotterdam in 1561 (*Spelen van sinne*; BT 4401); a similar edition of the pageant held in Gouda in 1564 was forbidden by the Governess Margaret of Parma. For these activities, see D. Coigneau, 'Drie Rijnsburgse refreinen te Rotterdam (1561) en hun Franse bron', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* (1977), pp. 239-90 (pp. 239 ff.). At the same time he published *Eenen nieuwen ABC of materi-boeck* by the Haarlem writer Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert; cf. Croiset van Uchelen, art. cit. (n. 5): 'Silvius', pp. 160 ff., and 'Initial books', pp. 120 f., no. TB-2. After that he printed literary works for Janus Dousa, future curator of the Leiden University, and for the rectors of schools in Amsterdam, Haarlem, and his birthplace 's-Hertogenbosch: Petrus Apherdianus, Bartholomaeus Souvius, Cornelius Schonaeus and Cornelis Lauriman. Cornelius Valerius, whose work he printed, was also from the northern Netherlands.

¹² For archival documentation on Silvius' Leiden period see, besides the literature mentioned in notes 1 and 9, M. Schneider, *De voorgeschiedenis van de 'Algemeene Landsdrukkerij'* ('s-Gravenhage 1939; thesis Leiden), pp. 1 ff.; H.J. Witkam, *De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse Universiteit van 1581 tot 1598*, 10 vols. ([Leiden] 1969-75), vol. 8 (General index), p. 142, s.v. Silvius and the passages indicated.

¹³ *Matricule de l' Université de Louvain*, vol. 4 (Février 1528-Février 1569), ed. A. Schillings (Bruxelles 1961), p. 402, no. 87: Guillelmus Silvius, Buscoducensis, maiorennis. 3 febr. 1550.

¹⁴ *Analecta pour servir à l' histoire ecclésiastique*, 3 (1866), p. 467: Degree 31 March 1558, no. 70: Wilhelmus Sylvius ex Torinis P[orco] (the college of the Pig).

1559/60.¹⁵ In 1560 the first publications in his name appeared: two scholarly works and an official publication in French. All three bear Silvius' imprint and indicate his quality as official typographer: 'Typographus Regii', 'Imprimeur du Roy'.

Silvius thus scored one great success right at the beginning of his career in the book trade: his appointment as printer to the government in Brussels. Not only was the post a direct source of income, but it was also important for his reputation as a publisher, since it implied an acknowledgement of his qualities in that capacity. This status factor was undoubtedly the reason why he continued to call himself typographer royal, even when, compromised by his arrest, he had no longer received any commissions from Brussels for a long time and had in fact lost the post. Only in Leiden did he omit the title in his publications.¹⁶ The nomination of so recently settled a printer to such a post is somewhat exceptional, especially if we keep in mind that there were others with better and older rights to the same appointment.¹⁷ Not until some time later, moreover, in 1561, was Silvius made a freeman of the St Lucas guild, while membership had already been compulsory for printers for four years.¹⁸ Besides, scholars have known for over a century that the book which earned him the appointment, an edition of the Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece, was not produced by his own press. In 1883 Max Rooses published a letter from Plantin to Philip II's confessor Jean Mofflin, in which the printer writes that Silvius had availed himself of his absence on a trip to Paris to have the book

¹⁵ Cf. H.L.V. de Groote, 'Drukte Willem Silvius te Antwerpen ca. 1565 "De maniere van bouckhouden ghemaect by Jan Wadington ende Noel N."?' ..., *De Gulden Passer*, 48 (1970), pp. 107-11 (p. 109). The author used biographical information about Silvius given him by L. van den Branden (see notes 87-8).

¹⁶ In 1580 there appeared, by the States of Holland, an *Ordonnantie van de Polityen* and an *Ordonnantie op tstuk van (de) Justicie* 'Tot Leyden by M. Willem Silvius, drucker der Staten slandts van Hollandt', shortly after editions of both decrees had been printed with the imprint: 'by M. Willem Silvius, drucker des Conincks, ende der Staten slandts van Hollandt'. Although it was to take another year before Philip II was officially abjured as sovereign lord by the United Provinces Silvius had obviously received instructions to leave out any reference to him.

¹⁷ Like Reinier Velpius van Diest, the successor of the Louvain printer Servatius Sassenus, who had worked for years for the government in Brussels, and above all like Michiel van Hamont in Brussels. Shortly afterwards the latter also obtained the right to call himself typographer royal and in the following years he was to print far more official publications in this capacity than Silvius. Although the quality of his printing was rather inferior, he had the advantage of living in the city where the government was based. He, too, may have been from the northern provinces. All we know is that he learned his trade in Utrecht with Jan Berntsz.

¹⁸ *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde* [...] *Les Liggeren et autres archives historiques...*, eds. P. Rombouts & T. van Lierus, 2 vols. (Antwerpen/'s-Gravenhage 1864-76: repr. Amsterdam 1961), vol. 1, p. 224. There we also see that Silvius was called 'boecvercooper' in the accounts of the workshop of the Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk for Christmas 1560/1 and 'boeckprinter' in those for Christmas 1562/3.

printed at the *Officina Plantiniana* without informing the authorities in Brussels that it was not his own work.¹⁹ That he passed it off as such is confirmed by a report by Joachim Hopperus, a member of the Grand Council in Malines, sent to Viglius van Aytta, president of the Council of State, where we find the proposal to appoint Silvius typographer royal on account of the quality of the production of the book.²⁰

This letter of 26 July 1559 gives a *terminus ad quem* for the completion of at least one of the two earliest editions of the work: *Constitutiones Ordinis Velleris aurei* and *Les ordonnances de l'Ordre de la Thoyson d'or*. Both are undated, but their typographical design is so similar that we can assume they appeared at about the same time. The appointment, which required the personal approval of the King, must have taken place before 8 October of the same year, when Plantin opened an account in his debtor book 'A maistre Guillaume Sylvius Imprimeur du Roy'.²¹ No previous payments from Silvius are entered in the books, so this source tells us nothing about a possible order for the printing of the *Constitutiones* or the French edition. Silvius does not appear to have published anything else in 1559. The earliest publications in his name only came out in the year following.

It is hardly surprising that this remarkable course of events should already have been studied on several occasions. The first scholar, after Max Rooses, to investigate Silvius' activities in special connection with his early relationship with Plantin, was Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, who assumed that Plantin's statements were accurate and, adding several valuable details and observations, discussed the subject from that point of view.²² In one of the later parts of *Bibliotheca Belgica*, the bibliographer Marcel Hoc provided descriptions of the various editions of the *Constitutiones* (four in all, each without an imprint or date), attributing one of the two sixteenth-century editions of that work to the *Officina*.²³ In contrast to this view Colin Clair (rightly)

¹⁹ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. Rooses, vol. I (Antwerpen/Gent, 1883), pp. 254 ff., no. 117 (pp. 256 f.). Rooses believed, however, that the *Constitutiones* were printed by Plantin in 1562 or 1563 (?), see his *Christophe Plantin, imprimeur anversoïs*, 2nd edn. (Anvers 1890), pp. 44 f.; *id.*, *Le Musée Plantin Moretus* (Anvers 1914), p. 25.

²⁰ The document was published by H. [de la] F[ontaine] V[erwey] in *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), p. 222: 'Hoe werd Silvius koninklijk drukker?' and reprinted in *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durme (Anvers 1955), p. II, no. I.

²¹ Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. 38 (Debiteuren 1555-62), ff. 52v.-3r. The account only contains a few entries from October 1559; thereafter a special current account was probably kept, but it no longer survives, or at least has not yet come to light (cf. n. 2).

²² H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Silvius en Plantijn', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. III-25 (pp. 113 ff.).

²³ *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter quoted as *BB*, vol. I, pp. 691-3, nos. C 874-7. Marcel Hoc identified C 874, a 'luxury' edition on vellum, as the original edition and dated it [1560]. In chronological order he followed this with the edition C 875 [Antwerp, Balth.

suggested, on the basis of its contents, that another edition was the original one.²⁴ As an addendum to his excellent article on Silvius' life and work this same author analyzed the typographical material used in the various editions and drew attention to an interesting discovery made in the course of his research: the ornamental initials in the first Latin edition of the work also appeared in other books produced by Willem Silvius and the same applied to the initials to be found in the earliest of the three editions in French.²⁵ The presence of these woodcuts in Silvius' shop seemed to confirm so fully the provenance of the original Golden Fleece Statutes from his press, that Clair went as far as to say: 'In fact we may safely assume that Plantin himself never printed the *Constitutiones Ordinis Velleris Aurei*, either in Latin or in French.'

Such was the state of research until Leon Voet recently reached the same conclusion in his standard bibliography of Plantin – but with another line of argument. Although he does not commit himself on the subject of Colin Clair's analysis and evidence,²⁶ Voet, basing himself on the information from the two letters, also believes that Silvius was responsible for printing the Latin, and possibly the French, original edition of the Statutes. But he denies that any of the aforesaid sixteenth-century Latin editions came from Plantin's press (he does not express an opinion

Moretus, 1626], an edition whose 'typefaces displays a similarity with those of the B. Moretus edition of 1626' (C 876, see next note) and an early eighteenth-century reprint (C 877).

²⁴ Clair, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 204 f. The edition which Hoc believed to be the original one (C 874, see previous note) contains 21 additional chapters at the end. Chapters XVII-XXI of these (we read in the first paragraph of chapter XVII) were established at a meeting of the Order in Ghent on 29 July 1559 and the days following. In C 876, a no less splendid edition, also on vellum, these five chapters are missing. Clair rightly concluded that the book must have been printed before the date mentioned and that there is thus a 'fairly strong presumption' that this is the edition mentioned by Hopperus in his memorandum of 26 July. The proximity of the two dates, incidentally, suggests that the publication was connected with the meeting of the Order. This apparent connection makes it all the less likely that the book was printed on Plantin's press without any previous arrangement and behind his back.

²⁵ Clair, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 205, provides a description of the initials in the earliest French edition, *Les ordonnances de l'Ordre de la Thoyson d'or* (in later editions: *Toison d'or*). In BB (n. 23) Hoc did not describe the editions in French, the original language. For these we are referred to G. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 5th edn., vol. 4 (Paris 1863), cols. 211 f. That work mentions three editions: (a) 5 + 24 leaves + 12 leaves with 16 additional articles ('around 1559'); (b) 7 leaves + 52 pp. + pp. 53-83 with 21 additional articles ('c. 1560'); and (c) 4 leaves + 63 pp. ('c. 1566' – BT 6445). Only the first date is correct. The other two are far too early. – In the Royal Library at Brussels a copy of the original French edition (BT 2257) contains the additional chapters 17-21 (see previous note) in manuscript, legalized by the Clerk of the Order.

²⁶ L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle. 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), hereafter quoted as Voet PP, vol. 2, pp. 685 f., no. 1017.

about the French editions), since, in his view, they contain typefaces which were not used by the *Officina*, or which were only used there at a later date. He thus concludes: 'Both [sixteenth-century] editions could have been printed in Antwerp c. 1559-1560, but not in the Plantin Press – or otherwise Silvius must have brought to Plantin's *officina* his own cast type.' As a result of this rejection, Voet does not include a description of the books in his great *Plantin Press*.

If, as in this case, documentary information contradicts the outcome of a typographical analysis, the former should yield to the latter – words can lie, not types. Here, however, it seems difficult to follow this rule: we can hardly doubt the authenticity of the sources and the authority of what has been handed down to us. The documents are contemporary and contain first-hand statements by parties directly involved. Our first problem now is to what extent Plantin's words are worthy of credence. What reasons could he have had to give an inaccurate version of the events? An important factor in answering this question is the period in which he made his assertions. The undated text of his letter survives in a volume of correspondence between drafts of letters dating from 8 and 18 March 1568 respectively, and it would thus appear to have been written shortly after Silvius' arrest on the 2nd of that month.²⁷

This shocking occurrence must have alarmed Plantin deeply. It is quite possible that Silvius had no direct information about the man behind Augustijn van Hasselt's press in Wesel with its clandestine editions, but it was only too easy for him to identify the typefaces, many of which he owned himself.²⁸ He may also have known about Plantin's dealings with the founder of the Family of Love, the sectarian Hendrik Niclaes.²⁹ There was no way of telling how far the authorities were likely to go, when placed under pressure by Alva's Council of Troubles (the 'Blood Council'), in interrogating the prisoner, but the situation was undoubtedly menacing. Besides, Plantin had already been waiting anxiously for many months to hear whether the King of Spain was prepared to subsidize his Polyglot Bible with a generous contribution. It was by far the most expensive publication in his entire career as a printer, and large sums had already been invested. Even for so able a financier as Plantin

²⁷ Cf. n. 19. In his introduction to *Correspondance*, Rooses discusses these drafts and the manner in which the volume came into existence. Letters nos. 113 and 114 date from 8 March, nos. 118 and 119 from 18 March 1568. Those in between have no date. It is by no means certain, for that matter, that the letter to Mofflin was dispatched in the state in which we know it: the draft breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

²⁸ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90; *idem*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

²⁹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72; *idem*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *ibid.*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127.

the lack of financial support for this undertaking in a period of general economic stagnation could have been disastrous.³⁰

In view of the circumstances, it is understandable that Plantin should have wished to keep his distance from his unfortunate colleague in the eyes of Philip II's court dignitaries. Silvius was charged with his supposed involvement in the religious troubles of 1566 and, after the dissolution of his partnership with the Calvinist Van Bomberghens, Plantin felt obliged to defend himself from any possible suspicion of heterodoxy.³¹ That he should now seize this particular opportunity was, to say the least, hardly elegant, but it concerned a matter which had taken place ten years earlier and which could not do Silvius any actual harm. In view of Plantin's generally acknowledged integrity, however, we must not assume that he invented the entire episode in order to dissociate himself from a compromised colleague. Unless we are faced with evidence to the contrary, we must take what he said seriously. We should accept that the Golden Fleece books were indeed printed in the *Officina* and we must try to find an explanation for the presence of typographical material which seems to contradict such an assumption. This last observation concerns both the appearance of Silvius' ornamental initials in the first Latin and French editions of the Statutes as identified by Clair, and Voet's objections to the use of certain types. The question now is to what extent these elements really do contradict an attribution to Plantin.

PLANTIN OR NOT?

Let us start with the typographical aspect. In the Latin and French editions which Clair had good reason to regard as the original ones, the text types used are two Double Picas of François Guyot, viz. his 'Ascendonica romaine' (*Index* 18)³² and the

³⁰ For this formidable undertaking, see Voet GC (n. 2), vol. I, pp. 60 ff.; Voet PP (n. 26), vol. I, pp. 281 ff., no. 644, and the literature there listed.

³¹ With numerous quotations from Plantin's correspondence elucidated by H.F. Bouchery, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende Christoffel Plantin's houding op godsdienstig en politiek gebied', *De Gulden Passer*, 18 (1940), pp. 87-141 (pp. 120 ff.).

³² *Index* refers to Plantin's *Index sive Specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini* (1567), as reproduced in *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), no. 16 and pp. 1-5. For this important type specimen, see also Voet PP (n. 26), no. 2075. — For Guyot's 'Ascendonica romaine', see H. Carter, 'The Types of Christopher Plantin', *The Library*, 5th S., 11 (1956), pp. 170-9 (p. 177), and above all, H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter quoted as VPT, pp. 248 f. (R 17). Here the type includes the original M (as in fig. 186) which was to be replaced in 1563, and a C which differs from the one in fig. 185, a reproduction of this face as it appears in Guyot's type specimen in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The type is

matching 'Ascendonica cursive' (*Index* 19).³³ As from 1557, the Italic appears regularly in the typographical products of the *Officina* and thus presents no problem, but this does not apply to the Roman. As the sole argument for his rejection, Voet assumes that Plantin first used the typeface in 1563 and that a book of 1559 in which it appears could not, therefore, have been printed by him. To support his theory, Voet refers to Plantin's account books and indeed, an entry made in his 'Journal' shows that he bought founts of both Double Picas from his colleague Jan van der Loë in October 1563, shortly after the firm was reopened.³⁴ In contrast to other entries of this kind, however, this did not mean the purchase of new material but the reacquisition of property he had formerly owned: with this transaction, the greater part of the cast type of these faces which had been sold eighteen months earlier at the liquidation of the press again returned to the *Officina*. This is what the entry of the purchase says in so many words and it is also proved by the fact that exactly the same price was paid per pound as had been made at the time of the sale: 'Vyff stuyvers ende een oort' (five stivers and one farthing) as we read in the auction list, a contemporary copy of which has survived.³⁵ Just like other Romans and Italics on one and the same body described in this 'catalogue', the two types were offered in a single lot. That they were both present at the auction shows that Plantin owned

used in the original edition of *Constitutiones* for the composition of the main text, and for the index in *Les ordonnances*. Other Roman faces in these editions are: Guyot's two-line Double Pica (VPT, R 7), Tavernier's two-line Pica (R 16) and Great Primer (R 20), and Garamont's Pica (*Index* 26). It has been established that these types, too, had already been used by Plantin before 1559, since 1557, 1555 (2 x), and 1558 respectively. For further information, see M. Parker & K. Melis, *Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices* (Antwerpen 1960), nos. 11 (p. 15), 20 (p. 20), 29A (p. 27) and 54 (p. 37 f.).

³³ For this Double Pica Italic, see VPT, pp. 286 f. (IT 2). In *Constitutiones* the type is used for the index, and in the French edition for the main text.

³⁴ PMM, Arch. 3, f. 1 (Octobre 1563): 'Lectre dicte Assendonica Rommain et Italique debiteur florins - 102 - 86. 7¼. Jay receu de Jehan loe les lectres Rommaine et Italique dictes Assendonica taille de Guyot, lesquelles ledict loe auoit achaptees a la vendue des biens de Plantin au prix de patarts 5¼ chaicunne livre et poisent ensemble 329 qui font en argent florins - 102 - 86. 7¼ que je compte pour casse a cause que je lay receu au compte de deniers comptant a la descharge dudict loe envers monsieur l'Amman de ceste ville d'Anvers. Casse crediteur par lectres Assendonica Rommain et Italique --- - 102 - 86-7¼'. I am most grateful to Professor Johan Gerritsen (University of Groningen), who was so kind as to provide me with a photocopy of this entry and of the one mentioned in n. 39.

³⁵ PMM, Arch. 27 ('Dese navolgende goeden toebehoorende Christoffel Plantin ...'). For this list and the course of the auction, see Voet GC, vol. 1, pp. 41 ff. As a party directly involved Plantin could lay claim to a specified account of the proceeds, particularly since this was no insolvent estate. After the payment of all costs and debts to creditors, including his backers, there remained a sum of 2,878 guilders which was paid to him by the town. There was thus no question of a real bankruptcy.

the Double Pica Roman before March 1562. In fact he already possessed the fount in 1555³⁶ but seldom used it since a text type of that size is only suitable for books in quarto or folio formats which he did not print until a later period. In his early years, therefore, we see that the face was used exclusively for certain title-pages and headings.³⁷ Now that we can prove that he did indeed own Guyot's Double Pica Roman in 1559, we may dismiss the first objection to his involvement as printer in the original editions of the Statutes.

Where Clair's argument concerning the ornamental initials in these books is concerned, matters are more complicated. His identifications are correct: the woodcuts, together with a number of other ones which we can regard as belonging to the same sets, are indeed to be found in all sorts of publications by Silvius. There cannot be the slightest doubt that he owned them. What is decisive, however, is an element which Clair did not notice: the date of appearance of these works. For Silvius was not the only man to use these initials: they also appear in many books printed by Plantin. But this only applies to work of his first period, from 1555 to February 1562 at the latest. Then, as a result of the intervention of the authorities, the firm's activities came to a halt; this was followed, on 28 April, by the sale of his printing-office, his entire stock, and all his other property.

So much has already been written about this sad event³⁸ that I only need draw attention to certain consequences of the liquidation. It has generally been accepted that, after his return from the voluntary exile which circumstances imposed on him, Plantin set about refurnishing his press in 1563 by buying back the typographical material he had forfeited, from the people who had purchased it at the auction. Yet little of this can be traced in the particularly complete and detailed accounts kept at the *Officina* after the creation of the partnership with the Van Bomberghens. Only the acquisition of the two aforesaid Double Picas is mentioned, together with the repurchase, also from Jan van der Loë, of Granjon's 'Lettre median façon d'écriture' (*Index* 42), the master's celebrated first Civilité.³⁹ The price paid for

³⁶ Parker & Melis, op. cit. (n. 32), no. 24 (p. 23).

³⁷ Shortly before 1562 the type was still in Plantin's possession; he used it on the title-page of Gulielmus Rondelet, *De ponderibus sive de justa quantitate et proportionione medicamentorum liber* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1561), see Voet PP 2150.

³⁸ Fully treated in Voet GC, vol. 1, pp. 34 ff.; also in C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), pp. 23 ff.; C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes Plantiniens', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 33 (Mainz 1958), pp. 155-63; *idem*, 'Jean et Jacques Taffin, Jean d'Arras et Christophe Plantin', *De Gulden Passer*, 36 (1958), pp. 125-36. For a new view of Plantin's activities as a publisher in the years 1562/3, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29: 'The secret background'), pp. 96 ff.

³⁹ PMM, Arch. 3, f. 1r. (Octobre 1563): '... l'ay receu en payement d'argent comptant de Jehan loe 162 livres pesant de lectres faceon d'écriture que ledict loe auoit achaptee en la vendue faite par l'Amman des biens de Plantin et pourtant que ie lay receu dudict loe a sa descharge vers mone sieur l'Ampt-

that type, too, was exactly the same as that made at the auction.⁴⁰ Other purchases in this domain are not entered in Plantin's books at the time, however, and we can safely assume that they never took place.

There was no reason for them to be purchased: Plantin had already managed to acquire an entire new stock of types in Paris. In the inventory of the punches and matrices in his possession which he drew up in the same year, 1563,⁴¹ we find no less than 29 sets of matrices and 6 sets of strikes, nearly all made by the best French punchcutters: Garamont, Granjon, Haultin and Le Bé. Seventeen sets represent the typefaces which he had already owned and which he had lost as a result of the liquidation; the remaining eighteen were new acquisitions.⁴² He was thus obviously

man du payement quil en deuoit faire ie le mets pour argent comptant au prix quil auoit achapte ladicte lectre et quil me la rend qui est a 7½ patarts la liure et poise 162 livres font en argent --- florins 61-5'. The typeface was sold as 'Mediaen gescreven letter', cf. Appendix I, no. [26]. The actual price per pound was then 7½ stivers and '6 myten' (1 myt is ₤ of a penny), which did indeed amount to the sum of f 61-5 for 162 pounds of weight. – For this celebrated first Civilité of Robert Granjon, see H. Carter & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité types* (Oxford 1966), pp. 42 f. and figs. 17-18. Plantin bought the type, which had been completed in 1557, as early as 1558; cf. *Index* (n. 32), no. 42, and M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, II: Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 (hereafter quoted as: 'Early Inventories'), p. 10.

⁴⁰ The exact charge of the sale price in these transactions suggests an agreement whereby Van der Loë had undertaken to bid for certain items on Plantin's behalf. Otherwise only a desire for exclusivity could account for the repurchase, since Plantin already possessed the Civilité. In the inventory which he drew up in 1563 on the occasion of his partnership with the Van Bomberghens, besides these justified matrices an unjustified set is also mentioned of the 'lectre francoyse de granjon grandeur de Median'. The latter was never used and is still to be found in the shape of strikes in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (MA 107). See 'Early Inventories' (n. 39), pp. 17 and 12.

⁴¹ 'Early Inventories', pp. 15 ff. These lists, extensively annotated with numerous previously unpublished details, are an essential source for all historical research in the field of typography. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, however, I must point out the incorrect dating of the 'Inventory of [1561]'. This is actually a list which Plantin drew up in the second half of 1566 or early in 1567, when the political developments jeopardized the future of the company he formed with his Calvinist partners. It was then that, basing himself on his 1563 inventory, he drew up a list, on two halves of a sheet of paper, of the punches and matrices which he owned before the partnership beside another one of what had subsequently been purchased on joint account. The division was probably due to the possibility of a necessary repayment were the company to split up – as indeed it did soon after. The so-called [1561] inventory (one half of the sheet) thus gives no enumeration of the punches and matrices in the *Officina* before the liquidation sale of 1562, but shows what Plantin owned in this domain on the eve of 1 October 1563, the day on which the partnership officially began – in his own words 'Les matrices que l'auois deuant la compagnee fact' ('Early Inventories', p. 9). This should be kept in mind when certain typefaces are mentioned in later literature as having been used by him as early as in 1561. This almost always rests on the arbitrary dating in 'Early Inventories'. Cf. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29: 'Printers'), pp. 263 f.

⁴² In addition to these the 1563 inventory mentions another five sets of unjustified matrices which

already in a position during his exile to replace completely, and to expand greatly, his original typographical material, so that the assortment of typefaces which he brought back was considerably larger and of even higher average quality than it had been before his flight. We have information about his purchases in that period: we know that he bought punches, and very probably also matrices, from Garamont's estate after the latter's death on 18 November 1561.⁴³ We also know of one or more transactions in 1562 with Guillaume Le Bé, when this punchcutter sold him, among other material, two sets of punches from Garamont's estate.⁴⁴ Granjon's Italic and Haultin's Greek types were almost certainly on sale in Paris too.

This state of affairs entails certain consequences for our knowledge of the types

Plantin never used. The punches included not only Hebrew on two bodies but also two Garamont Roman types (his 'Saint-Augustin' and 'Breviere'), and a few only partially complete sets from his estate. Although Plantin did not note down the prices of all his types the value of his collection of punches and matrices after his return in 1563 can be estimated at 1,200 florins. M. Rooses, *Le Musée Plantin Moretus* (Anvers 1914), p. 59, arrived at a total value of f900. In his calculation, however, he omitted ten sets of matrices for which the inventory gives no prices.

⁴³ For the sale of Garamont's estate, see P. Beaujon [=Beatrice Warde], 'The "Garamond Types". Sixteenth & seventeenth century sources considered', *The Fleuron. A Journal of Typography*, 5 (1926), pp. 131-79 (pp. 142 ff.); H.D.L. Vervliet, 'The Garamond Types of Christopher Plantin', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1 (1965), pp. 14-20 (p. 16). After André Wechel and Guillaume Le Bé had inventoried the type foundry (the list still belonged to Jean-Pierre Fournier l' Aîné in 1756) the various parts were auctioned. That Plantin was present at the event emerges from a note by Le Bé in one of the two specimen books he compiled of his work and which are now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. He there wrote about a Hebrew typeface he had cut for Garamont: 'A la vente de ses meubles le sieur Christofe Plantain en achepta les matrices et les mousles qu'il a portés à Envers et en a imprimé là.' Cf. H. Omont, 'Specimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins et de musique gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé (1545-1592)', *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris*, 15 (1888), pp. 273-83 (pp. 278 f.). At this point Miss Warde observes (p. 142): '... if in the above passage we take *en* to refer to *ses meubles* (the contents of the foundry) it means that Plantin bought all Garamont's matrices and moulds: Le Bé speaks elsewhere of "the mould" of a single fount of type, not in the plural.' The editors of the *Index* (n. 32, p. 2, no. 6) do not make this connection, but it fits the idea that Plantin had to re-equip himself after the loss of his printing shop and thus gratefully took this unique opportunity. The unknown date of the auction, however, is an uncertain factor; all we know is the date of Garamont's death: 18 November 1561.

⁴⁴ For what is known about Plantin's purchases from Le Bé, in this period, see 'Early Inventories' (n. 39), pp. 18 ff., in the notes to ST 13a, 20a, 50, 52 and 53. In a letter to Jan Moretus, Le Bé's son and namesake wrote on 12 December 1598 about the two sets of Garamont punches (including 'les poinçons du petit texte') which Plantin had once bought from his father out of the six which the latter had purchased from Garamont's widow shortly before; see P. Gusman, 'Claude Garamont, "graveur des lettres grecques du Roy", "tailleur des caractères de l'Université" (1480-1561)', *Byblis*, 4 (1925), pp. 85-96 (pp. 91 f.). Financial problems obviously compelled Le Bé to resort to this sale. In 1562 he was also obliged to sell the punches and matrices of one of his own Hebrew typefaces to Plantin. See also H. Carter, *Sixteenth-century French type founders: The Le Bé memorandum* (Documents typographiques français, 3; Paris 1967), pp. 3 f.

which Plantin used in the course of his career. Contrary to what has hitherto been believed, the Plantin-Moretus Museum has, with a single exception, no sets of matrices from Plantin's first period. These all fell into other hands at the auction and only the set of Granjon's *Civilité* returned to Plantin; he never owned matrices of the Double Picas.⁴⁵ It is thus wrong to refer, for faces found in Plantin's books before 1563, to the numbers of sets still extant in the Museum. The same applies to Plantin's woodcut initials, headpieces and vignettes from that period, which were also auctioned and never again returned to him. It is consequently impossible to identify his publications of 1563 and later on the basis of ornaments used by the *Officina* in its first years. If anything we can work the other way round: if such ornaments appear in books of that year or later they indicate that these editions were definitely not produced by Plantin's press. The line is drawn by the fatal date of 1 March 1562, the day on which the authorities put his firm under seal.⁴⁶

After what has been said, the identity of the purchaser of the initials at the auction will come as no surprise. Although the surviving auction list gives the proceeds but not the names of the purchasers, subsequent use of this material points with certainty to the new owner: Willem Silvius. After May 1562 the three woodcut alphabets which Plantin used since 1555⁴⁷ appear exclusively in books with Silvius' imprint. Remarkably enough this passage from one printer to another has hitherto escaped attention, but, where the Golden Fleece books are concerned, it clearly shows why we can find Silvius' woodcut initials in books which came, according to documentary evidence, from Plantin's press. Their presence does not call this origin in doubt, but serves to confirm it.

The change of proprietorship of the initials also elucidates another problem. In identifying the initials in *Constitutiones*, Colin Clair came across one of them both in

⁴⁵ No matrices of these typefaces are mentioned in any of his inventories.

⁴⁶ In dating on the basis of privileges we must keep in mind the differences in calendar. The two authorities to whom publishers in Antwerp had to apply for these rights, the Secret Council and the Court of Brabant, observed the Easter style. Thus the *Phoenicis sive consecrationis augustae liber* dedicated to Philip II (BT 4796), by Joannes Voerthusius, dean in Deventer, appeared without a date but with a privilege for Silvius dated 4 February 1562. Despite this date and the fact that some of Plantin's initials (Harvard, op. cit. (n. 6), 20 C and 25 A¹) appear in the book, the use of this 'court style' means that this is no product of his: here 1562 is 1563. For the procedure in granting privileges, see Voet GC, vol. 2, pp. 262 ff., and M. Baelde, 'De toekenning van drukkersoctrooien door de Geheime Raad in de zestiende eeuw', *De Gulden Passer*, 40 (1962), pp. 19-58, *passim*.

⁴⁷ Plantin's initials are described and reproduced in Harvard, op. cit. (n. 6). The material from the printer's first period is to be found under nos. 20-5 and 31. A closer analysis is given in Appendix IV below. – For Plantin's early vignettes, head- and tailpieces (which were not acquired by Silvius), see G. Glorieux, 'Bandeaux et fleurons chez C. Plantin', *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (*De Gulden Passer*, 66-67; Antwerpen 1989), pp. 213-36, illus. B1 (?), B3A, F1, F2, F3 (?), F4A, F5A and F6A.

Silvius' publications produced between 1566 and 1576 and in an earlier book, Olaus Magnus' *De wonderlijcke historie van de Noordersche landen* (Antwerpen, Willem Silvius, 1562), BT 6274 (see illus. 1). From his dedication to Gerard Grammay (involved, as treasurer of Antwerp, in a loan to Silvius which I shall be discussing later), it appears that in this case the publisher and the translator of the book were the same man. Clair, unaware of any problem, regarded the book as having been printed by Silvius himself. This would be correct had it come off the press after April of that year: the printer could then have used one of his recently acquired initials. But the course of events was otherwise, since the book was already completed before the auction. This emerges from the description of three lots in the auction list, the first of which concerns 'a German type on Pica used for printing the History of the Norwegian Lands'.⁴⁸ Another entry referred to 'a set of pictures of Norway',⁴⁹ undoubtedly the great series of woodcuts for the illustrations of the book which Plantin had used previously for his Latin and French editions of the work.⁵⁰ A third item is described as 'a stock of books of the Norse lands in Dutch [...] 35 reams',⁵¹ a quantity which corresponds, without any overs, to about 460 copies of the work.⁵² Silvius had apparently not yet taken up the order or not the complete order, so that the edition, or a large part of it, had been caught up in the bankruptcy. He thus found himself obliged to acquire these copies of his own publication at the auction – and also succeeded, at a cost of 70 guilders, since the book appeared with his imprint and a dedication which is dated 'uut onser druckerije' (from our printing-house) on 10 July 1562.

We see here that Plantin produced a book for Silvius without signing his name as the printer. This occurred on more than one occasion: Silvius' share of the edition of Joannes Laezius, *De poeticorum studiorum utilitate*, a joint publication of 1560,⁵³ is identical, down to the imprint, to Plantin's issue (PP 1504), but lacks any men-

⁴⁸ PMM, Arch. 27, f. 43r.: 'Een hoochduytsche letter mediaen waer mede gedruet Historie noorwercxse [*sic*] Landen ...'. See Appendix I: 'Plantin's stock of type in 1562', no. [22].

⁴⁹ PMM, Arch. 27, f. 15v.: 'Eenen coop figuren van noorwegen'.

⁵⁰ For these editions published in 1558 and 1561 respectively, see Voet PP (n. 26), nos. 1811-12.

⁵¹ PMM, Arch. 27, f. 16v.: 'Eenen coop boecken vande noorlanden int duijts, elcken Riem twee guldens wesende vijffendertich Riemen ...'.

⁵² A ream of printing paper probably contained 25 quires of twenty sheets each then as it does now; cf. F.A.W.G. Janssen, *Zetten en drukken in de achttiende eeuw. David Wardenaar's 'Beschrijving der Boekdrukkunst' (1801)* (Haarlem 1982), pp. 144 f. and the earlier literature there listed. The Dutch translation of Olaus Magnus' work consists of 38 sheets. The calculation is thus as follows: $35 \times 500 : 38 = 460$ copies, without allowing for waste.

⁵³ Of this edition not mentioned in the literature on Silvius, a copy is to be found in the Royal Library (KB) in The Hague (shelf-mark 1707 D 30).

tion of Plantin as the printer of the book. The same applies to *Ordonnances, statuts, stil et maniere de proceder* (BT 2436) of that year, Silvius' first official commission. This publication contains exclusively typefaces belonging to Plantin besides a woodcut initial P which he again used in October 1561 in a signed book, Gabriele Ayala's *Carmen pro vera medicina* (PP 612).⁵⁴ It is thus clear that Plantin was the printer, although the *Ordonnances* does not give his name.

So the three books which Silvius issued during the first year of his public activity as a publisher – the third is Jodocus Lommius, *Medicinalium observationum libri III* (1560), PP 1581B – all appear to have been printed by Plantin's press. This also applies to Silvius' Latin publications of 1561: Floccus (PP 1178), Raevardus (PP 2117B) and Cornelius Valerius (PP 2402B), the last being joint publications. This shows that in the first years of Silvius' career all his books in foreign languages were printed by Plantin and not a single one by himself. Apparently he was not in a position to print Latin and French texts on his own in this period: he had to have it done by someone else, since he obviously did not possess the necessary Roman and Italic type – there is no other satisfactory explanation. The close collaboration between the two men, which even led to various joint publications, argues against any deterioration in their business dealings as a result of what in Plantin's letter is alleged to have happened in 1559. Nor is there any trace of such a thing in their personal relationship, for in a letter to a third party written in 1561 Plantin refers to his colleague as 'compater amicissimus'.⁵⁵

All I have said so far confirms the accuracy of what Plantin was to write to Jean Mofflin years later: the *Constitutiones* and the French edition of the work were indeed printed on his press. No doubt seems possible: not only did he possess all the typefaces which appear in the books but, as far as I can establish, in 1559 he was the only printer in the Netherlands who owned the Garamont Pica Roman used there.⁵⁶ Even the initials belonged to him, as we saw, before they passed over to Silvius in 1562. Yet we must treat what the writer of the letter says about his own part

⁵⁴ Just as in *Popularia epigrammata medica* (PP 613) by the same author the colophon runs: 'Antverpiae excudebat Christophorus Plantinus, VI. Octobris Anno 1562'. Voet has already pointed out that this date is certainly wrong since Plantin's press was no longer working at the time. The right year must be 1561, in accordance with the privilege granted to Silvius and dated 5 September 1561. The date 1562 on the title-page is probably an advance date for the sake of sales.

⁵⁵ *Correspondance*, vol. 1, op. cit. (n. 19), pp. 20 ff., no. 10 (p. 21). For this letter to Cornelius Valerius and its date, 16 Cal. Octobris (read: Novembris, 1561), cf. PP 2375B, note.

⁵⁶ *Index* 31. The typeface is already mentioned in Plantin's first inventory of matrices: 'Garamont petit Rommain 1556'; see 'Early Inventories', art. cit. (n. 39), pp. 7 f. Despite this date Plantin did not have type cast until 1558: in May of that year he entered a payment to Tavernier 'pour fondre la lectre petite romaine' (PMM, Arch. 38, f. 35v). In the same year he used the type in a number of books, cf. 'Early Inventories', pp. 7 f. In *Constitutiones* the face appears on sig. A2.

in the matter with certain reservations since the statement that it all took place behind his back is hardly convincing.⁵⁷ Would Silvius, a newcomer in the Antwerp book trade whose business had only been in existence for a few months, really have had the chance to win over Plantin's men and produce a work of this calibre without the Frenchman's knowledge? And would the production of the two expensive books, printed on vellum with the greatest care, not have demanded more time for its preparation and execution than the six weeks or so in which Plantin was away? What is certain is that the necessary activities of the printing process cannot possibly have occurred without the knowledge of the man who ran the firm in his employer's absence and who was consequently responsible for it. It is particularly unlikely that his functions extended so far as to allow him to act independently in a matter of this importance.⁵⁸

If we look at what Silvius published in 1562, we see that most of his publications came out in March or later and could not have been printed by Plantin, whose firm was no longer working by then. The exceptions are Gabriele Ayala's aforesaid *Carmen pro vera medicina*, which appeared in 1561, although the title-page is dated 1562 and his *Popularia epigrammata medica* (PP 613) is dated in the same manner.⁵⁹ Another exception is Erasmus' *Syntaxis* (Antwerpen, Willem Silvius, 1562), in an adaptation by Joannes Nemius (Johan Govertsz), a priest and teacher at the Latin school in Amsterdam who came from Silvius' birthplace, 's-Hertogenbosch. A copy of the book in Louvain University Library was lost in 1914.⁶⁰ This, too, must have been produced by Plantin, since a similar title (PP 1134) appears in his first stock list,⁶¹ so it seems to have been another joint issue. In these first two months of 1562, he only

⁵⁷ For the reliability of the letter where some other points are concerned, see Bouchery, art. cit. (n. 31), pp. 103, 105 f.

⁵⁸ In the draft of his letter to Mofflin, Plantin implies that, by taking full credit for the *Constitutiones*, Silvius had artfully deprived him of an imminent appointment as typographer royal. This looks fairly unlikely. In 1559 Plantin was very far from occupying the position he held in 1568. Even the typographical quality of his work as a printer hardly distinguished itself from that of colleagues like Tavernier and De Laet, and his relations with the Court in Brussels were still in an early phase. Such an appointment also seems improbable for political reasons. The production of *Constitutiones* (or of the French edition) was completed when Hopperus wrote his memo to Viglius on 26 July 1559. In view of the time necessary for the printing and the preparations, the order can hardly have been given later than in April. Only in that month, however, was the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis concluded between the kings of France and Spain, putting an end to the years of war between their two countries. Would Plantin, a born Frenchman, have been considered for an appointment as printer to Philip II in those circumstances?

⁵⁹ For the dating of this edition, see n. 54

⁶⁰ De Backer, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 128, no. 9.

⁶¹ MS 296: 'Libri a Plantino editi 1555-1593'. For the content and importance of this manuscript, see Voet PP, vol. 1, pp. xxix f.

appears to have printed a single French publication for Silvius: a new edition of the *Ordonnances, statuts, stíl et maniere de proceder* of 1560 (BT 2437). Although dated '1562' without the month of appearance, this reprint must have come from the *Officina* since it contains the same ornamental initial as the original edition together with Granjon's Civilité for the 'Extraict du Privilege' on the verso of the title-page.⁶² As we saw, the woodcut letter came into Silvius' possession at the auction, but not the type.

Printed material produced up to the beginning of 1562 thus confirms the supposition that Silvius did not own any Roman or Italic type in his first year and had to apply to a colleague to have Latin and French texts printed. This was not so rare a phenomenon: others had to work in the same way. In western and northern Europe a printer of books in the vernacular could limit himself to the typefaces suited for that purpose. Outside the French-language areas these were, besides the Textura, the Schwabacher and the Fractura and, in England for example, for special purposes also the Bastarda. As long as they did not intend to take part in the international market, printers in the Low Countries could content themselves with the purchase of matrices or cast type of three or even two Textura text types, supplemented with loose material for titles and headings. Far larger investments were necessary for the printing of French (in the southern Netherlands) and of Latin. The number of (Roman and Italic) founts that had to be purchased was thus at least twice as large and besides, on account of their more elaborate composition (accents, ligatures, small capitals), they were accordingly more expensive. By initially avoiding such large investments, it was possible to limit the capital required. In this respect Silvius' situation was not different to that of various other colleagues and the commissions which he entrusted to Plantin can be explained by an initial lack of means to set up a press capable of printing in languages other than Dutch. Yet, as we shall see now, this interpretation, correct in itself, only accounts for a part of what actually happened. Still more was afoot where the typographer royal was concerned.

SILVIUS' PUBLICATIONS IN DUTCH

The assumption that Silvius planned to set up a printing-press with limited financial means obviously implies that he started with Texturas only. In his earliest work we do indeed find this typeface: the first three official publications which he pub-

⁶² The initial P is that of Harvard, op. cit. (n. 6), 23, cut open and without its frame (cf. Appendix IV). The letter can already be found in that state in a book which Plantin printed for Joannes Bel-lerus in 1556 without giving his name – on sig. B[1] of Antonius Hulstius, *Stadium cursoris christiani* (BT 6012, not in Voet PP). The initial is also used on [B2]v. of Ayala's *Carmen* mentioned above (an edition for Silvius which Plantin did indeed sig) printed at about the same time as the *Ordonnances*.

lished in Dutch in 1561 (BT 2452, 2453 and 7261) are printed in Tavernier's Pica Textura (VPT, T 29).⁶³ In 1562, however, there appeared the above-mentioned edition of Olaus Magnus' *Historie*, printed not on his own press but, in a Fractura, on that of Plantin. For this, however, there is a plausible explanation, since Plantin, as the owner of the woodcuts illustrating the book, could have made their use conditional on being commissioned to print the entire work. What is more surprising is that in the same year Silvius should produce various publications in Dutch set not in Tavernier's Pica, but in that of Henrick Lettersnijder (T 30), even using two different founts of the face. This means that within less than two years he used as many as three Pica text types for fewer than ten publications, most of which were of very limited length. This is in such flagrant contradiction to our initial idea of Silvius' restricted financial means that we must search for another explanation.

The solution to the riddle is to be found in a book the peculiar typographical composition of which provides the necessary information: the *Spelen van sinne*, Silvius' most ambitious publication up to that moment. This edition of the plays performed in 1561 by the leading chambers of rhetoric in the Low Countries at the famous Antwerp Pageant⁶⁴ appeared a year later in two volumes. In the presentation of the work, the publisher tried to give some idea of the pomp and splendour of the festivities. He fully succeeded: it was indeed a spectacular book with fine woodcuts of the blazons of the fourteen chambers involved and many allegorical representations taken from the plays performed. The work also contains a large number of initials, including some from the series of great calligraphic letters which Silvius had recently acquired.⁶⁵ The most striking aspect of all, however, is the typographical design. The text of the plays is set in Textura, but for the title-pages and preliminaries Silvius used various Roman, Italic, Civilité and even Schwabacher faces. The title-pages with these unusual combinations look somewhat overloaded, but for the body of the book the compositor devised an unusual but balanced layout. Elements of this style recur in other books produced by Silvius in the 1560s, so we can assume that the design of the work was his own choice.⁶⁶

⁶³ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 32), pp. 138 f. I should point out here that two editions exist of BT 2453, almost identical but printed partly from different type matter. One of them has 'oproeringhe' on line 3 from the foot of sign. A2, while the other (in Ghent UL) has the misprint 'oporoeringhe'.

⁶⁴ A very extensive description and list of contents of the work is in BB (n. 23), vol. 5, pp. 191-5, no. S 224.

⁶⁵ For these highly successful ornamental letters, see n. 6.

⁶⁶ Together with Textura and Roman, Silvius also used Civilité on the title-pages of various official publications in 1562 and the years following, sometimes with a first line cut in wood. Other characteristic examples of his style are Jan Fruytiers' verse version of *Ecclesiasticus* (BB, vol. 3, p. 56, no. F 10) and of *Het leven der Roomsche en Constantinopelsche keyseren* (*ibid.*, no. F 11), which appeared in 1565/6 with title-pages which also display various Italic faces besides the ones already mentioned.

As one might expect, opinions about the external appearance of the book differed in later times, but nobody seems to have been struck by the fact that no less than three different groups of typefaces were used to produce it. Both bibliographically and typographically volume I consists of two parts: after signature Rrr a new series of signatures begins, a-p⁴, printed with completely different material. Although the content provides no visible reason for this change – the text simply runs on – the nine founts used originally suddenly appear to have been replaced by six new ones. To begin with, for example, the text type of the plays, Lettersnijder's Pica Textura (VPT, T 30), leaded throughout to a size of 20/88 mm,⁶⁷ recurs in the second part of this volume in its normal format but now mingled with 'French' forms of the capitals A, B, G and V, which suggests that a different pair of type cases were being used. Tavernier's Double Pica Roman (R 16) and Garamont's Pica Roman also make way for faces of the same size of Guyot (R 17) and Tavernier (R 20) respectively. The change is complete: none of the original types are retained.⁶⁸ (Illus. 2.)

Volume 2, with signatures a-c⁴d⁴ (d2 plus a gathering of six leaves signed d3-[d8]) e-p⁴, begins with a title-page set up in the same manner as that of volume I,⁶⁹ but in this volume, too, the original types have nearly all been replaced. Garamont's Roman and Granjon's Italics and Civilité give way to similar faces by Tavernier, eight in all, including his two Civilités (VPT C 1 and C 7). The Textura text type T 30 is now replaced by his Pica (T 29) and only the Roman 'Ascendonica' (Double

In later years Silvius' work was more sober.

⁶⁷ It could be assumed that Plantin ordered the type to be cast on a larger body, as he did more than once in later years, in order to make the book more readable by giving more blank space between the lines. In fact he followed another path: a less compact appearance of the page was achieved by 'leading' the lines of type with strips of metal or wood – in this century a practice rarely applied to a whole book in the vernacular. I readily accept the opinion of Professor Johan Gerritsen, who had the kindness to send me his observations: 'There are plenty of cases where shoulder and beard print; there are several where the lead prints; the salting with two extraneous D's could not have taken place with the larger body'.

⁶⁸ In the first part of volume I of the *Spelen* there appear: Roman: Tavernier's Double Pica (160 mm, VPT, R 16) and Garamont's Great Primer (116 mm) and Pica (82 mm); Italic: Granjon's Great Primer (116 mm), 'Cursive pendante' (82 mm) and Long Primer (67 mm, sporadically); Civilité: Granjon's Pica (82 mm); Textura: Lettersnijder's Pica (T 30, 78 mm, leaded); Schwabacher: Long Primer (67 mm, sporadically) and Brevier (54 mm). For the completion of the volume we find: Roman: Guyot's Double Pica (140 mm, R 17) and Pica (78 mm, R 27), and Tavernier's Great Primer (116 mm, R 20); Italic: Guyot's Great Primer (110 mm, IT 3); Textura: Lettersnijder's Pica (78 mm, T 30; with four additional capitals), and the 'Parisian' Textura on Bourgeois (62 mm, T 43).

⁶⁹ The six leaves added between d2 and d8 contain a comedy and other contributions from *Het Jentebloemken* of Lier, 'ghenoempt Dongheleerde'. These additions to the other texts of this chamber of rhetoric appear to have reached Silvius so late that a separate gathering had to be printed.

Pica; R 16) is retained, but that is also a face by this same punchcutter.⁷⁰ (Illus. 3.)

Alterations in the inventory of a printing-house over the years are a normal phenomenon: old types are replaced by more modern ones, matrices are purchased for those sizes which are lacking, and an expanding field of action requires the inventory to be supplemented by faces which the printer was not in the habit of possessing. In this case, however, we are dealing with an entirely different state of affairs: the complete replacement, on two occasions within a few months, of *all* the types in a single book. This can only be explained by assuming that more than one printer was at work – in this case as many as three. The question now is, of course, which of them can be identified as Silvius. The choice seems wide enough, and yet, surprising though it may seem, the answer can only be: none of the three. The reality behind this apparently absurd situation will become clear if we examine the genesis of the book on the basis of the typographical composition. The course of events can thus be reconstructed as follows.

For this publication, the most expensive in the still youthful phase in his career, Silvius first reached an agreement with Plantin, who undertook to print the work and was ready to procure a Textura text type for the purpose. For the *Officina* did not yet own one: editions in Dutch had hitherto been printed in Roman and/or Italic,⁷¹ or, more recently, in a Pica Fractura which Plantin used for the first and apparently last time in the translated edition of Olaus Magnus' *Historie*.⁷² He must

⁷⁰ With a single exception volume 2 of the *Spelen* contains exclusively typefaces of Tavernier: Roman: Double Pica (160 mm., VPT R 16) and Great Primer (116 mm, R 20); Italic: Pica (82 mm, IT 8); Civilité: Paragon (130 mm, C 1) and Pica (80 mm, C 7); Textura: Pica (80 mm, T 29), Small Pica (72 mm, T 39) and, not cut by Tavernier, the 'Parisian' Textura on Brevier (52 mm, T 47).

⁷¹ Cf. Voet *PP* 38, 712, 939 C, 1282, 1665, 1666, 1669, 2070, 2225. The German types with which Plantin printed *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* (*PP* 1732) and two other books for Hendrik Niclaes were the property of Hendrik Niclaes himself who had bought and paid for them, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29: 'Printers'), pp. 259 f. For 1733-46 and 1746 bis, editions which the prophet later had printed in Kampen by a press he himself had set up, see *ibid.*, pp. 265 ff; for *PP* 39, a reprint there produced in 1561 for Plantin of *Die secreten van [...]* Alexis Piemontois, *ibid.* pp. 266 ff.

⁷² In my article 'Printers' (n. 29) I explained (pp. 262 ff.) that Plantin's 'Essendiana' (Appendix I, no. [19]) is the Long Primer Schwabacher which he used in 1562 in his *Dictionarium tetraglotton* (*PP* 1082), and not the Small Pica Fractura which appears as 'Philosophie Allemande' in his later inventories and in his *Folio specimen*. Although this deduction remains valid, my view that the printer only obtained this Small Pica in about 1581 now seems wrong: we see that he already used this type once at the end of his first period. The description in the auction list of the 'Historie noorwerxe Landen' as a book in which the face appears admits of no other conclusion, even if Max Rooses saw it as a reference to Hans Staden's *Historie ende beschryvinghe eens lants in America gheleghen* (*PP* 2225), which was printed, however, in Roman and Italic. Cf. M. Rooses, 'De letters der Plantijnsche drukkerij, 1555-1589', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 2 (1904), pp. 7-21 (p. 8), also *id.*, *Index characterum Christophori Plantini* (Antwerp 1905), p. 2. My misunderstanding about the date of the first purchase of the type is due to the curious denomination 'Mediaen hoochduyts' used for it in

have received the order to print the *Spelen* in the autumn of 1561. The great feast of the chambers of rhetoric took place in August and Silvius had assured himself of the publication rights in good time.⁷³ Yet the production of the book could not begin before the final texts of the plays performed were received and the woodcuts completed – thus only in the course of the autumn or the early winter. Owing to the catastrophic developments in March 1562 and the consequent closure of Plantin's press, production suddenly came to a standstill. How Silvius managed to lay hands on the already printed sheets is something we do not know, but he apparently succeeded in removing them from the bankruptcy. The local magistrates may well have given their tacit approval: after all, the publication in question was important for the honour and reputation of the town. However that may be, he had the chance to complete the book and had to seek a replacement of the printing capacity at short notice. This he found with two fellow-townsmen, the printer Gillis Coppens van Diest⁷⁴ and the punchcutter Ameet Tavernier, who had been

the auction list under no. [22]. 'Mediaen' (Pica) is, in the Dutch terminology of the time, a type measuring c.78 mm for 20 lines, while we are here dealing with a face of 71 mm. The difference is considerable and, in view of the expertise with which the typographical material is described in the list, it probably means that the name 'Philosophie' which Plantin and others later used for this body was not yet generally accepted. The term 'Mediaen', in this case, was obviously applied without any further specification as in the English Small Pica. I must admit that the presence of the Small Pica Fractura in Antwerp in 1562 removes some support from my attribution of *Die secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois* (1561) to the press of Hendrik Niclaes and his printer Augustijn van Hasselt in Kampen (see previous note). All other arguments for the hypothesis still hold good, however: the date of the dedication, 1558, taken over unchanged from the original edition; the lack of the extensive additions printed in Plantin's French editions of 1559 and 1561; the use of a small Textura (VPT T 47) which is not to be found in any of his books, but which does indeed appear in those printed in Kampen; and the occurrence of a replica of one of his printer's devices which has since disappeared. A further confirmation resides in the complete lack of any of Plantin's ornaments – instead, we have what for him is a unique use of Fractura capitals as initials. If we compare this book to his first edition of the work (1558), which served as exemplar and which, besides Plantin's large lozenge-shaped vignette, contains ten of his ornamented initials (some repeated), the difference in external appearance – and consequently also of origin – is particularly convincing.

⁷³ That Silvius already possessed these rights at an early stage emerges from a letter of the pensionary of Antwerp to the city magistracy. On 21 August 1561 he wrote from Brussels that he had gathered from the chancellor on the previous day that the edition of the *Spelen* had already been promised to Willem Silvius, who had incurred expenses in the meantime and could no longer be passed by. According to the authority the interested parties in Antwerp (presumably the chamber of the *Violieren*) had to reach an agreement with Silvius to their mutual satisfaction. Whether this agreement was effected is unknown. Cf. E. van Autenboer, *Het Brabants landjuweel der rederijkers (1515-1561)* (Middelburg 1981), p. 20.

⁷⁴ Gillis (I) Coppens van Diest (Diesthemius), active in Antwerp from 1539 to 1572, was one of the most industrious printers in the town before the rise of Plantin. For what little we know about

running a printing-press for some years and produced excellent work.⁷⁵ Not taking the trouble of leading the lines, Coppens could complete the text of volume 1 with his Lettersnijder Textura (even if the result was not particularly attractive), but he did not possess the varied typographical material necessary to give the next volume the same spectacular execution that Plantin had been able to provide. Ameet Tavernier was the only man in Antwerp whose large selection of types, most of which he had designed himself, put him in a position to do so. He then received the order for volume 2 – although it is perfectly possible that Silvius had already applied to him at an earlier stage in order to accelerate publication.⁷⁶ Thus the two volumes of the *Spelen van sinne* appeared late, but they were not delayed very long, as we see from the privilege accorded the complete work on 20 August 1562. Thanks to the printers, the adjustment to the original formula did not affect the external appearance of the book as adversely as was to be feared and, as far as I can ascertain, the heterogeneous production has never given rise to unfavourable comments.

But what is this reconstruction of the production process of the book based on? In the first place on the typefaces used, which here appear in combinations characteristic of the printers involved. Only in Coppens' Lettersnijder Textura do we find these four capitals of a different face intermingled with – and not replacing – the original ones.⁷⁷ As for the identification of Plantin's role, he was the only printer in the Low Countries to possess Granjon's first Civilité. Finally, Tavernier's involvement is demonstrated by the fact that in volume 2 we only find typefaces which he designed. These are strong arguments, but they are not the only ones: one of the types sold at the liquidation of Plantin's possessions is described in the auction list under no. [21]

his life, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 45 f. He deserves a closer study with an eye to the unsigned work he produced for others. For his clandestine activities in the early years of the Revolt, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Gillis Coppens van Diest als ondergronds drukker, 1566-67', *Het oude en het nieuwe boek, de oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen 1988), pp. 143-63.

⁷⁵ For Tavernier, see Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 32), pp. 28 ff.; M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana, III. Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter (ca. 1522-1570)', *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 17-76. For biographical details, see also M. Sabbe, 'Ameet Tavernier', *Het Boek*, 12 (1923), pp. 163-76.

⁷⁶ This could be suggested by the peculiarity that vol. 2 has a privilege at the end for 'dese spelen' (these plays) dated 11 May 1562, while the privilege printed on the verso of the title-page of vol. 1 applying to 'alle spelen met tghene daer aen cleeft' (all plays and what is added to them), was only issued on 20 August of that year.

⁷⁷ Coppens displays this characteristic combination throughout his career, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 74), p. 147. The additional capitals resemble most closely, and perhaps are identical to, a Bastarda type used (in 1534 only?) by Maerten de Keyser in Antwerp (VPT, pp. 184 f., B 4). In contrast to various other printers he did not work with an S in the French style but preferred the authentic form of the letter.

as 'Duytsche mediaen daer mede de spelen gedruet zijn' (Dutch Pica with which the *Spelen* have been printed). This statement documents both Plantin's part in the production and the hitherto unknown fact that he once worked with Lettersnijder's Pica. And, as usual, the many woodcut initials which can also be found in other publications by the printers involved are the most distinctive, and, in their exclusiveness, perhaps the most convincing proofs of their respective shares.⁷⁸

Now that we know who the printers of the *Spelen der sinne*, were it is easy to recognize their hand in Silvius' other publications in Dutch – even if no initials betray them and only the ornaments of Silvius himself are used. Ameet Tavernier printed for him the three official publications in Dutch of 1561, while Gillis Coppens van Diest, recognizable from the singular composition of his text type, produced two ecclesiastical decrees (BT 6633 and Machiels C 599),⁷⁹ one of which he also printed in French (BT 4167). To the question of what Silvius himself actually printed in the first years of his career the answer is: nothing whatsoever. For three years he acted as typographer royal without having any printing capacity of his own. This is probably a unique achievement in the history of printing. I know of no other example of a man who succeeded in being appointed the official printer of a government without owning a printing shop and without even being entered as a freeman in a guild. Silvius' success is proof of his resourcefulness and sense of enterprise and at the same time points to his good relations with high circles in Brussels. The case again shows, moreover, how careful one must be in interpreting the term 'printer' in the sixteenth century.

HOW SILVIUS' PRINTING-OFFICE CAME INTO EXISTENCE

We may well wonder why it has taken so long to establish that Silvius always availed himself of the services of others when it came to printing the first books of his career – a fact which is perfectly obvious once one knows how to spot it. One important cause was that he later acquired not only Plantin's woodcut initials, but also most of his Roman and Italic types. From a typographical point of view the similarity between what was printed by others, but appeared in Silvius' name before March 1562 and what he printed himself after that date is so great that no one is struck by

⁷⁸ In the first part of vol. I (up to and including gathering Rrr), the following woodcut initials of Plantin appear: Harvard, op. cit. (n. 6), 20: D¹ (without the frame), 25: A¹, D (variant 1, on [H4]r., etc.), D (var. 2, on Dd2v., etc.), G, H, L¹, M (var.), N, T (var.) and V. On G2r.; moreover, we find an initial M not reproduced in Harvard, which also appears on B4r. of Gul. Rondelet, *De ponderibus* ... (Plantin 1561; PP 2150) and possibly also elsewhere. Plantin used in this volume three of his ornaments: Glorieux (n. 47), F4A, F5A and F6A.

⁷⁹ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979).

the difference. Besides, he also made sure that, even when they were produced by other people's presses, his publications were recognizable as his own thanks to his device and the fine calligraphic initials I mentioned earlier. The arms of Charles V, Philip II, and the town of Antwerp which adorn the title-pages of official publications were his exclusive property, as were the portraits of the two princes which are printed in them. For these woodcuts, as we see from the monogram, he applied to Arnold Nicolai, the best artist in Antwerp for this sort of illustration, who also did a great deal of work for Plantin, and probably designed and cut Silvius' device with the Golden Angel (the name of his house).⁸⁰ More than most publishers of his time, Silvius sought a distinctive style of his own in the design of his books, and he seems himself to have given his printers instructions on this point. We see that even Plantin was prepared to satisfy his client's wishes. This emerges clearly from the production of the first volume of the *Spelen van Sinne*, a book which the Frenchman would be most unlikely to have printed in such a manner on his own initiative. We here have a phenomenon parallel to *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*, Hendrik Nicolaes' great work, the look of which gives no indication whatsoever that it was produced in the *Officina*.⁸¹ In view of the considerable difference with what we know of Plantin's ideas in the domain of typographical design, it is quite understandable that the first part of the *Spelen* should not hitherto have been recognized as a work of his, despite the telling use of Granjon's first Civilité.

I observed earlier that Silvius was the purchaser of a large part of the typographical material put up for sale at the liquidation of Plantin's firm. He must have been particularly thankful for this opportunity to enter into possession of a press which would make him independent of colleagues who, as publishers, were also his rivals. Besides, since he could no longer count on Plantin's services, he was to a certain extent obliged to proceed as he did, for it was not easy to replace him as the supplier of printed work of a scholarly nature. In order to retain the external quality of his publications, Silvius had to find a printer who could provide work of the same high quality. In Antwerp Tavernier alone was in a position to do so, but, however successful the typefaces he had himself designed, they could hardly compete with those of Garamont and Granjon.

That Silvius bought by far the greatest part of his printing shop at the sale of the *Officina* (and not elsewhere, in Paris for example) appears from three interrelated documents. One of them has long been known: it is the above-mentioned auction list which gives, among many other things, a full summary of all the typographical

⁸⁰ Silvius owned the device in various versions and shapes, see G. van Havre, *Marques typographiques des imprimeurs et libraires anversoïis*, 2 vols. (Antwerpen/Gent 1883-4), vol. 2, pp. 219-25.

⁸¹ See also the observations on the subject in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29: 'Printers'), pp. 253 f.

material in 1562 in the *Officina*.⁸² It has been assumed that Plantin had managed to carry his valuable matrices into safety and that only cast type came up for auction. There are no grounds for this view: on the contrary, the presence of a mould is specifically mentioned on several occasions,⁸³ and the assumption does not take sufficient account of the situation. The absence of matrices would have struck everybody, and Plantin was far too clever a man to remove articles from an estate under seal. The *Chronika* of the Family of Love states that the margrave applied this provisional form of confiscation ('alle de Güderen van Plantyn ansloege'), and it is a reliable source where such factual details are concerned.⁸⁴

To all this we must add another consideration. Plantin's 'bankruptcy' had a specific character: it was a solution organized with his agreement and collaboration in order to forestall a threatened confiscation of his property by the authorities and to secure both the capital of his backers and the other claims of his creditors. The measure was also intended, however, to rescue as much of Plantin's own property as possible. Despite the disadvantage of a compulsory liquidation (the value of the firm as a 'running concern' was, of course, greater), the surplus revenues were considerable. Rooses calculated that the printer's obligations to third parties, in as far as they were reported to the 'Amman' (bailiff), only made up three fifths of the proceeds of the sale. Plantin retained his rights to the remaining part and the amount was indeed paid over to him after his return to Antwerp.⁸⁵ It was thus also in his own interest that the results of the sale should be as good as possible. Such a situation would exclude the retention of matrices, for this would have prevented the purchaser from supplementing his type and would therefore have considerably diminished the value of the founts offered for sale.⁸⁶

⁸² Cf. n. 35. The list of Plantin's typefaces which Voet compiled on the basis of these data (vol. 2, p. 114) differs in some essential respects from the list here in Appendix III.

⁸³ The reference in the inventory to 'op een Instrument passende' or '... dienende' is only used when applied to two or more sets of matrices justified on a single mould. Although the Dutch word 'een' also has the function of the indefinite article it must here be read as a numeral: 'fitting one mould'. There was no reason to make such a specification for separate types and for Roman and Italic types on the same body belonging together. That no mould should be mentioned in these cases does not mean that it was wanting but that the presence of so indispensable an instrument was so obvious that it was superfluous to mention it.

⁸⁴ *Cronica: Chronika des Hüs-gesinnes der Lieften*, by Daniel, hereafter cited as *Chronica*, cap. XXI.19. The passage is reproduced in: *Cronica, Ordo sacerdotis, Acta HN. Three texts on the Family of Love*, ed. A. Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden 1988), p. 70. For the *Chronika* and the large degree of reliability of this contemporary chronicle see *ibid.* pp. XIII ff., and Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29: 'Printers'), pp. 248 ff. and the literature there listed.

⁸⁵ Rooses, op. cit. (n. 42), p. 30; see also n. 35.

⁸⁶ Besides, did Plantin still need the matrices? For there is every reason to suppose that the sale

A second document was discovered by Lode van den Branden, who mentioned it in 1975 in a paper which appeared posthumously.⁸⁷ This is a bond of voluntary security kept in the Antwerp City Archives and drawn up when Willem Silvius received a large loan from the town on 6 May 1563.⁸⁸ The sum was 1,600 guilders, the currency eight years, and, as security, he had to pledge all his types at an estimated value of 2,000 guilders.⁸⁹ The great interest of this document resides in the fact that the contents of his stock of types are specified. We thus have a complete survey of the faces owned by Silvius one year after the sale of the *Officina*.⁹⁰

The description of the types in this document is felicitously supplemented by a third recently discovered item which describes the inventory of Silvius' press at a later stage. It is a large placard published on the discontinuance of the firm, when the printing shop was publicly auctioned in 1582, a few years after Silvius' death. The contents of this *Afdrucksel van alle de letteren bevonden inden boedel van sa[liger] Mr. Wilhelm Silvius tot Leyden die de curateur van zijn boedel wil vercoopen* (A Specimen of all printing types to be found in the estate of the late Master Wilhelm Silvius at Leiden, which the curator of his estate proposes to sell) consist almost entirely of specimens of complete alphabets of the typefaces then present in the firm.⁹¹ By and large these would appear to be the same as what the previously mentioned bond proves to have been in Silvius' stock in 1563. The material listed on the broadsheet shows that Silvius, like so many others, had acquired the new Texturas of Hendrik (II) van den Keere in the intervening years, but the number of changes in the Roman and Italic types appears to be minimal and his stock of Greek and German faces remained entirely unaltered.⁹²

of the estate of Garamont, who had died in November 1561, had already occurred. Plantin's purchases from Le Bé also appear to have taken place around April 1562 (see notes 43-4).

⁸⁷ L. van den Branden, 'Archiefstukken betreffende het Antwerpse boekwezen in de 15e en 16e eeuw', *Libër amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer* 61-3; Antwerpen 1985), pp. 169-87 (p. 173). The publication was edited posthumously by E. Cockx-Indestege.

⁸⁸ Antwerp City Archives (Stadsarchief), Vierschaar 1393, f. 40r./v. I have used the photocopy and a transcription of the hardly legible document in Van den Branden's collection of archival documents (see previous note) now kept and being prepared for publication in the Royal Library in Brussels. I am most grateful to Mrs Cockx-Indestege for her help in this matter.

⁸⁹ There are various contemporary examples of loans where the inventory of a printing shop served as security; see P. Verheyden, 'Te pand gegeven drukkersgerief', *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 8 (1910), pp. 130-3; *ibid.*, pp. 266-8 supplemented by E. Wiersum with an example from the seventeenth century.

⁹⁰ For the text of the document, see Appendix II.

⁹¹ Reproduced and annotated in *The Leiden 'Afdrucksel'*, op. cit. (n. 9), *passim*. Hereafter quoted as *Afdrucksel*.

⁹² In the *Afdrucksel* the number of type cases is given for each fount, but nowhere is mention made

With the help of these sources we can now reconstruct the original composition of Silvius' inventory. In May 1563 he declared that his property consisted of 21 founts which were divided up as follows: Roman 7, from Double Pica to Brevier; Italic ('corssyff Italiaen') 5, from Great Primer to Brevier; Greek 3, on English, Pica and Long Primer; German and Textura (both sorts referred to as 'Duytsch'), 2 on Long Primer and Brevier, and 3 on Canon, Pica, and Bourgeois; and finally one single Civilité: 'Augustyn corssyff franchois'. Out of this collection 17 typefaces were still present at the sale of the press in 1582 and can be identified with the help of the *Afdrucksel*.⁹³ A comparison with the work printed by Silvius in the years after 1562 confirms these identifications. At the same time it appears that he acquired two more faces at the sale, English Roman and Italic, which were subsequently replaced by more modern ones.⁹⁴ If we now compare this total of nineteen faces with the list of Plantin's types auctioned in that year, we are struck by the similarity: no less than 16, perhaps even 17, of these are listed there.⁹⁵ The sole exceptions are Silvius' Textura on Canon and possibly on Bourgeois, and the Civilité mentioned in the *Afdrucksel* as 'Augustijn Gheschreuen schrift'. This typeface, undoubtedly the one about which Silvius said that he himself had it cut in Lyons ('tot Lyons seluer heeft doen snijen'), was obviously a personal choice from two of Granjon's Civili-

of matrices and moulds. Yet many sets of these must have been included in the Leiden sale. Here, too, their presence would appear to have been regarded as obvious and a special mention considered unnecessary.

⁹³ See Appendix III, a concordance of types mentioned in Plantin's auction list, Silvius' security bond, and the *Afdrucksel*.

⁹⁴ No later than in 1570 Silvius exchanged his English Italic, an early design by Granjon, for another on the same body, recently available from the same punchcutter. Plantin was to follow his example in 1571. Cf. A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308 [= *id.*, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing* (Amsterdam 1970), pp. 260-71], no. 1 and no. 13 (fig. 12) respectively. Later in Leiden he was also to replace Haultin's English Roman by Granjon's 'St. Augustin Gros Œil', a typeface with very short ascenders and descenders which had been most successful since 1569. Cf. *Afdrucksel*, no. [6].

⁹⁵ The uncertain element is formed by Silvius' no. [18] 'Bourgeoise Duytsch', which must refer to VPT T 43 'Parisian Textura on Bourgeois' (62 mm), for many years the only Dutch typeface on this body. The question now is whether this was the same typeface as no. [17] in Plantin's auction list: 'De nieuwe Lettere vanden bybel In octavo' (the new type of the Bible in octavo), which follows 'Doude Lettere vanden bybel' (the old type of the Bible), no. [15]. The addition 'in octavo' suggests that this is a different face to the Brevier or 'Bible' (54 mm) which was much used in 16mo New Testaments. That body, however, was less suitable for Bibles in 8vo format and it seems perfectly possible that Plantin may have bought the larger French face for this purpose in the course of 1561, just as he was to do again in 1566 (*Index* 44). Augustijn van Hasselt used the type in 1561/2 in Hendrik Niclaes' printing shop in Kampen where other material supplied by Plantin was used.

tés supplemented with some characters specially cut at his request.⁹⁶

From the enumeration in the security bond it appears that Silvius subsequently also acquired the two Great Primers of Tavernier and Guyot, Plantin's founts of which had been bought at the liquidation of the *Officina*, as we saw, by Jan van der Loë. One year later Silvius thus owned no less than 18 or perhaps 19 of the 29 typefaces which had been available there. It is impossible to establish how many of these he bought at the auction, but in the document we read that they were mostly ('meestendeels') from Plantin. Although it is possible that he may have bought some of the founts elsewhere,⁹⁷ a large part of Plantin's material still appears to have come into his hands. His means were far from sufficient for so large an investment and he consequently needed a sizeable loan in order to pay for his acquisitions. The city of Antwerp proved ready to reach an agreement which made it possible for him to repay his debt over a maximum of eight years.⁹⁸ Apart from Silvius' good relations with the magistrates who also commissioned him to print municipal publications, it would appear that the magistracy attached a great deal of importance to the survival of the press. We do not know whether such financial support had already been discussed before the auction, but it would be odd if Silvius had assumed such heavy commitments without being sure of satisfying them.

SILVIUS' LATER RELATIONS WITH PLANTIN

Plantin's return in the summer of 1563 and the reopening of the *Officina* in Sep-

⁹⁶ The *Civilité* is a combination of Granjon's *Cicéro* and the 'St. Augustin Lettre Française' of the same punchcutter. The additional characters only appear in Silvius' books and it seems certain that they were specially designed for him. Cf. Carter & Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 39), type A 2a (p. 48 and fig. 22), and *Afdrukssel*, no. [22]. Silvius already used the type in September 1563 in a privilege printed on the verso of the title-page of *Remonstrances au Roy des trois estats de son duché de Bourgoigne* (BT 4135).

⁹⁷ If Silvius' purchases at the auction also included the lot of Pica faces, he would have come into possession of 20 of Plantin's types. For the lot contained two Italics on that body, both by Granjon: his first Pica Italic, Plantin's 'Cicero Italique Grand Jonc' which he had procured around the beginning of 1558, and the 'Mediane Cursive pendante', a recent acquisition made in 1561. Cf. Johnson, art. cit. (n. 94), nos. 4 (fig. 3) and 7 (fig. 6) respectively. For further references to these types, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29: 'Lenaert'), p. 101 n. 39. Silvius regularly used the new face in his books, but I have never found the older one in anything he produced. He may again have got rid of this obsolete type.

⁹⁸ It does not appear to have stopped at the loan of 1,600 guilders for which Silvius signed on 6 May 1563: he needed still more money to meet his obligations. In Van den Branden's Silvius file (see notes 87-8), there is an excerpt from the journal of 1561-5 of the Antwerp treasurer Gerard Grammay (Antwerp City Archives, IB 479, f. 119) which shows that on 27 August of that year he owned an even larger sum of £ 600 = 2,400 guilders. On 19 January 1564 he repaid £ 200 of it, after which three payments made at different dates by 'Abraham shertogen' (from 's-Hertogenbosch), possibly a relative of the printer, reduced the sum outstanding to £ 190 on 21 August 1565.

tember of that year must have come as a grave disappointment to our printer. His greatest rival was back, with an even larger and more valuable supply of types than earlier, and thanks to his partnership with the Van Bomberghens, with virtually unlimited financial resources at his disposal.⁹⁹ Although he was again forced into the background by this unexpected development, Silvius could still produce some major publications. These, and perhaps some help from relatives or friends in 's-Hertogenbosch, enabled him to repay his debt at a faster rate than was required – until, as we have seen, destiny struck in 1568. There followed a difficult period, after which his honourable appointment as official printer in the northern Netherlands gave him a fresh opportunity. Yet the time in which he worked for the Leiden academy and the States of Holland was too short for him to be able fully to repair his financial position. When his son Carel succeeded him after his death, the debts the firm had incurred were too heavy for his young shoulders and a bankruptcy was declared, which turned out to be a disaster for the creditors. Even Plantin, who took over the vacant post of university printer, had to write off all but completely a fairly large claim on the estate.¹⁰⁰ On his colleague's departure for Leiden, Plantin had undertaken to print for him Jan Baptist Houwaert's *Milenus clachte* (PP 1408), a voluminous work in verse which appeared on 6 November 1577, partly

⁹⁹ For this partnership, which led to a concentration of printing capacity and capital hitherto unprecedented in the world of publishing, see Voet GC, vol. 1, pp. 44 ff. The contracts were signed on 26 November 1563 but the company already came into effect retrospectively on 1 October.

¹⁰⁰ The sum which Plantin claimed from the estate was 119 guilders and 2 stivers, see Briels, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 454. The specification of the sum owing can be found in the 'Schultboek van curatelen C', Gemeentearchief (Municipal Archives) Leiden, RA 50, vol. 5, f. 123r. In Briels' version (op. cit., pp. 451 f.) the entry is mutilated by certain injudicious omissions. The complete text runs as follows: 'Christoffel Plantyn es ten achteren aen Sylvii boel volgens extract uyt syn register 119 gld. 2 st., spruytende uyt een rentende reekeninge den 27en Julij [15]73 gedaen daerby Sylvius schul-dich bleeff 65 gld. 8 st., noch 63 gld. 6 st. uyt zaecke van drucken van milenus clachte, maeckende 128 gld. 14 st. daer op in betalinge geleverd zyn 32 boecken in quarto tot 6 st. bedragende 9 gld. 12 st., blyft als reste de voors. 119 gld. 2 st.' (Christopher Plantin has a claim to Silvius' estate, according to an extract from his accounts, of 119 guilders and 2 stivers, issuing from an interest account dated 27 July [15]73, where Silvius is debited with a sum of 65 guilders and 8 stivers; to which must be added 63 guilders and 6 stivers for the printing of *Milenus clachte*, a total of 128 guilders and 14 stivers. From which must be deducted 32 books in quarto at 6 stivers to the amount of 9 guilders and 12 stivers, the remaining amount being the aforesaid 119 guilders and 2 stivers). It appears from Gemeentearchief Leiden, RA 52, f. 167v. that Plantin got back less than 5 guilders of this sum which proves that very little remained for the rival creditors. Since the printing of *Milenus clachte* amounted to 63 guilders and 6 stivers, Voet's hypothesis (Voet PP 1408 A, n. 3) that a sum of 78 guilders and 2 stivers which Plantin entered in his books for the production only referred to the paper necessary is thus correct. Silvius would, as was customary, have paid these costs before work began on the printing.

with the publisher's Antwerp address and partly with his Leiden one.¹⁰¹ The book, so carefully printed in Civilité, contains a dedication from the author to William of Orange and was presumably intended, at least in part, as a gesture of goodwill by the freshly appointed printer to the States of Holland on inaugurating his new function.

It seems characteristic of the relationship between the two men that Plantin not only put his press at Silvius' disposal for this purpose, but that he never insisted on immediate payment. Although Silvius still owed him a considerable sum,¹⁰² he was obviously given extended credit for the printing costs. Some time later, moreover, Plantin proved ready to indemnify him for a new edition of Guicciardini's *Descriptione*, despite the fact that the privilege formerly accorded to Silvius had expired. Although he had decided to have new plans cut in copper, he purchased the original woodblocks for a substantial sum.¹⁰³ He thus made sure that they did not fall into the hands of a possible rival – but who else could tackle such an expensive publication in these difficult years? What is certain is that there was no obligation to indemnify the former proprietor in this way and the transaction can hardly be regarded as other than a friendly gesture to an old colleague.

There are various other indications of a good relationship on both a professional and personal level after over twenty years. Plantin thus ended a letter to Silvius, about the take-over of the woodcuts, on 16 February 1580, with the words: 'je me recommande a vostre bonne grace et de ma commere vostre partie et reste de vostre famille'.¹⁰⁴ When our printer died six months later, just as he was building up his new position in Leiden, the man who had started in so spectacular a manner had been far overtaken by the man who had once carried out his printing orders. He was unlucky enough in Antwerp to find a rival who turned within a few years into

¹⁰¹ At about the same time, towards the end of 1577, Silvius was no longer referred to in Plantin's account books as 'libraire et imprimeur à Anvers', as he had been so far, but as 'libraire d'Anvers'; cf. M. Lefevre, 'Libraires belges et relations commerciales avec Christophe Plantin et Jean Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 41 (1963), pp. 1-47 (p. 11). He had already bought a house in Leiden and had moved there with his family. Rented office space in Antwerp must obviously have served to sell off the remaining stock which was not suitable for his new university bookshop. That, too, was where he published various official ordinances for another year in his capacity as printer to the city until Plantin took over the post on 17 January 1579. See also *The Leiden 'Afdrucksel'*, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 3. The claim that Silvius only came to Leiden in 1579 (Briels, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 445 f.) is also contradicted by his appointment to the night watch in Leiden on 25 October 1578 (Gemeentearchief Leiden, Aflezingboek E, f. 13v.).

¹⁰² For a reference to this outstanding debt, see n. 100.

¹⁰³ On this purchase, see J. Denucé, *Oud-Nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantin*, 2 vols. (Antwerpen/'s-Gravenhage 1912-13), vol. I, pp. 146 ff.

¹⁰⁴ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, vol. 6, ed. J. Denucé (Antwerpen/'s-Gravenhage 1916), pp. 140 f., No. 864.

the greatest printer-publisher in western Europe, and in Leiden he died too soon to consolidate his position. Did Plantin also feel some sympathy for these tragic aspects of the career of a colleague who once seemed destined to take his place?

APPENDIX I

Plantin's Stock of Type in 1562

As described in the list of items sold at the liquidation sale of his property on 28 April 1562 (Plantin-Moretus Museum, Arch. 27, ff. 40v.-44r.)

- f. 40v. Almanack Romeyn [1] ende almanack cursive [2] op een Instrument passende gegoten Lettere elck pont drye stuyvers ende een oort wesende vijff hondert seventien ponden 21£
- f. 41r. Een romeyn essendiana letter [3] mette cursyve [4] daer op dienende ...
- f. 41v. Mediaen Romeijn [5] ende mediaen cursijve [6] ende nieuwe [7] ende grixe [8] daer toe dienende op een Instrument ... Augustijn Romeyn [9] ende cursijve [10] ende gricx [11] op een Instrument dienende ... De oude non parelle Romeijn [12] ende corsijve [13] mette nieuwe non parelle [14] ...
- f. 42r. Doude Lettere vanden bybel [15] mette cursijve [16] d[aer] op passende ... De nieuwe Lettere vanden bybel In octavo [17] ...
- f. 42v. Essendiana Int gricx [18] met een hoochduytsche Letter [19] daer op dienende ... Philosophie Romeyn [20] ...
- f. 43r. Duytsche mediaen [21] d[aer] mede de spelen gedruet sijn ... Een hoochduytsche letter mediaen waer mede gedruet Historie noorwercxse Landen [22] ... Een hoochduytsche letter accorderende opten bybel [23] ...
- f. 43v. Assendonica Romeijn [24] ende coryve [25] daertoe dienende ... Mediaen gescreven letter [26] ...
- f. 44r. Tecx italica [27] mette romeijnen [28] ... Groote assendonica romeijn [29] ... Een casse met capitalen letteren soo groot als cleyne mette florace ...

APPENDIX II

Silvius' Typefaces in 1563. Security bond pledging Silvius' stock of type to the City of Antwerp on 6 May 1563 (Antwerp City Archives, Vierschaar, 1393, f. 40)

Mr. Willem siluius boeckvercooper woonende Inden gulden Engele Inde Camerstraten *alhier* heeft vercleert ende vercleerde dat hy (in stede van cautien die hy stellen moet aende Tresoriers ende Rentmeesteren deser stadt voer de Restitutie van alsulcken xvj^c gulden eens als dese stadt hem comparant verschieten sal / ende voer de betalinge vanden Jaerlycxen verloope der seluer penningen / achteruolgende den app.^{te} supplicatoir by mynen heeren *alhier* opten lesten meerte lestleden gegeuen) verbonden heeft ende verbint mits desen tot behoeff ende tot versekeringe vanden voorsz. Tresoriers ende Rentmeesteren deser stadt (als pandt metter minnen alsulcken diuersche ende verscheyden characteren letteren als hy comparant In zyner druckerye Is gebruijkende dewelcke hy meestendeel tot Cristoffel plantyn heeft gecocht / ende eensdeels tot Lyons seluer heeft doen snijen / eensdeels nv nyeuw doen ghieten met iij nyeuwe perssen vele diuersche schoone gesneden figueren Gryexsche Hebreussche ende ander matricen / ende voorts al tghene dat totter druckeryen behoort / welcken pandt metter minnen de comparant vercleert weerdt te zyn ij^m. Philippus gulden eens Behaluen de beternisse die hy comparant dagelycks dede ende noch van meyningen waer te doen Ende voorts de comparant verbindende dese characteren ende Letteren hiernaevolgende Te weten Ierst de groote Canon Duytsch [1] / Groote oft dobbele Essendiaen Romeyn [2] / Grooten text Romeyn [3] / Grooten text corssyff Italiaen [4] / Augustyn gryecx Letteren Duroy [5] Augustyn Romeyn [6] / Augustyn corssyff [7] / Romeyn Augustyn corsyff Italiaen / Augustyn corssyff franchois [8] / Mediaen gryecx hautyn [9] / Mediaen Romeyn [10] / Mediaen Duytsch [11] / Mediaen corssyff Italiaen [12] Tgryecx opte gerarmonde [13] Garamonde Romeyn [14] / Garamonde Italiaen corssyff [15] Garamonde duytsch [16] / Philosophie Romeyn [17] / Bourgeoise Duytsch [18] / Breuier Romeyn Immortelle [19] breuier corsyff [20] Breuier Duytsch [21] / Belouende de comparant onder eedt de bouen gespecificeerde goeden ende percheelen nyet te verminderen / veranderen / alieneren oft belasten quoque [?] modo In preJudicie van deser stadt maer continuelyck te vermeerderen te vernyeuwen ende te verbeteren soewel In nyeuwe figueren matricen Letteren characteren als ander saken totter druckeryen dienende Gelouende opt vonnis de Loopende Rente Jaerlycx / ende de capitale penningen teynden ende nae dexpiratie vanden voorsz viij Jaeren der voorsz stadt te Restitueren op te leggen ende te betalen sonder contradictie oppositie oft Langer vertreck verbindende daer voer alle de bouengeruerde percheelen / ende generalijck se et alia sua bona et quaecumque et vbicumque

Pronunciatum vj^a Maij 1563.

APPENDIX III

List of Typefaces Used by Plantin and Silvius

<i>Body</i>		<i>Punchcutter</i>	
1. Two-line Great Primer Textura		(French)	Vervliet T 3
2. Two-line Pica Roman		Tavernier	<i>id.</i> R 16
3. Double Pica Roman	(Index 18)	Guyot	<i>id.</i> R 17
4. <i>idem</i> , Italic	(Index 19)	Guyot	<i>id.</i> IT 2
5. Great Primer Roman		Tavernier	<i>id.</i> R 20
6. <i>idem</i> , Italic		Guyot	<i>id.</i> IT 3
7. English Roman		Haultin	
8. <i>idem</i> , Italic	(Index 25)	Granjon	Johnson I
9. <i>idem</i> , Greek	(Index 12)	Haultin	
10. <i>idem</i> , Civilité		Granjon	
11. Pica Roman	(Index 26)	Garamont	
12. <i>idem</i> , Italic (I)		Granjon	Johnson 4
13. <i>idem</i> , Italic (II)	(Index 27)	Granjon	Johnson 7
14. <i>idem</i> , Greek	(Index 13)	Haultin	
15. <i>idem</i> , Civilité	(Index 42)	Granjon	
16. <i>idem</i> , Textura		Lettersnijder	Vervliet T 30
17. Small Pica Roman	(Index 29)	Haultin	
18. <i>idem</i> , German		(Fractura)	
19. Long Primer Roman	(Index 31)	Garamont	
20. <i>idem</i> , Italic	(Index 32)	Granjon	Johnson 2
21. <i>idem</i> , Greek	(Index 14)	Granjon	
22. <i>idem</i> , German		(Schwabacher)	
23. Bourgeois Textura	(Index 44)	(French)	Vervliet T 43
24. Brevier Roman	(Index 35)	Garamont	
25. <i>idem</i> , Italic	(Index 36)	Granjon	Johnson 9
26. <i>idem</i> , German		(Schwabacher)	
27. Nonpareil Roman (I)		Haultin?	
28. <i>idem</i> , Roman (II)	(Index 38)	Haultin	
29. <i>idem</i> , Italic	(Index 39)	Haultin	
30. Almanach Roman		?	
31. <i>idem</i> , Italic		?	

WILLEM SILVIUS' REMARKABLE START

<i>Size in mm</i> (20 lines)	<i>Plantin 1562</i> (Appendix I)	<i>Silvius 1563</i> (Appendix II)	<i>Silvius 1582</i> (<i>Afdrucksel</i>)
220		I	(heading)
160	29		
140	24	2	I
140	25		
116	28	3	4
116	27	4	5
96	9	6	
96	10	7	
96	11	5	17
96		8	22*
82	5	10	8
82	6		
82	7	12	
82	8	9	18
82	26		
78	21	11	
72	20	17	10
71	22		
67	3	14	14
67	4	15	13
67	18	13	19
67	19	16	30
62	17?	18	
54	15	19	15
54	16	20	16
54	23	21	31
40	12		
40	14		
20			
40	13		21
?	I		
?	2		

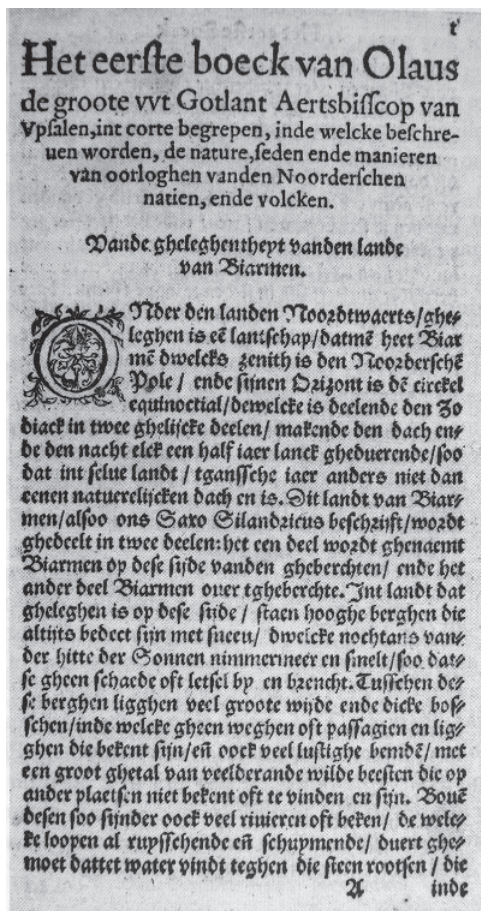
*Please note that the annotations to nos. [22] and [23] of the *Afdrucksel* erroneously have been interchanged.

APPENDIX IV

Plantin's Collection of Initials up to and Including 1562: a Survey

In view of the importance of Plantin's initials for my arguments in the preceding article it may be useful to provide a survey of what he owned in this domain in his first years as a printer (1555-62). This is all the more worthwhile since Stephen Harvard's *Ornamental Initials: The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin. A Complete Catalogue* (New York 1974) gives an incomplete and not always correct picture. The initials from this period which Harvard reproduces include many which Plantin only used in later years or which were owned by other printers. Nor did the author reckon with the fact that in some cases the letters were remodelled so that two of the sets appear in more than one state. Above all, however, he did not realise that when Plantin returned to Antwerp he had to start afresh with entirely new material. The situation is as follows: we find Plantin's initials from this period in Harvard under nos. 20-5 and 31. These seven series are really only three. Plantin started his career as printer with two sets: (I) a Roman alphabet with tendrils and, in a few letters, with a bird as ornamentation, in a frame (22 x 22 mm); and (II) a similar set in smaller format (15 x 15 mm) with an entirely floral ornamentation apart from an occasional satyr's head. Alphabet I originally had heavy, entirely black letters; see Harvard no. 23, A, I, P and V (D is reproduced from a book printed in 1571 by Hendrik Alsens). Plantin used these woodcuts in 1555 in G.M. Bruto, *La institutione* ... (Voet PP 842) and in *Flores de Seneca* (PP 2200; I see no reason to share the doubts there expressed about Plantin's part in the printing), where the D and the H of this same alphabet appear which are not reproduced by Harvard. In that same year Plantin had the letters cut open into 'white' letters, thus giving them the appearance they have in Harvard 22, C¹, L³, and O³. The remaining letters reproduced there do not belong to this set and are taken from books printed for Plantin by others: Grevin, *De venenis libri duo* (1571; PP 1267) by Hendrik Alsens; Jerome, *Opera* (1579; PP 1333) by Servatius Sassenus in Louvain. In 1556 Plantin had set I changed again: the frame lines were now removed. The alphabet thus attained its final form, as reproduced in Harvard 20-1 but with the exception of B (2 x), D², F, M, P (2 x), Q¹, T and Y (2 x), which were either used by him in a later period or by others in books printed for him. The same thing happened to alphabet II: after Plantin had employed the series almost completely in *Flores de Seneca* and Pierre Belon's *Observations* of 1555 (PP 637), he had the frame lines cut off in the same year, so that Harvard 24 shows the woodcuts in their original state and Harvard 25, the same in their remodelled and final form. A third set (III), the smallest of all (Harvard 31; 10 x 10 mm), was acquired by Plantin in 1558 according to Harvard. Of some letters of this set, he had more than one block, but not all the duplicates are reproduced. At the liquidation these sets were all bought by Silvius, as their later use shows: the larg-

est sort in the auction list presumably described as 'twenty-three letters in wood, each letter 3 stivers 9' ('dryentwintich letters van hout, elcke letter drije stuyvers negen') (f. 38r.), and the two others together as 'One parcel of wooden letters of the alphabet' ('Eenen coop houte letteren van A.B.C.') (*ibid.* f. 15r.). What Harvard neither mentions nor reproduces are the Greek letters belonging to set II and III. Nor does he appear to have noticed a number of larger initials (28 x 28 mm) which appear since 1560, for example in the series of Amadis novels (PP 54) printed by Plantin in that year and the next for his fellow-townsmen Jan van Waesberghe. These items were also acquired by Silvius. At the liquidation of his press in 1582, all this material passed into the hands of the Leiden printer Jan Pae(d)ts who, until his death in 1622, sometimes together with his partner Jan Bouwensz, continued to use the initials which had originally been Plantin's.



I

Olaus Magnus, *De wonderlijcke historie van de Noordersche landen* (Antwerp, [C. Plantin for:] Willem Silvius), sign. A[I].

Types: Double Pica Roman by Guyot; Haultin's English Roman and Small Pica Roman; Small Pica Fractura

(Scan from the original publication)

Charte der Rhetorijcken van dLandt-luvveel.

Salutatie.



Ionstich Versamen, der Apostolen Christi,
En huy minlijck afscheyden, *W*ay alle twiſt *W*ay,
Hebbende ontfanghen, den Gheest der gratien,
Sien seluen Gheest In welcke gheen aghelſt *I*z,
Wenſſen wy Broeders, elck conſtig Artijt *E*z,
Voor dese Jonſtighe ſalutatie,
Om ontfanghen, In Recreatie,
Sijn wy Schilders, nu ghegovdt ey gheſoet,
Midt dat den Peys, ons bedrjft *W*ay turbatij,
Ena verſoekt I violierken, welck nu luſtig bloeit,
Sew Rhetorices ſieſt, *W*hier tot ſpoet.

1561.

Presentatie.

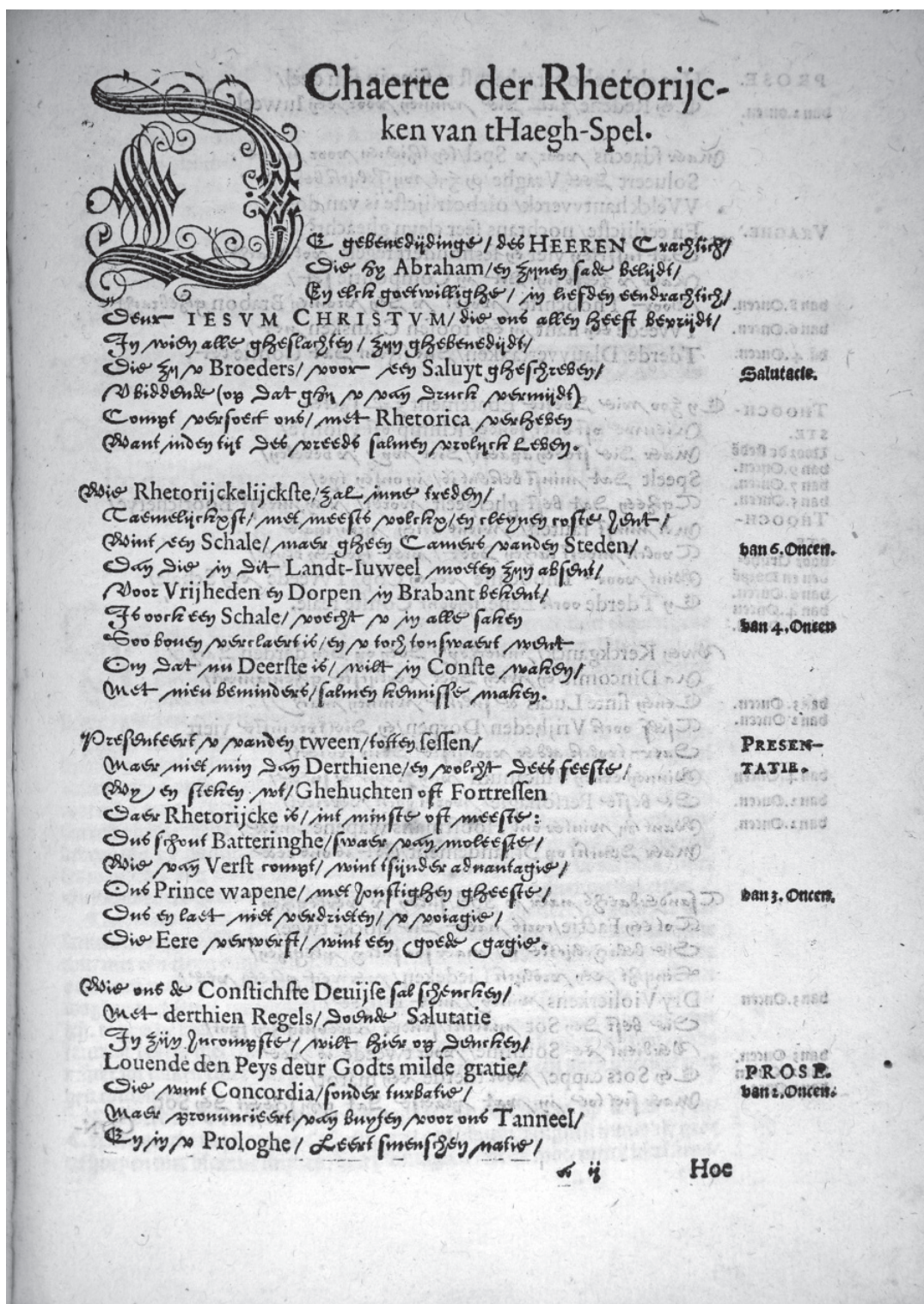
Incomſte.

Verſtandighe, Edele conſtighe gheesten,
Wy bi den *W*at ſamen, minſt metten meesten,
Compareert in Augusto den derden daeg
Maer, niet min den Sesthiene. Compt ten feſtey,
Den eenen tot ſellen, ſulck volſtey
Vte presenterene, ſonder verdrach,
Om ſal inhalen, alſo omey plaeg,
Wie triumpant Incompt vanden meerder Steden,
Schoonſt, Figuerlijck, alſo hie natu volget, ſoo elck beſt mag,
Met meest volcx *W*ay ghetale, veyn van ſeden,
Een Schale *W*ay ſea Oncey, winnet met vreden.

Figuerlijck.

Moeg een Schale *W*ay veyn Oncey, ſulley winney,
Sic ons begheerte alſo veyn, volghen wt minney,
Vanden minder Steden, Incomende heerlijk.
En wie beſt in ſijn incomſt Tantwerpen binney,
Oeck figuerlijck, moraliſch, ſal doen bekinney,
Hoe dat wt Ionſten verlaemt, alſo Broeders eerlijck,
En minnelijck ſal ſcheyden, onſerſeelijck,
Sal winney vier Oncey, dat in een Trouwe,
Voor Tweede, twee Oncey, ſijt accordt vermetelijck,
Sic in ghefigureert Liefde, alſo een Vrouw
Wat ſamen, dat Ionſtich verlaemt, ſiet met vrouwe.

Die



PRINTERS FOR MENNO SIMONS

AND DIRK PHILIPS



Recent research into early Protestant books in the Low Countries has yielded new information about the manner in which the leaders of various religious movements tried to bring their teaching to the attention of their contemporaries. The unprecedented success of Luther's writings, in the Netherlands too, had made it clear that the printing-press was the ideal means of reaching as large a public as possible. Among the Dutch reformers David Joris was the first to make large-scale use of this medium: his earliest publications appeared in 1537, soon to be followed by other tracts, and, in 1542-4, by his main work, the *Wonderboek* – a publication of a class and size which had not been produced in the Low Countries for many a year. It is hardly surprising that the author should not have found any printer prepared to publish such a work at his own expense and that he had to finance the entire production himself.¹ Some ten years later the leader of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes, found himself in the same situation, when he had his *Spiegel der Gherechticheyt* printed by Plantin. He, too, had to meet all the costs, including the acquisition of the necessary typefaces and initials.²

We therefore know how these great works came to be produced, but even when we are less informed, we can assume that, in the first decades of the Reformation, books such as these were usually printed on commission. Besides the reluctance of publishers, so evident from their production, to invest in publications at a time in which the book trade was beset by economic difficulties, there was the problem of marketing and the risks which that entailed. Despite their limited means, the authorities were often surprisingly successful in tracing down dissident publications. Printers could consequently only limit the constant threat of detection by having as little as possible to do with the sales. As soon as they had finished printing, they delivered the entire edition to the party that had commissioned it, and the copies

¹ Here we have information provided by David Joris himself. In a letter of March 1543 he wrote that the printing costs had run up to 425 or 430 guilders – a sum which should be multiplied by about 200 to obtain the modern equivalent. See S. Zijlstra, *Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Davidjorisme* (Assen 1983), p. 62.

² P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72 (esp. 253 ff.).

would then be entrusted to intermediaries whose task, or indeed whose profession, it was to ensure further distribution. Initially they were mainly adherents of the various movements in question, whereas later there were also itinerant pedlars who played an important part in the distribution of all sorts of illicit printed work.

If they did not reside in safe territory across the border, the printers also had to take other precautions to conceal, as well as possible, their share in these hazardous activities. We are all too familiar with the methods they applied: anonymity, fake addresses, fictitious names, antedating – all ways of setting the authorities on the wrong track.³ In the external presentation of their publications, too, the printers tried to make themselves unrecognizable. By avoiding the use of material that could be traced, such as initials and other ornaments, they hoped to escape further investigation, which usually ended in disaster for anyone who had once come under suspicion.

With means like these a considerable number of printers in the period of the Reformation managed to elude their persecutors. Their identity thus remained concealed not only from the authorities in their own day, but also from later researchers. If the parties involved managed to evade discovery over four hundred years ago, it is no wonder that we, too, should be unaware of their identity. History tells us nothing about them. In contrast to their less fortunate colleagues, their infringement of the edicts never emerged in court cases. And it is precisely court cases which often constitute our only source of information in this domain. When they do not exist, it is impossible to reconstruct the activity of these clandestine operators with traditional methods. Attempts to do so over the years have almost invariably led to unsatisfactory results because of the absence of evidence.

But now there is another possible approach. Where we lack the historical sources for determining the origin of so many of these publications, we can seek indications in external features as well as in information contained in the texts. Such a bibliographical analysis is often the only way of establishing the origin, and sometimes the date, of these publications – which printers were responsible for producing them and (approximately) when they did so. In this type of investigation the initials and other ornaments are compared with similar elements in work produced by printers whom we do know. Whenever they are identical, the hidden maker comes to light. In not too adverse circumstances, typefaces – and above all the combinations in which they are used – also serve this purpose. By and large printers did not own separate typefaces for clandestine publications. Only a very

³ For a recent survey of what we know about the Protestant book in the Low Countries, see *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v.1570)*. Dossier conçu et rassemblé par J.-F. Gilmont (Paris 1990), and herein esp. A.G. Johnston, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme aux Pays-Bas, 1520-c.1555' (pp. 155-86), and *id.* & J.-F. Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers' (pp. 191-216).

few of them went so far as to take the precaution of acquiring a special typeface.⁴ On the other hand certain printers tried to escape detection by choosing obsolete typefaces for underground work, or limited themselves to the application of a single widely used face.

Investigation along these lines enables us to identify the printers of all kinds of work printed anonymously at the time of the Reformation and the Dutch Revolt. The comparison of initials and other woodcut ornaments has in fact long been put to this purpose, but that the comparison of typefaces, too, can yield highly reliable results for this period is a more recent discovery.⁵ As we shall see, however, difficulties remain when the printed work to be investigated has too few significant elements for a conclusive attribution to be reached. We can only hope that a more detailed knowledge of the typefaces used at the time may lead to solutions in these cases too. Investigation into regional customs and the individual habits of compositors may also be of help. Otherwise we must resign ourselves to the fact that some printers have indeed managed to escape detection for good.

The purpose of this article is to publish the results of such an investigation into the literary heritage of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. In contrast to the hundreds of tracts by David Joris which, until recently, had never been examined as a group in order to establish their origin and date of publication,⁶ the output of the two leaders of the Mennonite movement has indeed been studied bibliographically. In the past it was above all Karel Vos who gathered a great deal of information about the history of Menno Simons' publications.⁷ Then, in 1962, Professor Irvin Horst published his meticulously compiled bibliography. The book provided for the first time an orderly and well-argued discussion and description of the various editions of Menno's works. It also contains many data derived from earlier literature

⁴ An example: in about 1527 the Antwerp printer Adriaen van Berghen, the most important publisher of Protestant books in his day, acquired a special German typeface for clandestine publications. Not one of the books in which he used it bears his name.

⁵ See also P. Valkema Blouw, 'Mennonitica en bibliografisch onderzoek', *Theologie in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam. Bijdragen over de collecties en verwante verzamelingen alsmede Doopsgezinde Adversaria verschenen bij het afscheid van Dr. Simon L. Verheus als conservator van de kerkelijke collecties...* (Amsterdam 1985), pp. 134-48 (esp. 140 ff.)

⁶ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to the "arch-heretic" David Joris. Prolegomena to a bibliography of his works', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 163-209.

⁷ K. Vos, *Menno Simons 1496-1561. Zijn leven en werken en zijne reformatische denkbeelden* (Leiden 1914), hereafter cited as Vos, *passim*; see also the summary on pp. 289 ff.: 'Uitgaven van Menno's Geschriften'. For a survey of the research after Vos, see C. Krahn, 'Menno Simons Research (1910-1960)', *No Other Foundation. Commemorative Essays on Menno Simons* (North Newton, Kansas 1962), pp. 65-76, and J.P. Jacobszoon, 'Beknopte bibliografie van dooperse literatuur, 1945-75', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 1-4 (1975-8), pp. 30-5, 71-8, 41-9, and 60-5 respectively.

concerning their genesis, publication and distribution.⁸ One might object that the title descriptions do not always follow the existing bibliographical rules and are sometimes too summary. Moreover, Horst also ran up against the difficulty of identifying works printed anonymously. To his regret he had to admit that in most cases identification was rendered impossible by the lack – as yet – of a comparative survey of the typefaces in use at the time.⁹

For Dirk Philips, we have an excellent bibliographical list in the form of a catalogue of his works in the Amsterdam University Library (partly on loan from the Mennonite Library), supplemented by descriptions of certain editions kept elsewhere.¹⁰ Moreover, for a couple of lost tracts the compiler, Marja Keyser, also availed herself of titles noted at the time by Dirk Philips' biographer J. ten Doornkaat Koolman.¹¹ Here too, the identification of the printer was not always possible.

Since then, however, our knowledge has increased sufficiently for us to be able to draw up a relatively complete list of the various printers whose work contributed to the growth of the Mennonite movement in the sixteenth century. In what follows their publications, even if they are reprints, will be described, where possible, in chronological order. The method of investigation which has been employed means that only those publications will be treated of which a copy, albeit incomplete, has been found: for a typographical analysis a fragment of a few leaves may be sufficient. In the case of editions of which nothing has survived, on the other hand, we are dependent on the scarce information yielded by historical sources.

THE BEGINNING: THE FIRST BOOKS OF MENNO SIMONS

For a long time – mistakenly, as we shall see – Menno Simons' *Dat Fundament des*

⁸ I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch Reformer. With a Census of known copies* (Nieuwkoop 1962), hereafter cited as Horst, or as H, where I refer to his numbers. By and large his references to earlier literature will not be repeated.

⁹ For the time being we have the standard work of H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT.

¹⁰ M. Keyser, *Dirk Philips 1504-1568. A Catalogue of his Printed Works in the University Library of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1975), hereafter cited as Keyser, or as K, where I refer to her numbers. In this case, too, I shall avoid repeating the references to earlier literature.

¹¹ J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, *Dirk Philips, vriend en medewerker van Menno Simons, 1504-1568* (Haarlem 1964), hereafter cited as Koolman. A few years earlier a survey had appeared of Dirk Philips' writings, with special attention to their dates: W. Keeney, 'The writings of Dirk Philips', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 32 (1958), hereafter cited as MQR, pp. 298-306. Still earlier are F. Pijper's important notes to his edition of the works of Dirk Philips in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. 10 (s-Gravenhage 1914), hereafter cited as BRN. They are of value to this day.

Christelycken leers (H 10 and figs. 8-9; NK 1512) was regarded as the first work he ever had printed. On the title-page we read 'Anno M.D.xxxlx' (illus. 1) and, in the colophon at the end, '1540.M.ccccxl.' This last year, as was customary in this sort of dating, was the year of publication. The same must also apply to the tract following the work in all four surviving copies, *Voele goede und Chrystelycke leringhen den 25. Psalm* (H 34 and fig. 17; NK 1513), again with M.D.xxxlx on the title-page, which, as the signatures in lower case also show, forms a bibliographical unit with the previous work. Two copies, moreover, include yet another short piece without a date, *Een corte vermaninghe [...] van die wedergeboorte* (H 37 and fig. 19; NK 1514), printed with the same typefaces and undoubtedly by the same press.

In the *Nederlandsche bibliographie* of Nijhoff-Kronenberg,¹² the *Corte vermaninghe* is dated [c.1538], thus a little earlier than the two other tracts. The question is not insignificant, since this little work would then be Menno's first publication and would also be immediately linked with the earliest editions of David Joris dating from 1537.¹³ In NK, however, not a single reason is given for bringing back the date of publication, and its accuracy seems doubtful to say the least. The form of the edition is unique in the author's output. Its greeting to the reader on the first page and the actual title of the tract on its verso¹⁴ strongly suggest an imitation of certain works by David Joris, which have the same peculiarity and appeared in Antwerp in about 1540.¹⁵

A more important reason for c.1540 as the year of publication of this piece is that no earlier work is known by the printing-press in question. As M.E. Kronenberg has already observed, the books are part of a small group of works produced by an anonymous press, which include a tract by David Joris (NK 3280, vdL 2). It also issued the original edition of the *Testament* of Anneken Jans (NK 3933, vdL 228), an admirer of David Joris who was executed for her beliefs in 1539.¹⁶ The last publication we know of this press is dated 1541¹⁷ and there is no evidence to suggest that it

¹² W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71), hereafter cited as NK.

¹³ For the earliest editions of Menno Simons and their dates, see also the information and the statements reported in the extensive note to H 34.

¹⁴ For the text of the two pages, see the reproductions, printed with no separation between them, in Horst illus. 19.

¹⁵ This goes for nos. 177, 180, 183 and 199 in A. van der Linde, *David Joris. Bibliographie* ('s-Gravenhage 1867), hereafter cited as vdL. See my article mentioned in n. 6.

¹⁶ For a recent study of this martyr, see W.O. Packull, 'Anna Jansz of Rotterdam, a Historical Investigation of an early Anabaptist Heroine', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1987), pp. 147-73.

¹⁷ The firm was still functioning in 1541. That is the year we find in an edition of *Die testamenten der twelff patriarchen* (NK 1999, and see vol. 2, p. lvii). We also know that this press produced, albeit

was already operating in 1538. Where the firm was based is still unsure, but Lower German elements in the language and the spelling point unequivocally to the north-eastern Low Countries. In this connection the following testimony seems to be of importance. During his interrogation on 31 March 1545, Quirijn Pieterssen, a pedlar in needles and other articles, declared that he had sold at least 25 books by Menno Simons. He had received them from Friesland, but they were printed in Deventer 'by a tall man living near the great church', who, he had heard, had been arrested for printing books 'of evil sects' ('gedruct tot Deventer bij een lange man wonende bij die groote kerck, ende nae hij heeft gehoort zoude dezelve gevangen hebben geweest overmits dat hij boucken van quade secten hadde geprint').¹⁸ This confession, made after he had previously refused to name the printer, can hardly have referred to any work other than *Dat Fundament* and possibly what was published with it.

The problem now is that one of the typefaces in these books does not appear, at least on that body, in the inventories of the two printers working in Deventer in this period. Besides certain commonly used Dutch Texturas in the headings, a Schwabacher is applied in the text. This is a German typeface which, as far as we know, was only used in the Low Countries at the time in Deventer and Nijmegen. The typeface here measures 77/8 mm for twenty lines (the usual measuring unit). In Deventer both Albert Pafraet and Dirck (II) van den Borne had the same face, but on a body of 74/5 mm. They probably used the same matrices or acquired the cast type from the same type-caster.¹⁹ The difference of 2 to 3 mm seems small, but is in fact very substantial. It means that we are dealing with different sets of matrices, each with its own mould. It seems most unlikely that one of these printers should have possessed the typeface on two so similar bodies, and indeed, there is no sign of this in their other publications. But nor do we know of a third printer working in Deventer at the time. We can thus only assume that a clandestine press was in existence somewhere in the north-eastern Low Countries and, judging from its surviving products, only operated for two, or at the most three, years.

The two books dated '1539' under discussion are not the only ones bearing that year. *Die oorsake waerom dat ick M.S. niet af en late te leeren, ende te schrijven* (H 46 and fig. 25; NK 3523) has at the end, 'Anno M.CCCCC.XXXIX'. As we see from the 'double'

without a date, *Eyn korte unde heerlicke bekentenisse des geloves* (NK 3274), there tentatively attributed to David Joris, but now, also tentatively, ascribed to Nicolaes Meyndertsz van Blesdijk; see Zijlstra, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 19.

¹⁸ *Amsterdam (1536-1578)*, ed. A.F. Mellink (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 2; Leiden 1980), p. 55 (and see p. 53), hereafter cited as DAN.

¹⁹ For reproductions of this typeface, see W. Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. & supplement (La Haye 1926-35), hereafter cited as NAT, vol. 1: Albert Paffraet Pl. X, illus. 49 and 53; Theodoricus de Borne Pl. VIII, illus. 38-9.

quire signatures, Aa etc., this treatise ran on from another one, and indeed, we find on the last page but one of Menno's *Verclaringhe des christelycken doopsels* (H 44 and fig. 24; NK 3524), which precedes it, the statement 'Here follows the second book' ('Hier volcht dat tweede boeck'). So these two parts were also published together and the date in the colophon must apply to the undated *Verclaringhe* as well. Miss Kronenberg reckoned with the possibility that '1539' might refer to the completion of the writings and not to the year of publication. She was followed in this by Horst, who preferred c.1542 as the date. Yet it can be demonstrated that the works did indeed appear in 1539. For the printer was Mattheus Crom in Antwerp, who had recently, in 1537 or at the end of 1536, set up on his own and had printed a substantial number of prohibited texts, both anonymously and under the fake name of Niclaes van Oldenborch.²⁰ He here used his typeface, Lettersnijder's Pica Textura,²¹ as yet without the Bastarda v, which he would only acquire towards the end of 1539 and which, from then on, remains a valuable means of recognizing his work.²² The other typefaces used in the books also correspond to the type stock he owned.²³ As far as we can make out Crom was thus the first printer to work for Menno Simons.

²⁰ See H.F. Wijnman, 'De Antwerpsche hervormingsgezinde drukker Mattheus Crom en zijn naaste omgeving', *De Gulden Passer*, 40 (1962), pp. 105-24; *id.*, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [=1968]), pp. 461, 470-1, 475; and for further literature about him: A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 50-1.

²¹ For this highly successful typeface, used by the vast majority of printers in the Low Countries, see VPT, pp. 140-2: T 30.

²² For reproductions of the typeface as used by Crom, see NAT, vol. 2: *Les Pays-Bas méridionaux*, Mattheus Crom, Pl. III illus. 15 (his old typeface) and illus. 18-20 (the new variant) respectively.

²³ This is not the place for extensive bibliographical analyses, but something must be said about the typefaces used, since Miss Kronenberg could not identify them. She obviously failed to recognize the material in these books as that of Crom. The typeface applied, the Lettersnijder Pica Textura (VPT T 30), was in use among too many printers for it to serve as an indication. The same goes for a Parisian Textura on Brevier of 52 mm for 20 lines (VPT T 47) which is here to be found in the marginalia. What is important for the attribution is the 'Aldus' Italic of 80 mm (NAT Mattheus Crom III.16). The typeface is identical to a face which only occurred previously in work by Martin de Keyser. Crom may have acquired it from his estate after his death. Striking, too, is the fact that nowhere, not even in the title-pages, is any Textura used which is larger than the aforesaid Pica Textura, any more than in other early publications by Crom. Instead of this, the top line of the title-page of *Die oorsake* is set in large capitals of a Roman alphabet attributed to Peter Schoeffer, of which we know that Crom owned a set; see NAT Crom I.4 and III.15. On the title-page of the *Verclaringhe* the lack of larger Texturas is compensated for by having the first lines cut in wood. Another characteristic of Crom's work in his early years is the frequent use of all sorts of typographical signs, such as hands, crosses and asterisks. Because of this combination of features we must regard Crom as the printer.

A third tract is also bound together with the two surviving copies of these books: *Van dat rechte Christen gheloove* (H 42 and fig. 22; NK 3522). This, too, was printed in Antwerp, but not, as has hitherto been thought, at the same press. The book is indeed set in the Lettersnijder Pica Textura, but the printed matter displays differences: here, for example, we see the original ‘square’ y instead of the slim bent form used by Crom.²⁴ On the basis of other details it seems likely that the printer was Hendrik Peetersen van Middelburch.²⁵ The work, however, has too few significant elements for this to be certain. The date of publication would appear to be after that of *Dat Fundament*, since one passage contains a reference to *Van dat rechte Christen gheloove*.²⁶

That these books came from Antwerp has long been known from the frequently quoted reports about the trial of Jan Claesz, a book dealer in Amsterdam sentenced on 19 January 1544. He was found guilty of having 600 copies printed of a work by Menno Simons, four hundred of which he had sent to Friesland. He declared that the books had been delivered from Antwerp, but that he did not know who the printer was. This last statement seems implausible, but the name is not mentioned in the proceedings of the trial and the culprit obviously saw a chance of concealing the printer’s identity.²⁷

Jan Claesz was presumably referring to the entire edition of *Van dat rechte Christen gheloove*, which may thus have been printed in 1542 or 1543. It may have been the disappearance of the press that produced *Het Fundament* which made it necessary to seek another printer in Antwerp.

Some ten years elapsed before any more treatises by Menno appeared in print. These were adaptations of two previously published texts, the last part of *Dat Fundament*, under the title *Een schoone [...] redene aen die overheyt, gheleerde, ende ghemeyn volck* (H 20 and fig. 13) and *Een schoone [...] leeringhe [...] vermanende tot die hemelsche wedergeboorte ende nieuwe creatuere* (H 38 and fig. 20), previously published as *Een corte vermaninghe ...* (H 37). In contrast to the original ones, these new editions appeared

24 The (enlarged) title-page is reproduced in H, illus. 22. The inscription ‘Amsterdam 1539’ is the fruit of the fantasy of an earlier owner of the copy. – C. Bornhäuser, *Leben und Lehre Menno Simons’. Ein Kampf um das Fundament des Glaubens (etwa 1496-1561)* (Neukirchen/Vluyn 1973), Exkurs III: ‘Menno Simons’, “Van het rechte Christen geloove” (p. 177), observes: ‘Es handelt sich also offenbar um zwei verschiedene Drucke’. From this we might conclude that the two surviving copies of the work are printed with different typographical material. This, however, is not the case: the only difference is the correction of a few mistakes in the numbering of the quire signatures. We are thus here dealing with two not entirely identical states of a single edition.

25 See Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), pp. 170-1. He had already been condemned in 1525 for selling heretical books.

26 f. O2r.: ‘[...] des doopsels ende avontmaels hebben wi in dat fundament des Christelijcken leers een weynich afgheleert [...]’.

27 DAN, vol. 2, pp. 46-50, 54-7, 61-3, 67 and 74.

without the name of the author or a date. They differ from the other works of Menno Simons published in his lifetime in the decoration of the title-pages: a broad woodcut border with candelabras and other Renaissance ornaments and a coat of arms with the Habsburg eagle (illus. 2).²⁸ The typeface, too, is unusual: it is a 62 mm Rotunda probably of French origin, a by then obsolete type that had been used by some printers in Antwerp in about 1525, but had subsequently soon disappeared from their type cases.²⁹ In both booklets we find the same initial A, which makes an attribution possible. For the letter once belonged to Christoffel van Ruremunde (Endoviensis), whose press was taken over after his premature death by his wife and then by his son.³⁰

Christoffel began to print autonomously in 1524, above all for the English market, and both the typeface in question and the initial already appear in one of his publications dating from 1525, William Lyndewood, *Provinciale seu constitutiones Anglie* (NK 1442, STC 17111).³¹ His widow later used the same A in the French edition of a government edict, *Copie de certains debonnaires avertissementz ...* ('Anvers, vefve de Christoffe', [1542]).³² Initially she had continued her husband's list, but when the English market stagnated and there were no new orders, she switched to printing official publications and news reports. In 1546, however, this last activity was forbidden and she decided to put a stop to her press. The Lettersnijder Pica Textura which she had acquired in 1542 – with a Bastarda v, as used by Crom, but with a long-tailed f and a long s – was later also used by her son when he took over the business. All that is known about Hans (II) van Ruremunde are a few signed editions dating from 1550-3.³³ After that no more books appeared in his name, but the inventory remained intact for some years to come. In 1558 a certain Melchior Endovianus, possibly another son, published a book with the statement, in the colophon, 'typis Christophori Ruremundensis'.³⁴

²⁸ The compartment, on another title-page, is reproduced in NAT, Inconnus III.8. The publication, which gives the year 1518, is antedated.

²⁹ NAT, Christophorus Ruremundensis (Endoviensis) VII. 31; see also NAT, Adriaen van Berghen IX. 37 and Willem Vorsterman XV. 48.

³⁰ For information about this family of printers, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), pp. 193-5.

³¹ At the beginning of the *Tabula*, on A2r. For an account of the search for this typeface, see D.E. Rhodes, 'The First Edition of Gildas', *The Library*, 6th S., 1 (1979), pp. 355-60, with, on Pl. I, reproductions of both the initial and the typeface here used.

³² *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), hereafter cited as BT, no. 2045, f. ④4r.

³³ Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 195.

³⁴ *Processionale ad usum [...] ecclesiae Sarum*, a liturgical work for the bishopric of Salisbury which

The question now is not which press produced the two booklets by Menno Simons, since we know that for sure, but who printed them and when? Both mother and son can be taken into consideration. They both worked with the types used here, and they did so in the period in which the tracts were presumably produced.

In questions such as this certainty often evades us, but it seems very likely that Hans (II) van Ruremunde was the printer. For another publication appeared in the same unusual Rotunda typeface and with the same initial: *Een schoon ende profijtelijck Register inhoudende die principaelste Artijkelen [...] in dat gansch Oude ende Nieuwe Testament...*³⁵ The title-page has the imprint 'Ghedruct met Gratie ende Privilegie des Alderhoochsten. Int jaer [...] M.D.LJJ'. This year corresponds to the dating which Horst, following Vos, gives for H 38, on the basis of the fact that Marten Micron mentioned this work in his debate with Menno in Wismar, a Hanseatic port on the Baltic Sea, in February 1553. But H 20, too, must then have been printed by Hans van Ruremunde, since the identical execution shows that the two booklets were very probably printed in one go.

The fact that it was necessary to go all the way to Antwerp for these publications suggests that there was no printer closer at hand. This is hardly surprising. The early 1550s were a nadir in the history of book production in the northern Netherlands. The bad economic conditions meant that printers had few defences against the obtrusive competition from the south. Those who stood firm saw their possibilities increasingly restricted by the ever harsher edicts.³⁶ These factors caused a depression in the trade which was worse than it had ever been before or would ever be in later years. And of course nobody could forget the execution in The Hague in 1542 of Adriaen van Berghen from Antwerp for trading in heretical books.³⁷

Whether it was because of religious convictions, lack of funds, or simply fear, the few printers who remained active turned down dangerous orders despite the shortage of work.³⁸ The only exceptions were the Deventer printers Albert Pafraet

Christoffel van Ruremunde, too, had already printed. See *British Museum. General catalogue of printed books. Photolithographic edition to 1955*. With supplement 1956-65, 263 vols. (London 1959-66), vol. 139, p. 491. For some further information about Melchior Endovianus, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 62.

³⁵ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), no. R 104. – The initial is on A3r.

³⁶ For further causes of the straits in which printers and publishers found themselves, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-8.

³⁷ For this horrifying event, see M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), pp. 89-92.

³⁸ Only in a very few towns can we talk about true publishers. In Amsterdam they were the recently established Willem Jacobsz and, a little later, Jan Ewoutsz. In Kampen Steven Joessen had just begun. He would be followed by Peter Warnersen, thanks to whom the town became a centre of heterodox and dissident publications from 1560 to 1566. In Delft and Leiden Simon Jansz and

and Dirk (II) van den Borne, who were prepared to print for David Joris after they had seen their once flourishing trade in school books collapse almost entirely.³⁹ But that was ten years earlier. In the meantime they had been summoned and convicted, and it was some time before one of the two, Van den Borne, again dared to accept this sort of commission, now from the leader of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes.⁴⁰ In the early 1550s not a single printer appears to have been available for clandestine publications in the northern Netherlands.

We have already seen that, in 1553, Hans van Ruremunde decided to put an end to his career as a printer-publisher. He only published a single New Testament in that year, shortly after the renewal of his authorization. That appears to have been his last publication. Thereafter, as far as we know, he limited himself exclusively to the book trade.⁴¹ Menno Simons thus lost another printer and was obliged to seek a replacement. Over the years the stock of a number of his books, including *Het Fundament*, must have been exhausted, and he had to find a way to have them reprinted.

At about this time, in the winter of 1553/4, Menno Simons was living in Wismar and, as we saw, it was during his stay there that he embarked on a debate with Marten Micron and other leaders of the Dutch emigrants from London. They all had to leave the town again in the spring, many of them finding a haven in Emden. In the course of 1554 Menno himself was offered hospitality by the Von Ahlefeldt family on their estate of Fresenburg near Oldesloe, situated between Lübeck and Hamburg. He continued to stay at Wüstenfeld, where a small group of his supporters had settled, until the end of his life in 1561. They set up a press of their own there, the existence of which is mentioned in a report to the Danish King of 28 November 1554.⁴² The compilers of the document also supplied information

Jan Matthijsz respectively tried to keep their firms going by publishing such ephemera as almanacs and by printing for the Church and the magistracy. In 's-Hertogenbosch Jan (I) Scheffer and Jan (I) van Turnhout initially depended on orders from the town school and certain convents. In Utrecht, finally, Herman (I) van Borculo ran the only humanistic publishing firm which survived in the northern Low Countries at the time.

³⁹ See my article on David Joris (n. 6).

⁴⁰ P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2), pp. 250-3.

⁴¹ In a document dating from 1556 he was described as a book dealer by profession, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 195. — For the title of *Dat gheheel nieuwe Testament* [with:] *Die Epistelen wt den ouden Testament diemen jaerlicx houdt* ('Thantwerpen, Hans van Remundt, 1553'), see *British Museum Catalogue*, op. cit. (n. 34), vol. 18, 1360.

⁴² '... heben ock de druckerie und alles wat dartho horet, bi sick'. For this report and the history of the press, see M. Keyser, 'The Fresenburg Press: an Investigation pertaining to Menno Simons's Printing Office in Holstein, Germany, 1554-1555', *The Dutch Dissenters. A Critical Companion to their History and Ideas*, ed. I.B. Horst (Leiden 1986), pp. 179-86; see also C. Krahn, *Menno Simons* (1496-

about the arrest of a few printers who were caught on their way from Lübeck to the Netherlands together with their equipment and ten barrels of Bibles in loose sheets.⁴³ According to the report they included an 'Anabaptist', a 'doper', who was going to live in Wüstenfeld where a house was being built for him.

The question now is: did this report concern Menno Simons and was this the press which was again brought into operation in Wüstenfeld? For it is conceivable that the Mennonite leader, on his way from Wismar to his new place of residence, had come across a Dutch printer who had settled, perhaps temporarily, in Lübeck and who was prepared to work for him. Marja Keyser has rightly established that the confiscated books consisted of a New Testament and a part of the Prophets of the Old Testament, which appeared in 1554, without a place of publication, but in the name of Mattheus Jacobszoon, possibly a pseudonym.⁴⁴ We can thus compare the printed matter of these works with what was later produced by the press in Fresenburg. Contrary to what one might expect, the result is negative. The typefaces and the typography of the two groups differ too much for them to have been printed by the same press and the same printers. What is decisive is the Pica Textura typeface. The Bibles contain the authentic Lettersnijder Pica Textura, while the works printed in Fresenburg have an imitation of inferior quality (VPT T33). This is a rare typeface that had no success and vanished from the market soon after being used in Bergaigne's reprint of the Louvain *Bibel* in 1553.⁴⁵

With the Bergaigne Pica Textura as an indication, we can now establish that four books were produced by the press in Fresenburg: H 11 (fig. 10), H 35, H 58 and H 70.⁴⁶ The first two are revised editions of *Dat Fundament* (illus. 3), both with the ensuing *Voele goede [...] leringhen*, published here under a new title, *Eyne seer lieflijcke meditation [...]*. The two others had not been published previously, *Eyne troestelijcke vermaninge ...* (H 70) and *Eyne klare unwedersprekelike bekentenisse ...* (H 58). They are mentioned in Menno's list of his printed works in *Een Christelijcke [...] vermaninge*,

1561). *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten* (Karlsruhe 1936), pp. 84-8.

⁴³ This was only a part of the impression. Fourteen barrels had already been sent to Antwerp.

⁴⁴ M. Keyser, 'De drukkerij van Matthews Jacobszoon, Lubeck 1554', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 5 (1979), pp. 91-4.

⁴⁵ VPT only gives the T 33 in the work of Bergaigne. Besides there and in Fresenburg, however, the typeface was also used, as we shall see, by Steven Mierdmans from 1556 on, when he started to print again in Emden. It seems obvious to assume that he had acquired the typeface from the Fresenburg press. — The only Fresenburg initial to be found, in H 58, is of clearly inferior quality to the fine woodcuts used in Mattheus Jacobsz' Bibles.

⁴⁶ Marja Keyser came to the same conclusion along a different route. Her point of departure was the presumable date of publication of the undated tracts by Menno Simons. She then selected from this group everything that might have been produced in 1554/5. As supplementary evidence she advanced her discovery of the fact that the press in Fresenburg printed on half sheets.

a treatise published in 1556, to which we shall return. H 70 is there listed under the title *Dat boecxken vant Cruyce Christi*.⁴⁷ Evidently influenced by their place of publication, the language of the Fresenburg editions contains a particularly high number of (Low) German elements.⁴⁸

These books thus appeared in 1554/5. Menno Simons' arrival in Wüstenfeld in the spring or summer of 1554 is the *terminus post quem*.⁴⁹ We do not know who the printer in Fresenburg was. In the newly revised reprint of the *Fundament* we see, after the imprint 'Ghedruct mit Gratie unde Prevelegie des Alderhogesten', the initials B.L. in large capital letters. Hitherto it has proved impossible to find a name which fits, and we are not even sure whether these are the initials of the printer. What is indeed striking, as we shall see, is that they later appear in another colophon.

Shortly afterwards the Bergaigne Pica Textura, obviously acquired from the press which had closed down, was being used by Steven Mierdmans, a printer originally from Antwerp who had emigrated to London at an early stage.⁵⁰ He had to leave that city, and abandon his flourishing business, in 1553, when Edward VI was succeeded by his Catholic sister Mary and the benevolent attitude of the authorities to Protestants from the Low Countries changed. Mierdmans was one of the many refugees who went to Emden, where he set up a press with the financial backing of the businessman Jan Gailliart.⁵¹ It was together with this partner that he published Protestant Bibles in 1556 and 1558, but he also printed anonymously. His clandestine publications include two tracts by Dirk Philips, his 'Tabernacle

⁴⁷ This list of eight works (on A5v) proves that they came out in 1556 at the latest. The booklet in which they are mentioned cannot have appeared after this year since it was confiscated in Culemborg in February 1557: 'een cleyn boecxken profetelicken vermaenende ende bestraffende redene aen die overheit, geleerde ende gemeyn volck'. See O.J. de Jong, *De reformatie in Culemborg* (Assen 1957), pp. 62-4, and A.J. van de Ven, *Het oud-archief van de gemeente Culemborch* (Utrecht 1938), p. 77. On the same occasion 14 copies were seized of Dirk Philips' *Vuytlegginge des tabernakels off der hutten Moïsis* (K 16), also printed in 1556.

⁴⁸ For the sometimes far-reaching influence of compositors on the language and spelling in printed works, see P. Simpson, *Proof-reading in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Oxford 1935; repr. 1970), pp. 51 ff.

⁴⁹ The date 'c.1554' corresponds to the view of Vos, p. 295, who, basing himself on internal evidence, concluded that H 70 must have been printed before 1555. For the reasons of Horst's disagreement and his mistaken decision to opt for 1558, see his note to H 11 (pp. 56-7).

⁵⁰ For Mierdman(s), see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), pp. 149-50; for his London period, see now A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford 1986), pp. 90-2, and for important bibliographical information, see C. Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books', *The Library*, 5th S., 18 (1963), pp. 275-87.

⁵¹ For Mierdmans activities in Emden, see M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emden Buchdrucks (1554-1602), Ausstellung in der Landesbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), pp. 9-11 and *passim*; Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 20: Oldenborch), pp. 468 ff.

booklet', *Een seer schoon ende waerachtighe verclaringe* (K 16, fig. 20), with the year 1556 on the title-page, and *Vande wedergeboorte ende nieuwe creature* (K 22, fig. 28), that has no date but, from a typographical point of view, is a replica of the other one. Although the name of the printer is missing, the typefaces and initials allow us to conclude that they were produced by Mierdmans.⁵² As far as we know they were the first writings of Dirk Philips to appear in print.

We do not know why the decision was taken to close down the press in Fresenburg. It may have been due to the hostility of the neighbours, who once even proceeded to arrest the printer, and this may have been a reason for the man not to renew his contract. But other explanations are also possible. The attitude of the local authorities to the Anabaptists was menacing, and it seems perfectly possible that the Mennonites thought it was as well to have their works produced elsewhere. In the meantime, moreover, an opportunity had arisen, for the Utrecht printer Jan Hendricksz van Schoonrewoerd was prepared to put his press entirely at the service of the movement. However, to do so was too hazardous in his city of residence, the centre of the ecclesiastical government of the northern Netherlands, and the firm was consequently transferred to a town which was far safer for such a purpose, Franeker.

A PRESS OF THEIR OWN: JAN HENDRICKS

The existence of this press belonging to the brotherhood in Friesland, within the Dutch borders and under sovereign rule, has only recently come to light. All memory of it had vanished, although the firm worked in Franeker for at least eight, and probably even twelve, years, and it is probable that many people, also among the authorities, must have known what it was printing. It would seem impossible to conceal such a production for so long, especially since it was a firm which published *exclusively* Mennonite works. Not a single book of any other sort was produced by the press, and not a single book mentions the printer or even the place of printing. We must assume that the magistrates knew about the nature of the enterprise and closed their eyes to its activities – a form of behaviour which seems to have been characteristic of the internal relationships in the town and the toleration which

⁵² Besides the Bergaigne Pica Textura the two booklets have as their typeface a Rotunda of 62 mm, albeit not the same as the one belonging to the Van Ruremundes. This one is of German origin. The calligraphic initial A in K 16 appears in two signed books produced by Mierdmans' press, both dating from 1558: Sleidanus' *Waerachtige Beschrijvinge*, on f. 417, and Seb. Franck, *Chronica, Tijtboeck en[de] gheschiet bibel*, on f. 6. The L in K 22, from the same series of ornamental letters, appears in another work by Franck: *Die Gulde[n] Arcke* (1560), on f. 10. This last book has no imprint, but all the evidence points to its having been printed by Willem Gaillart, who had taken over Mierdmans' press.

prevailed in religious matters.

One indication of this benevolent attitude towards the Mennonite population can already be perceived in the manner in which Jan Hendricksz obtained citizenship of Franeker. He did not have to pay for it. On 3 July 1555 he was inscribed in the register of citizens free of charge. This exemption of the sum usually paid by burghers was only extended to people who were regarded as an asset to the town, in economic or other respects. In that year only one of the fourteen new burghers obtained the same privilege. Unfortunately, however, this is the only occasion on which we encounter the printer in the Franeker records, but then very little remains of the municipal archive before 1580.

This press and its publications have already been discussed extensively in the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*,⁵³ so I shall here limit myself to a summary survey of the works by the Mennonite leaders which were printed. Jan Hendricks embarked on his new task soon after his move to Franeker and had already published three or four of Menno Simons' works in 1556: H 19, H 39, H 43 (fig. 23, an entirely revised reprint of *Van het rechte Christen gheloove*)⁵⁴ – and possibly H 59. This last one, *Een gans duytlijck [...] antwoordt* to Martin Micron, followed by a *Sendebrief* to the same man, of 7 and 16 October 1556 respectively, may also have appeared in 1557. In H 19, *Een christelijcke ende lieflijcke vermaninge aen allen overheyden [...]*, in some points an enlarged reprint of the Antwerp edition (H 20) which can be dated about 1552, the 'G. B. M. B. L. F.' in the colophon has the same capitals B.L. which we encountered in Fresenburg. The initials can be filled in as 'G[hedruct] b[y] M[y] B. L. [te] F[raneker]' (Printed by me, B.L. in Franeker). This does not solve the enigma of the Fresenburg printer but it might suggest that, after the conclusion of his contract there, he continued to work for his successor.⁵⁵

Two copies of this tract are known, both occurring in composite volumes, and apparently published, together with Menno's *Een seer schoone [...] leringe [...] vermanende tot die hemelsche Gheboorte ende nieuwe creatueren* and his *Een claer onderwysinghe [...] van die g[h]eestelicke verrysenisse*.⁵⁶ But these added treatises are in different editions: in one

⁵³ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Een onbekende doperse drukkerij in Friesland', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 37-63.

⁵⁴ The only tract by Menno Simons mentioned on its own in the *Index* (of 1558). See J.M. de Bujanda, *Index de l'Université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558* (Index des livres interdits, 2; Sherbrooke/Genève 1986), pp. 350-1 (no. 352). The same *Index* prohibited all the writings of Menno Simons under the heading 'Mennonis Symonis opera omnia'; *ibid.*, p. 330 (no. 161). – Ghent UL has a copy printed on parchment formerly in the Le Long and Maatschoen collections.

⁵⁵ Vos and Horst incorrectly read 'G. B. M. S. L. F.' and had to change the sequence of the letters to obtain: 'Gedruckt te Fresenburg door B. L. voor Menno Simons'.

⁵⁶ One of the author's earliest writings, regarded by some scholars as his first. For the uncertain dating, see Bornhäuser, op. cit. (n. 24), Exkurs II (pp. 176-7): 'Der anonyme Traktat "Von der

volume it is H 39 (identified above as printed by Jan Hendricks) together with H 63, and in the other H 40 together with H 62 (fig. 18). Horst 39, the title of which says that it contains a text revised in 1556 – a piece of information which, given in this way, usually indicates a later date of publication – ends with the date ‘28 Jun. 1556’. Although this presumably refers to the completion of the new revision and not to the printing, the booklet did indeed appear in that year.⁵⁷ H 40 gives a date at the end which is ten days earlier, but that must be regarded as fictitious.

Bound together with two publications by Jan Hendricksz which can thus both be placed in 1556 (H 19 and H 39), H 63 must have been produced at about the same time. But the booklet was not printed in Franeker. The Lettersnijder Pica Textura displays various discrepancies with the typeface used there. Unfortunately this typeface has no characteristics peculiar to any other press with which we are acquainted and there are no ornaments such as initials or vignettes. Two other typefaces applied (VPT T 3 and T 20) are also too common to serve as an indication.⁵⁸ We have the same problem in the copy bound with H 40 and H 62, reprints issued by a single, but again different, press. They, too, lack any decoration and the typefaces are not characteristic enough for an attribution to be possible.

In 1557 the Franeker press produced both Dirk Philips’ confession of faith, *Eene corte bekentenisse [...] vanden eenigen God* (K 17, figs. 21-2) and a booklet with two shorter tracts (K 20, figs. 25-6), *Van de menscherdinghe onses heeren Jesu Christi* and *Van die rechte kennisse Jesu Christi*. Probably in the following year there appeared his (first) treatise on the ban, *Een lieflicke vermaninghe ...*, dated 5 February 1558 (K 23, figs. 29-30),⁵⁹ which was soon followed by the third and last ‘ban book’ (‘banboek’) by Menno Simons, *Een gans grontlijcke onderwijs oft bericht van de excommunicatie ...*, completed on 11 June of that year (H 72). Jan Hendricksz subsequently printed various other works

geistlichen Auferstehung”. No earlier edition is known. The statement in the note to H 62 that Vos mentions an impression of c.1537 rests on a misunderstanding.

⁵⁷ The booklet is mentioned in the list of Menno’s printed treatises included in his *Een Christelijcke [...] vermaninghe* (see n. 47).

⁵⁸ The quire signatures, however, are distinguished by two dots (A.ij. etc.), a habit of Willem Gailliart before he settled in Emden in 1555. It is generally believed that his press was then in Büberich, opposite Wesel; see H.F. Wijnman, ‘Grepn uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (1): De totstandkoming van de Emdense uitgaven van de Liesveldt-Bijbel uit 1559 en volgende jaren’, *Het Boek*, 36 (1963-4), pp. 148-50.

⁵⁹ At the end: ‘Gheschreven [...] D[irk] P[hilips] I[n] B[roederschap] [...] 1558 Den 5. Februarij’. In the last year of his life Dirk Philips was partially to revise his views about this controversial point. He provided a new formulation intended to replace the existing text in the *Enchiridion*. That never happened. A French translation, on the other hand, appeared as the last chapter of the *Traicté de quelques poincts de la sincère religion chrestienne* (s.l. [Antwerp] 1567), to which we will return. This version was subsequently included in the *Enchiridion ou Manuel* of 1626 (K 8).

for the brotherhood, including two reprints of the aforesaid New Testament in Mattheus Jacobsz' 1554 version. In about 1563 there appeared a new treatise by Dirk Philips: *Eene Apologia ofte verantwoordinge* (K 32, fig. 34), for the time being the last in this series of publications by the Mennonite leaders.⁶⁰

Hitherto this entire list has been attributed to various publishers in Emden.⁶¹ The same origin was also ascribed to two tracts by Dirk Philips which appeared at about the same time somewhere else. They are K 21 (fig. 27), *Een schoone vermaninghe [...] vander warachtigher kennissen Godts* (illus. 4) and K 24 (fig. 31), *Vander sendinge der Predicanten ...*, published in 1558 and 1559 respectively, two tracts which the author did not send to Franeker but entrusted to another printer, possibly on the occasion of a journey to Cologne. The printer was Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest. There was a time when he was wrongly credited with the publications of a younger namesake, probably his son, who was active in Emden and Amsterdam. But we now know that he came from the southern Netherlands and had settled in Groessen, undoubtedly in order to escape the restrictions imposed by the authorities.⁶² At present this parish is part of the municipality of Zevenaar, but it was then just over the border, in German territory. In 1558 he started to print Dutch Protestant books there and soon had such a success with a reprint of the Mierdmans-Gailliart Bible of that year that the text was known for centuries as the 'Biestkens Bible'. The two tracts by Dirk Philips both appeared without an imprint, but in 1562 two other works did indeed bear the name of this printer: *Van de gheestelijcke Restitution* (K 27) and *Van de Ghemeynte Godts* (K 28). These must have been his last publications for, in the same year, the press was taken over by Willem Gailliart.⁶³

COLLECTIVE EDITIONS AND REPRINTS

As a result of this acquisition the arabesque initials which Biestkens had procured for his Bible were henceforth to be found in books printed in Emden. We already see them in the same year of 1562 in a new issue of Menno Simons' *Een Fondament* (H

⁶⁰ Koolman, p. 64, has already pointed out that the tract contains a quotation from *Van de Ghemeynte Godts* (H 28) which appeared in 1562.

⁶¹ See the list in my 'Onbekende doperse drukkerij', art. cit. (n. 53), p. 60, n. 74.

⁶² P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 1558-83', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Níco Israel*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31.

⁶³ It makes sense to assume that Biestkens died in that year. One of the reasons for Gailliart to acquire this press may have been his desire to rid himself of a troublesome rival. After all, the Bibles which Biestkens had published so successfully were reprints of his own editions. Various editions 'na de Copye van Nicolaes Biestkens' immediately appeared, however, and there was nothing he could do about it.

12, fig. 11), now expanded into a collective edition of the author's main dogmatic writings.⁶⁴ Nor are these the only ornamental letters in the book, since it also contains others of a different origin, namely from the material of the Mierdmans press which Gailliart had taken over in 1559. The presence of these initials shows that the book was produced by Willem's press and it is not surprising that the Emden Consistory should have questioned him about it. The printer, however, denied his involvement, as anyone else would have done in his situation, and apparently saw a chance of convincing his interrogators of his innocence. How he managed to do so is not clear. He may have been assisted by the fact that his father, the fellow-owner of the press, was one of the most distinguished merchants in Emden. And the authorities may also simply have wanted to prevent the incriminating fact from recurring rather than to punish the culprit.⁶⁵

It seems likely that Gailliart, in imitation of his predecessor Mierdmans, had already printed a book by Dirk Philips in 1559/60, *Van de geestelijcke Restitution* (K 26, fig. 33), followed, with its own title-page but continuous signatures, by *Van die Ghemeynte Godts*. This combined edition, which appeared anonymously, contains initials that had originally belonged to Mierdmans and which we encounter in work by Gailliart and later in Amsterdam. The attribution does not contradict Ten Doornkaat Koolman's dating of 1560/1, but it is remarkable that a reprint of both texts should already have been issued in Groessen in 1562, the aforesaid editions K 27 and 28. Here, too, the typeface used differs in some aspects from what we know of Gailliart's production in these years.⁶⁶ So the attribution is not entirely certain.

⁶⁴ For the textual differences between the 1539/40 and the 1562 editions of the *Fundamentboek*, and the reprints of 1616 and 1681 (*Opera omnia*) respectively, see W.E. Keeney, *The development of Dutch Anabaptist Thought and Practice from 1539-1564* (Nieuwkoop 1968), pp. 202-6 (= Appendix I): 'Menno Simons' Foundation book'.

⁶⁵ For the report of this interrogation, as given in the protocols of the Emden Consistory, see F. Ritter in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst und vaterländische Altertümer zu Emden*, 15 (1903-5), pp. 516-17. For the activities of the Consistory in this domain, see also H. Schilling, 'Reformierte Kirchenzucht als Sozialdisziplinierung? Die Tätigkeit des Emder Presbyteriums in den Jahren 1557-1562', *Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschland, Studien zur Regional- und Stadtgeschichte Nordwestkontinentaleuropas im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, Franz Petri zum 80. Geburtstag* (Köln/Wien 1983), pp. 296 ff.

⁶⁶ The typeface in this edition is the familiar Lettersnijder Pica Textura, which, however, I have never found before in this combination in the work of Gailliart. We have here the typeface in its earliest form, with, for example, a capital A without a thorn and a lower case z with an angular tail. These forms were soon altered by the punchcutter and only appear sporadically after 1550, even if the punches were apparently retained. In his books Gailliart used a later version of the typeface, a little lighter in shape, with an A with a thorn and a round z. The quire signatures printed at the foot of the page, moreover, have dots before and after the (Roman) numerals, a custom from the southern Netherlands, followed by Gailliart until about 1555, but not, as far as we know, thereafter. An early date of publication is confirmed by the fact that the booklet was part of a collective volume of eleven editions (ten from a bibliographical point of view) by the author, dating from

In 1564 a further, hitherto unidentified, press published a separate edition of *Van die rechte kennisse Jesu Christi* (H 20 b), a short treatise which had already been published in Franeker after *Van de menschwerdinghe* (K 20). The only known copy of this reprint is part of a recent discovery of five extremely rare heretical booklets which had been concealed under the floorboards of a house in Delft. After escaping notice for over four hundred years, they are now kept in a safer place.⁶⁷

The appearance of the 'new' *Fondamentboek* as a collection of dogmatic treatises arranged systematically, inspired another publisher to do the same thing with the work of Dirk Philips. In 1564 he reprinted one of his treatises (K 17) and thereafter ten other tracts by the same author under the title *Een korte bekentnisse ende belydinge vanden Eenigen [...] Godt*. He thus produced a manual (K 1, figs. 6-7; illus. 5) which dealt with all the main articles of Mennonite teaching.⁶⁸ What is striking this time is that, besides this work, there appeared in the same year an almost identical collection under a different title, *Enchiridion oft Hantboecxken van de christelijckce leere* (K 2, fig. 8). The content barely differs from that of the rival edition. Here, however, the arrangement of the pieces is determined by their subject rather than by the chronological order of publication. In the references to the Bible passages the numbers of the verses are now also given and three previously unpublished epistles by the author are added at the end.⁶⁹

How can this duplication be explained? Ten Doornkaat Koolman assumed that Dirk Philips was dissatisfied with the result of the first printer and consequently had the work printed again by another one under his own supervision. Misprints

1556 to 1559, which entered the Mennonite Library, where the volume was taken apart, by way of the Le Long, Maatschoen, Van der Willigen, Sepp and Acquoy collections.

⁶⁷ Since the booklet only came to light after the publication of Marja Keyser's *Catalogue*, op. cit. (n. 10), I shall give the full title: [Dirk Philips], *Van die rechte kennisse | Jesu Christi | des eenighen ghebornen | Soons des almachtigen ende leuen- | digen Gods | ons Heeren ende salich- | makers | ende van den onbewegelicke | onwandelbaren gront sijnder | salichmakende leere || een corte verma- | ninghe. | 1. Corinth. 2. | [4 lines] | 1. Thessal. 5. | [1 line] | M.D.LXIII. (s.l. 1564. 8vo). 16 leaves. (the last one blank); collation: AB⁸. Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB). – In the same year this press also produced *Een voorbeelde ende gedaente eens waerhaftigen Christenen wt God geboren* (s.l. 1564. 8vo). Copy: The Hague, KB. A number of German word forms suggest the possibility that the press was situated in the border area, perhaps in Wesel.*

⁶⁸ First mentioned by J. ten Doornkaat Koolman, 'The First Edition of Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion*', *MQR*, 38 (1964), pp. 357-60, with an (enlarged) reproduction of the title-page. The reproductions in Keyser (illus. 6 and 7) are full size.

⁶⁹ This supplement has its own pagination and signatures. In an address to the reader, the author emphasizes the fact that the contents had never been printed before. We can assume that the decision was taken to publish this additional piece when it emerged that a rival edition had appeared on the market. Hence the specific mention of this supplement on the title-page. The text is reprinted in BRN, pp. 415-59.

or other imperfections in the first edition, however, can hardly have led to such an expensive measure. After all, we are here dealing with books of no less than 650 and almost 700 pages respectively. Nor can the addition of the three epistles have justified the reprint since they could easily have been added in a supplement.

We may also wonder whether the author could keep the decisions to himself in a matter with such major financial consequences. We can assume that until then the writings of the two spiritual leaders of the Mennonites were printed at the expense of their followers. In contrast to their rivals Hendrik Niclaes and David Joris, they themselves can hardly have had sufficient means at their disposal. By whom and along which channels the necessary funds were assembled remains a mystery, but it seems likely that the subsidy of the list and the management of their 'own' press were in the hands of one or more followers of substance. Decisions with commercial consequences would then have always required the involvement of the backers. This makes it hard to accept Ten Doornkaat Koolman's view.

In the meantime a change had occurred in the day-to-day management of the Franeker firm. For Jan Hendricksz died in 1564. He was buried in Utrecht. We do not know who succeeded him as the owner or possibly as the technical manager, but it does indeed emerge from the list that the new man placed himself entirely at the service of the movement, just as his predecessor had done.⁷⁰ The *Enchiridion* of that year, as the typographical execution shows, appeared under his management.⁷¹ The title-page announces that the book is 'newly corrected and enlarged' ('nu niefus gecorrigeert ende vermeerderd').

This statement, intriguing because we do not know any earlier edition of the book under this title, contains an explanation for the appearance in the same year of two books almost identical in content. It does not refer to a first edition of the *Enchiridion* which cannot be found, but to the collection of Dirk Philips' writings, which had shortly before been published under the title *Een korte bekentnisse* [...]. That was obviously an edition produced outside the brotherhood by a rival printer who had taken the liberty to reprint the almost complete works of Dirk Philips without authorization. In reply to this pirated edition, an 'official' edition of the same texts was now produced, enlarged with a few hitherto unpublished pieces.

The man who was so cavalier in his treatment of the rights of others was the printer and publisher Simon Steenberghe, related to the Pafraets in Deventer and,

⁷⁰ It is not even certain whether the press remained in Franeker, although it seems likely. At all events there is no evidence whatsoever of its activity anywhere else.

⁷¹ The two printers worked with the same material, but each one marked the signatures at the foot of the page in his own way. For the conclusions which can be drawn from these different ways of working, see P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 53), pp. 57-8.

since 1557, himself a resident of that town.⁷² That he brought out pirated editions more than once, as emerged when a consignment was confiscated with a thousand copies he had printed of a Heidelberg catechism, with, printed behind it, *Een korte ondersoekinghe des gheloofs*.⁷³ And, as far as we can see, he again infringed the rules of fellowship in 1565 by pirating *Een weemodige ende Christelicke ontschuldige* (H 51), Menno Simons' apology, the original edition of which (dating from about 1551, see H 50) has not been recovered as yet.⁷⁴ It seems likely that Steenbergen was acting, on this occasion too, exclusively in his own interests.

A year after it had printed the *Enchiridion*, the Franeker press produced a reprint, in the same form and execution, of Menno Simons' *Een Fondament* (H 13). The book appeared in the same very small typeface, Tavernier's Nonpareil Textura, which the press had acquired in 1563 for printing Bibles.⁷⁵ The contents are almost unchanged when compared to the Gailliart edition of 1562. The only difference is that *Van de gheestelijcke verrijsenisse* is omitted and *Kindertucht*, which had there still been added separately, now has continuous signatures.

Soon afterwards, in 1567, there again appeared an edition of *Een Fondament* (H 14), which now follows Gailliart's one in all respects – thus with *Van de gheestelijcke verrijsenisse* and with the *Kindertucht* with signatures of its own. This is the work of a man whom we have not yet encountered: Herman 't Zangers, a printer in Steenwijk. Although, for fifteen years, he was among the few printers who dared print Protestant books in the Low Countries, hardly anything is known about his activities. Not so long ago it was even suspected that his name was a pseudonym, used for

⁷² On him, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'A study of the printer Simon Steenbergen (1567)', *Quaerendo*, 13 (1983), pp. 5-37. On the whole publishers still respected their colleagues' rights in this period. Pirated editions in the same region, a growing problem in later years, were still rare. Steenbergen may have thought that the death of Jan Hendricksz gave him a free hand with the texts in his list.

⁷³ B.A. Vermaseren, 'Antwerpen en Deventer. Het lot van twee drukwerken (1566/7) van Simon Steenbergen te Deventer bestemd voor Antwerpen', *Album amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer*, 61-3 (1983-5), pp. 389-402. Further research shows that Steenbergen was also responsible for other clandestine publications. He (re)printed, for example, in three volumes in 1565, the well-known *Christelike sermonen* by the fictitious Friar Minor Nicolaes Peeters, and, in later years, an undated translation of Bugenhagen's *Psalter* (NK 254) – this last publication with the fake address Petrus Stephanus van Gendt.

⁷⁴ The attribution of the two publications to Simon Steenbergen rests mainly on their arabesque initials which are sufficiently recognizable, although variants of this design also appear elsewhere (in the work of Biestkens and Gailliart). *Een weemodige [...] ontschuldige* also has a tailpiece which is characteristic of this printer. That the title-page of a Deventer almanac of the same year should be bound in the Zurich copy of Dirk Philips' collection (see Koolman, pp. 359-60) is simply a subsidiary confirmation.

⁷⁵ See my art. cit. (n. 53), pp. 38-9 and 59.

occasional clandestine publications (perhaps by Jan Canin in Dordrecht?).⁷⁶ This hypothesis appears to be wrong since there are enough documents confirming his existence.

The earliest mention of Herman 't Zangers is in the confession of a young street-singer who related, on 2 December 1567, that he had had a thousand copies of three songs printed by a certain Harmen in Steenwijk.⁷⁷ 'Harman Sangers tot Stynwyck' is named in 1575 as a debtor in the estate of the Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Aelbertsz.⁷⁸ Then there is the decisive evidence of Is(e)brandt Versteeghen (ter Steghe) who declared before Plantin on 15 April 1572 that he had learnt the craft of printing in Steenwijk from 'Herman Zanghers' and had been his partner for two years.⁷⁹ Shortly afterwards, however, Ter Steghe left in order to settle in Leeuwarden as court printer. He was replaced at 't Zangers' press by Antonis Ketel, who appears to have been the owner of the firm in 1581. We only know of one work he produced in Steenwijk, and it was not long before he was invited to Haarlem by Coornhert.⁸⁰

From the typography of his Haarlem publications we see that Ketel took 't Zangers' entire inventory with him when he moved to his new town of residence. The books which he printed there during what was a short career consequently tell us far more about his predecessor's material than appears from 't Zangers' few signed publications, and it is Ketel's woodcut initials and ornaments that indicate Herman 't Zangers as the printer of publications produced before 1581.⁸¹ This enables us to establish that the 1567 *Fondament* was issued by his press. He followed the 1562 edition in every respect, even in the number of leaves. He also launched a separate edition of the *Kindertucht* on the market, in a larger typeface and followed

⁷⁶ H.F. Wijnman, 'Grepn uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (2): De raadslachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), p. 139.

⁷⁷ H.J. van Lummel, *Nieuw Geuzenlied-boek*, [...] *uit alle oude geuzenlied-boeken bijeenverzameld* ... (Utrecht 1874), pp. 546-48; F.K.H. Kossmann, *De Nederlandsche straatzanger en zijn liederen in vroeger eeuwen* (Amsterdam 1941), pp. 17-18; *id.*, 'Geuzen liederen', *Het Boek*, 15 (1926), pp. 190-93.

⁷⁸ E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 1, p. 236.

⁷⁹ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), p. 35.

⁸⁰ His only publication in Steenwijk, as far as we know, is *Poincten ende articulen vanden satisfactie die van Amstelredamme ghegheven ende gheaccordeert, ett.* [sic] Anno 1578. (Steenwijck, Antonis Ketel, s.a. [1580/1]). Copy: London, BL. For his work in Haarlem, see H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* ('s-Gravenhage 1951), pp. 71-86 and 190-202.

⁸¹ For reproductions, see Laceulle-van de Kerk, op. cit. (n. 80), illus. 26-31 (typefaces); illus. 36, 37 (and 88), 38 (and 90), 39 (= 100), 40, 93, 94 and 96 (initials); and illus. 42 (tailpiece). 't Zangers' ornaments subsequently passed via Ketel into the possession of his successor Gillis Rومان.

by *Eene Christelicke Benedicite* (H 64).⁸² The booklet has no date but must have been produced at about the same time.

Besides these reprints there appeared in 1567 three publications by Dirk Philips concerning the union of the Mennonite congregations in four towns in Friesland – Dokkum, Franeker, Harlingen and Leeuwarden – and the ensuing rift between the Frisian and Flemish members which occurred in that year. They are K 34, K 38 and K 41 which, produced by the same press, also belong together bibliographically. On the basis of the sequence of the events treated we can assume that K 34 (figs. 36, 38) appeared first, followed by K 38 (figs. 42, 44), with, at the end, the statement ‘Ghedruct int Jaer 1567’, and shortly afterwards by *Een Appendix ...* (K 41, fig. 50), the signatures of which run on from those in K 34. They are printed in four generally current typefaces and have no other feature which could indicate any particular printer. It is thus impossible to establish their origin, but they were certainly not printed in Franeker.⁸³

DIRK PHILIPS’ LAST WRITINGS

In the year 1567, too, an explanation by Dirk Philips of the main Mennonite teachings was published in a French translation: *Traicté de quelques poincts de la sincere religion chrestienne [...] co[m]posé en bas Alema[n] par Theodore Philippe*. The translation is anonymous and the book gives no address, but a bibliographical investigation shows that Gillis Coppens van Diest in Antwerp was the printer.⁸⁴ It is not an anthology of Dirk Philips’ previously published writings, but his own summary, which has only recently come to light, of his views on the principal points of the Mennonite faith. Only the last chapter, ‘Claire et manifeste remonstrance de l’

⁸² There are no initials but the tailpiece (Laceulle, op. cit. (n. 80), illus. 42) is decisive for the attribution.

⁸³ Although these treatises are written in a Dutch unaffected by German, in the course of the printing process an occasional eastern form has slipped into the spelling, such as ‘dye’ for ‘die’. This spelling suggests that the compositor came from the north-eastern or northern Netherlands. As far as we know only one press can be taken into consideration, the one belonging to Jan Petersz, rector of the Latin school and notary in Leeuwarden. He owned three of the four typefaces occurring in this work (VPT T 3, T 20 and T 30), in the same combination that we find here, and the paragraph sign is also identical to his. Even the habit, in the meantime antiquated, of using uncials as the first letter of a paragraph is peculiar to him. The smallest typeface (VPT T 47), used for the marginalia, on the other hand, is something I have not so far encountered in his publications.

⁸⁴ P. Valkema Blouw, ‘Gillis Coppens van Diest als ondergronds drukker, 1566-67’, *Het oude en het nieuwe boek. De oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen 1988), pp. 152-54 (with 2 illus.); *id.*, ‘Verslag van lopend onderzoek. Een onbekende vertaling van Dirk Philips: Traicté de quelques poincts (1567)’, *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 149-50.

excommunication evangelique, et institution d' icelle', was already known, since it is also in the French-language edition of the *Enchiridion* (K 8, fig. 14), published in 1562.⁸⁵ That it was included in the book corresponds to the wish of the author who again expressed his opinion about the ban and shunning. In the Dutch reprints of the *Enchiridion*, however, this revision is not included. Nevertheless Karel van Mander's retranslation of this 'second ban book' from the French appeared as a supplement to the 1602 reprint of *Van die echt der Christenen* (K 50, figs. 53-4). The author's actual text was evidently no longer available at the time.⁸⁶

The original edition of *Van die echt der Christenen* (K 49, fig. 51), Dirk Philips' last work, appeared posthumously. He completed it in Emden on 7 March 1568, a few weeks before his death. On the title-page we read 'Ghedruckt Anno 1569', and the material used is undoubtedly that of Willem Gailliart.⁸⁷ Marja Keyser consequently had every reason for attributing the book to Emden. Yet this ascription is not entirely certain. After all, Gailliart's successor, Nicolaes (II) Biestkens, brought the press to Amsterdam when that city finally opted for William of Orange in 1578. With the exception of two sets of ornamental letters, which we shall again encounter in Ghent, all the Emden material from that date on appears in works printed in Amsterdam. That applies both to what Gailliart himself originally owned and to the initials and typefaces of Mierdmans, Nicolaes (I) Biestkens van Diest, Lenaert der Kinderen and Gillis van der Erven (Ctematius) – all printers whose assortments he had acquired over the years. Between 1571 and 1576, presumably in 1574, Nicolaes (II) Biestkens became the owner of all this material.

The removal of the firm makes it impossible in some cases to ascribe undated or fictitiously dated anonymous publications to Emden or to Amsterdam with any certainty. The problem is not the recognition of the typographical material used. But, without further information, sometimes contained in the text of the printed work itself, we cannot determine where and when the book in question was actually produced. Typefaces and ornaments can indicate a particular press, but not, in

⁸⁵ Printed in facsimile as Appendix III in Koolman, pp. 207-23.

⁸⁶ As Keyser, pp. 19-28, has pointed out, two contemporary fragments of the Dutch text have survived, one of which, taken from Nicolai's *Bijvoegingen*, had already been published by F. Pijper. She found the other one in Menno Simons' *Een seer grontlijcke antwoort to Zylis and Lemmeke* (H 82, K 47), where it was included in order to fill up some empty pages.

⁸⁷ The initial W at the beginning of the text also appears in Willem Gailliart's edition of the *Corte belijdinghe des gheloofs* which appeared in 1566 with the 'Lily among the thorns' printer's device. See W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), B 14.2, with reproductions in vol. 2, pp. 308-9. We again find this woodcut letter in Amsterdam in the work of Nicolaes Biestkens the Younger on f. [16] of his unsigned edition of Jacob Jansz [Scheedemaker (alias Kist)] and [Hans de Ries], *Nootwendige verantwoordinge ... (s.a. [1596?])*. – Moes-Burger, op. cit. (n. 78), p. 666.

themselves, the place where it was operating and who was in charge of the printing. This is a case in point. The question of whether *Van die echt der Christenen* was printed in Emden (and was thus the original edition) or was reprinted in Amsterdam (as were so many of Biestkens' publications) cannot be answered with exclusively bibliographical means. The mention of 1569 as the year of publication does not in itself give any guarantee that it was indeed the date of issue. In order to mislead the authorities reprints frequently took over the date of an earlier edition. The question of its origin must thus remain open, even if the use, in certain lines, of a German typeface, makes a choice for Emden and Gailliart feasible.

A few years later an edition appeared of Menno Simons' *Een liefelijcke vermaninghe [...] hoe dat een Christen sal gheschickt zijn* (H 73), his 'first ban book' of 1541. This tract on church discipline is followed, with continuous signatures, by two epistles by the author on the same subject, addressed to the brethren in Franeker ('Franikar') and Emden in 1555 and 1556 respectively. According to G. Nicolai in his additions to Bullinger's *Teghen de Wederdoopers* (Emden 1569),⁸⁸ 1562 was the date of publication, and although we do not know this particular edition (H 74), there seems to me to be no reason to doubt his veracity.⁸⁹ Menno had never released these writings on so controversial a matter for publication, but he had just died and could no longer prevent them from being published. There now appeared a reprint (H 73, fig. 26) of the booklet (H 74) in a Schwabacher typeface, which had not been used in the northern Low Countries since the 1550s

Elsewhere, however, there was indeed a Dutch printer who worked with them: Nicolaes Gevaerts (Gevardus), who was active in Wesel from about 1571 and there called himself Nicolaus Geiffertsen. In August 1574 he was expelled for printing prohibited material,⁹⁰ and settled in Homberg, on the Rhine opposite Duisburg.⁹¹ He there published a series of mainly Dutch books until 1579 or 1580, and printed for, among others, Coornhert during his exile in Xanten. Gevaerts' activity in the

⁸⁸ Nicolai's additions have been published separately in *Zestiende-eeuwsche schrijvers over de geschiedenis der oudste Doopsgezinden hier te lande*, ed. S. Cramer (Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, vol. 7; 's-Gravenhage 1910), pp. 269-487; see also B. Becker, 'Nicolai's inlassching over de Franckisten', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 18 (1925), pp. 286-96.

⁸⁹ 'Here follow another two letters written by Menno S. himself, now printed from his own original copy printed in 1562' ('Hier volgen noch twee eygene geschreven Brieven van Menno S. die nu oock wt die eygentlicke geschreven Copie, Anno 1562. gedruet zijn') – f. 118d, BRN, vol. 6/1, p. 444.

⁹⁰ W. Stempel, 'Zeitungen aus Wesel unterstützten den Aufstand der Niederlande. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Weseler Buchdrucks im 16. Jahrhundert', *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes*, 37/8 (1988-9), p. 366.

⁹¹ P.J. Mennenöh, *Duisburg in der Geschichte des niederrheinischen Buchdrucks und Buchhandels bis zum Ende der alten Duisburger Universität* (1818) (Duisburg 1970), pp. 42-3.

two towns still needs to be investigated more closely, and the attribution I am giving here is by no means sure.

After that it was several years before works by the two Mennonite leaders were published again. With what we shall see to be the fictitious date of 1576 a new reprint of Menno Simons' apology appeared, *Een weemoedige ende christelijcke ontschuldinge* (H 52, figs. 27-8; illus. 6). In contrast to nearly all the other editions of his work, which only gave the initials M.S., this one gives his name in full, placed in a cartouche-like frame made up of four decorative woodcut pieces at the end of the book. The title-page, moreover, is surrounded by a broad frame of typographical stamps or fleurons. Such an ornamentation had not appeared in any book by the author since 1552, and is clearly the product of yet another press.⁹²

Surprisingly enough, this publication was produced by Albrecht (or Albert) Hendricksz, printer to the States of Holland and later to the States General as well.⁹³ That it came from his press can be seen from the ornamentation described. Two of the woodcut pieces used for the frame were once owned by Dirck Gerritsz Horst, who worked in Leiden as a printer-publisher from 1562 to 1568. His material, including all his ornamental letters and a few vignettes, was then acquired by Albrecht Hendricksz in Delft. The latter was the last printer to continue to use it for a few years, so in this period the woodcuts can serve as an indication of his products. He was, moreover, one of the few printers in the northern Netherlands who made up title-page frames in this manner.

Despite his appointment as official printer Albrecht Hendricksz was consequently prepared to carry out an order to which the authorities would have had strong objections. Nor was this the first time. In 1578 his wife, the widow of the printer Harman Schinckel who had been executed under Spanish rule,⁹⁴ was scolded by the Delft Consistory for allowing her husband to print *Het offer des Heeren*. Albrecht Hendricksz was not a member of the Reformed community 'because he wanted to remain free to print and sell whatever books he liked' ('overmidts dat hij vrij woude zijn om te drucken ende te vercopen wat boecken dat hem beliefd'). The decision was consequently taken to summon his wife.⁹⁵ She promised to be on her guard against a repetition of the infringement, but, as we see here, this did not prevent a new breach of the regulations. *Een weemoedige ende christelijcke ontschuldinge* came out some years *after* the warning.

⁹² For (reduced) reproductions, see Horst illus. 27 and 28.

⁹³ J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 312-15.

⁹⁴ For this martyr for his faith, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel, een Delftse boekdrukker van de 16e eeuw* (Rotterdam [1963]), *passim*.

⁹⁵ Briels, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 314, letters (c) and (d).

The statement on the title-page 'Ghedrukt int Jaer 1576' is an antedating. The text opens with a calligraphic initial belonging to a set of metal letters which had originally only been used in the northern Netherlands by Willem Silvius and his son Carel. After the liquidation of their press, we find the letters in the work of Albrecht Hendricksz and later in that of others. Albrecht may have purchased the set in October 1582 at the winding-up sale of his former colleagues. They appear in many of his publications of 1583 and later, but never earlier. The book is thus antedated and cannot have appeared less than seven years after the date given.

In the meantime, in 1578, a second reprint appeared of Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion* (K 3, fig. 9). Here too the search for the printer has an unexpected outcome. The book contains an initial T which belongs to an alphabet once owned by Gillis van der Erven and which, after the sale of this firm, came into the possession first of Willem Gailliart and later, one might expect, of Nicolaes (II) Biestkens in Emden and Amsterdam. It appears, however, that two sets of initials from Gailliart's press, which had both originally belonged to Van der Erven, were not included in the purchase by Biestkens. We encounter the letters in 1575 in Ghent, used by Gautier (Gualterius) Manilius.⁹⁶

Gautier, a younger brother of Ghislein (Gislenius) Manilius, who had continued his father's firm in Ghent, opened a press of his own in the course of 1574.⁹⁷ Jan Gailliart died in the same year and Willem had to take over his father's trading company. As we saw, at about this time he transferred his printing-press to Biestkens, who may have been one of his collaborators. That Gautier should soon afterwards have been in possession of two sets of initials from the Emden press could mean that he, too, had worked there but, when it was reorganized, had lost his job and was presented with the woodblocks as a parting gift. This, however, is no more than a hypothesis. What is certain is that in 1574/5 he owned these Emden ornamental letters and that they recur regularly in his work from then on.

We thus see that works were also printed for the brotherhood in the southern Netherlands. In that period it may have been impossible to find a press north of the rivers ready, or able, to carry out such an order. Or perhaps Gautier's assumed stay in Emden contributed to making him a likely choice. That he published this book at his own expense is less probable, but we cannot establish who, or which group, financed the undertaking. Nevertheless we should probably look for the backers in Holland rather than in Friesland.

⁹⁶ A signed edition of Gautier Manilius containing the initial T is *Octroy ende accoort byden welcken den generale Staten slandts van herwaertsovere ...* (Gent, for J. van den Steene, 1577 [verso title-page]). BT 2734.

⁹⁷ For biographical information about him, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 20), pp. 135-6.

LATER REPRINTS BY PIETER HENDRICKS AND OTHERS

For a few months later, in 1579, reprints of both the *Enchiridion* (K 4, fig. 10) and Menno Simons' *Een Fundament* (H 15) appeared in Friesland.⁹⁸ The Frisian Mennonites had again found a printer in their area who was prepared to work for them. This time his place of residence was not Franeker but Leeuwarden and, in contrast to his predecessor, he was not exclusively in the service of the brotherhood. Indeed, his public position was entirely different. For Pieter Hendricksz van Campen had acquired the press of Is(e)brandt ter Steghe some months earlier and had succeeded him as official printer to the Court, and later to the States, of Friesland.⁹⁹ He managed to combine his work in this capacity with an extensive production of almost exclusively Mennonite books and Bibles. They were published partly anonymously and partly under the pseudonym 'Peter van Putte te Harlingen'.

In the first year of his activity he also printed a collective volume which included, besides the *Confessio* of the martyr Thomas van Imbroich and other pieces, a previously unpublished epistle by Dirck Philips, *Eenen [...] Sendtbriefgheschreven [...] aen die huysvrouw van I. den S. die welcke tot Antwerpen ghevanghen lach* (K 25, fig. 32).¹⁰⁰ In his later career he produced, in addition to three complete Biestkens Bibles and three New Testaments, numerous other publications, including reprints of *Het Offer des Heeren* and of *Veelderhands liedekens* in the Mennonite arrangement. In 1583 his press again issued the *Fundament* (H 16), and, as its last publication in 1587, a posthumous edition of Menno's epistle to Zylis and Lemmeken, *Een seer grontlijcke antwoort* (H 82, K 47). The booklet appeared with a new fake address, 'Tot Harlingen, by my Gherit Andrieszoon', and by then Pieter Hendricksz may have been dead.

All in all Pieter Hendricksz printed some twenty editions for the Frisian Mennonites, an extensive list with which he rapidly became one of the four or five largest publishers in the United Provinces. It is not clear how he could keep all these activities secret, but nothing suggests that he ever had any trouble. We could conclude that the Frisian authorities did not exert too severe a control on the press.

⁹⁸ H 15 and H 15b are printed from the same type matter. As Horst already observed the only difference is that 12 (and not 14!) leaves have been added in H 15b (sign. Tt3-[8], Vv[1]-[6]) containing *Van de gheestelijcke verrijsenisse*.

⁹⁹ For what little is known about his career, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Van Friese herkomst: de *Chronyc Historie*, Noordwitz 1579', *Philologia frísica anno 1984. Lezingen en neipetearen fan it tsiende Frysk Filologekongres* (Ljouwert 1986), pp. 102-3.

¹⁰⁰ I. den S. stands for Joachim den Suykerbacker; see Koolman, pp. 103-4. A full description of the collection can be found in *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Brussels 1964-75), hereafter cited as *BB*, vol. 3, pp. 579-81, no. I 3, where, however, Gautier Manilius in Ghent is incorrectly identified as the printer.

Perhaps, on the other hand, toleration had increased to such an extent in those areas that the publication of Mennonite books was no longer regarded as a danger.

At about this time yet another press produced a reprint of Menno Simons' first ban book, *Een lieffelijcke vermaninge*, with two additional epistles (H 75; illus. 7). The publisher was Derick Wylicks (or Wylicx) van Santen, who had worked as a book dealer in Deventer before setting up a press in Rees just over the border.¹⁰¹ In that year he published *Abrahams Wtganck* by Coornhert, who was in temporary exile in Xanten, Wylicks' birthplace, and had previously already assisted in the establishment of a press in Haarlem and Wesel. With this work Wylicks embarked on a fairly constant series of publications, mainly reprints of books which had been successfully published elsewhere. He produced texts which attracted a broad public, and because of the popular nature of his publications he came to occupy a place of his own among his colleagues in the northern Netherlands. His list deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. According to a seventeenth-century source, *Een lieffelijcke vermaninge* appeared in 1582.¹⁰² The date seems more reliable than the c.1576 which Horst took from Vos.

Apart from this tract, Wylicks also reprinted anonymously the *Testament van Soetken van den Houte*, followed, with continuous signatures but a title-page of its own, by Menno's *Kindertucht* (H 65b).¹⁰³ This combination and the identical wording of the titles make it likely that the booklet was a reprint of an Amsterdam edition of 1579 (H 65), the only known copy of which was lost in Hamburg. We do, however, have a title description which shows that this was a signed publication of Nicolaes (II) Biestkens.¹⁰⁴

This printer, too, followed the example of his predecessors by almost always resorting to anonymity in Mennonite publications. Only in an innocent text such

¹⁰¹ J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2nd, corr. & enl. edn. (Wiesbaden 1982), p. 386. The author gives 1594 as the last year of his activity with bibliographical references in which I have been unable to find this piece of information. The date can hardly be correct since, in 1592/3, a son, Reynder Wylicks, was printing in Emmerik with his father's material and then took it to Utrecht with him. The last known publication by Derick dates from 1589. Apart from what his list tells us we know hardly anything about him.

¹⁰² For this date, see H. Alenson, *Tegen-bericht op de voor-reden vant groote Martelaer Boeck der Doopsghesinde gedrukt tot Hoorn. 1626* (Haarlem 1630), in the margin of 91 and 94 (= the reprint in BRN, vol. 7, pp. 208 and 210 respectively). See also S. Cramer in BRN, vol. 7, p. 52, n. 1 and p. 444, n. 1.

¹⁰³ BB, vol. 3, p. 518; no. H 207

¹⁰⁴ BB, vol. 3, pp. 517-18, no. H 148. For the Amsterdam editions of Nicolaes (II) Biestkens, see Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 78), vol. 2, nos. 267 and 269-73, and P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 62), pp. 321-2, where, however, Dirk Philips' *Enchiridion* of 1578 (K 3) is still incorrectly given as one of his publications. From what I have said, we can see that Gautier Manilius is now recognized as the printer.

as the *Kindertucht* could such a measure be dispensed with. All his other reprints of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips appeared without an imprint, with the result, as we saw, that it is impossible to distinguish between his work and that of his predecessor Willem Gailliart on typographical grounds alone. In view of the situation I have described in Emden we should probably attribute H 48¹⁰⁵ and H 60 to Biestkens in Amsterdam. The same applies to K 37 (figs. 41, 43) and K 33 (figs. 35, 37) and K 40 (fig. 46), which appeared together. It is also likely that he printed a previously unknown edition of *Een clare onwedersprekelijcke bekentnisse*, a reprint, in purer Dutch (H 58b), of Menno's earlier reply to the *Defensio* of Joannes a Lasco which had appeared in Fresenburg.¹⁰⁶

Nicolaes' son and namesake, who reached the age at which he could run his father's press independently in 1595, was initially just as cautious. Only in 1600 did he publish a Mennonite book in his own name.¹⁰⁷ Before that he had been the anonymous printer of H 83 (fig. 29) and H 87 (fig. 30), which had been published in combination by the Amsterdam book dealer Aert Hendricksz in 1597.¹⁰⁸ These were two previously unpublished texts by Menno Simons, his *Vermanende belydinghe van den drie eeuigen* [sic], *ewighen en waren God*, of 1550, followed by *Een clare bericht* [...] *van der Excommunicatie* of the same year.

In the period in which the Biestkens firm was at a standstill, between 1583 and 1595, the only place in which texts by the Mennonite leaders were published

¹⁰⁵ This, too, is a reprint of an edition which has apparently been lost. A copy came up for sale at the auction of the collections of Van Westphalen, Meyerus Chiflets, Butkens Le Roy and others (The Hague 1764, organized by P. van Damme) under no. Oct. 2828, with the remark: 'Gedruckt omtrent 1550' (Printed in about 1550). There followed, under Oct. 2830, one of the reprints, H 48 or 49. As 'Onse bericht van des Heeren heylige menschweerdighe tegens Johannem a Lasco', it is also mentioned in Menno's *Een Christelijcke* [...] *vermaninge* (H 19) of [1556].

¹⁰⁶ The uncatalogued copy is to be found between (1) and (2) of shelf-mark 1216.10 Th. in the Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB) in Wolfenbüttel. The octavo booklet contains 64 numbered leaves, collation A-H⁸. The title-page is missing. In the auction of Van Westphalen and others (n. 105) a copy is mentioned under Oct. 2829 with the approximate date: 'gedrukt 1600'.

¹⁰⁷ For information about Nicolaes Biestkens the Younger, see Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 78), vol. 4, pp. 286-97 and, especially for his literary work, the introduction to: Nicolaes Biestkens, *De drie delen van de Klucht van Claas Kloet*, ed. G.R.W. Dibbets (Zutphen [1979]), pp. 6-8. He carried on his father's press and his work also contains a great deal of material that originated in Emden. However, he replaced the Lettersnijder Pica Textura (VPT T 30) as a typeface by Van den Keere's Small Pica Textura (VPT T 40), a more modern and economical type. This alteration makes it possible to distinguish his work from that of his predecessors. My thanks are due to P.J. Koopman, who is engaged in a bibliographical investigation into the production of Nic. Biestkens the Younger for the Department of Historical Literature at the University of Amsterdam, for verifying this.

¹⁰⁸ For Aert Hendricksz, see Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 78), vol. 4, pp. 319-20. He was a book dealer with a few Mennonite publications to his name. In later years he appears to have had a press of his own.

was Middelburg – by an opponent. There, in 1589, the book dealer Jeronimus Wullebrechts reprinted Dirk Philips' *Vander doope onses Heeren Jesu Christi* (K 18, fig. 23) together with a reply ('beantwoordinghe') by the future Heidelberg professor Jacobus Kimedoncius, who had served for some time as minister in Middelburg.¹⁰⁹ The printer was Richard Schilders, who also provided a new title-page (with the date unchanged) when Wullebrechts' successor, Bernard Langhenesz, entered into possession of the remainders in about 1597 and placed it on the market in his own name (K 19, fig. 24).

Towards the end of the century two more unsigned reprints appeared, H 49 and H 61, produced by a press in Amsterdam, this time belonging to Barent Adriaensz, who had been active since 1587.¹¹⁰ Then the *Enchiridion* was republished in 1600 (K 5, fig. 11). There is no mention of who printed it or where, and the sole distinguishing feature of the typographical material is an initial T which I have not yet been able to trace. Finally there again appeared an edition of *Een lieffelijcke vermaninghe*, this time in the name of 'Yge Ygesz, boeckvercooper tot Harlinghen'. This booklet (H 76), too, must date from around 1600, but we do not know who the printer was and we are probably dealing with a fake address. The only other book in which the name appears, in the spelling Ige Iges, dates from 1604 and contains a text which makes it understandable that the publisher should have wanted to remain anonymous.¹¹¹ In 1600/1, a collective edition of tracts by Menno Simons appeared which were not included in the recent issues of the *Fondament*. The title-page of this *Sommarie* (H 1) gives as the publisher 'Jan Janszoon boeckvercooper, woonende op het Noort, in die Lakeman, tot Hoorn' – a name and address for which we look in vain in other publications. This, too, is probably a pseudonym, used by one or more publishers in Amsterdam or Hoorn. The printer of the work, however, gives his name in full, Jacob de Meester te Alkmaar, a man who did a great deal of work for others. What we now see, at the turn of the century, is a change in the assessment

¹⁰⁹ For Jacobus Kimedoncius (c.1550–96), see A.A. van Schelven, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 4 (Leiden 1918), cols. 835–6, and *Biografisch Woordenboek van Protestantse Godgeleerden in Nederland*, vol. 4 (s-Gravenhage 1931), pp. 749–52.

¹¹⁰ H 61, a reprint of Menno Simons' account of his debate with Marten Micron in 1556, appeared in, or shortly before, 1597. This date emerges from the foreword of Micron's *Apologia* of the same year, where the reprint is justified by the recent appearance of Menno Simons' version. See Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 78), vol. 3, p. 347; for biographical details concerning Barent Adriaensz, *ibid.*, pp. 313–20.

¹¹¹ *De Historie van David Joris wt Hollant [...] door eenen Eerweerdigen Universiteyt der [...] stadt Basel [...] beschreven* (Harlingen, voor Ige Igesoon, boeckvercooper, 1604'. 8vo). Copy: Leiden, UL. – J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473–1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid. Dutch printers and booksellers. With places and years of activity* (Nieuwkoop 1989), pp. 181, 231, also only give this date.

of the risk involved in such a publication. The publishers preferred to remain in the background, while the printer no longer had any objection to making himself known. On the title-pages of the next edition of *Een Fondament*, a joint publication dating from 1613, we also see that the two publishers, Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh in Amsterdam (H 17) and Zacharias Cornelisz in Hoorn,¹¹² give their names. Because of the climate of increasing toleration the fear of getting into trouble for publishing Mennonite books had receded. Even the members of the Reformed Church seem to have resigned themselves to the fact that requests to the authorities to proceed against the printers of such literature had no effect.¹¹³

For later editions of the work of the Mennonite leaders, we thus no longer need the assistance of bibliographical investigation to discover where and by whom they were printed. We do indeed need them, however, for the many polemical writings which soon appeared as a result of the controversies among the Mennonites themselves. The printers of these works often worked anonymously, less, probably, for fear of the authorities than in order to avoid difficulties in their own circle.

If we survey the results of this investigation, we must admit that it hardly changes the existing chronology of the writings examined. Nor was that to be expected, since it has long been clear that the dates given in the works are nearly always reliable indications of the time of their appearance. The only exception to this rule was a deliberate antedating of an edition by Albrecht Hendricksz, who had to reckon with his vulnerable position as printer to the States. In this case, however, he gave the fictitious date in a reprint in which it could not cause any misunderstanding about the date of the original.

Particularly striking is the large number of firms to be approached in order to have the writings of the Mennonite leaders published. Up to 1568, the year in which Dirk Philips laid down his pen, no less than nine printing-offices had been marshalled, often situated in very distant towns. This demonstrates the problems encountered in the quest for printers ready to carry out such clandestine orders and to risk the dangers they entailed. Fortunately there were no victims. As far as we know none of the individuals directly involved got into trouble because of their part in producing Mennonite books. Pirated editions, however, soon made their appearance. In 1564 an unknown printer produced an unauthorized edition of just one tract by Dirk Philips, and in the same year the Deventer publisher Simon Steenbergen even produced a collective volume of nearly all his tracts without any authorization. In the later reprints it is not always clear how they came to

¹¹² J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *A short-title Catalogue of Books printed at Hoorn before 1701. A Specimen of the STCN* [...] (Nieuwkoop 1979), no. 240; *De computer als hulpmiddel bij bibliografische ontsluiting: Catalogus van Hoornse drukken 1591-1718 in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1979), no. 49.

¹¹³ For this development, see P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 138 ff.

be produced, whether on the orders of the brotherhood or at the expense of a publisher who saw them as a profitable investment.

In the sixteenth century, therefore, a total of some twenty printers were involved in the distribution of this output, most of them based in the north-eastern Low Countries or in the German border area. We know most of them by name, but it is surprising that the only one mentioned in a document (as the printer of the 'old' *Fondamentboek* and other works) should have escaped detection. The idea that many of the editions were produced in Emden is wrong. No more than three or four of these tracts were issued by the press of Mierdmans and Gailliart.¹¹⁴ What was also hitherto unknown was that the movement had works printed in Antwerp at such an early stage. It was there that Menno Simons' first book appeared, his *Verclaringhe des christelycken doopsels*. We now know that this treatise did indeed come out in 1539, as stated in the book, and thus preceded *Dat Fundament* of 15(39)40. Later in the same town Gillis Coppens van Diest printed a French summary of Mennonite teaching, translated from an unpublished text by Dirk Philips – the only contemporary publication of his work in that language. We also saw that a press in the southern Netherlands issued a reprint of the *Enchiridion*.

Finally, in 1575, there appeared, without an imprint, an anonymous German translation of Menno's *Fundamentum* (H 21). Like all later German and English editions it also includes his *Uytgangh ofte bekeeringe* [...]. The work can be ascribed on typographical grounds to the publisher Nikolaus Schreiber in Cologne.¹¹⁵ Various other titles in his list show that he had dealings with the Netherlands. A few years later, in 1579, he even used Deventer as a fake address under the name of Johan von Ach.¹¹⁶

Unfortunately it has proved impossible to establish who commissioned this German edition.

¹¹⁴ In contrast to the total of 18 titles given in the most recent list: 'Verzeichnis der Emden Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602', in Tielke, op. cit. (n. 51), pp. 45-127.

¹¹⁵ Benzing, op. cit. (n. 101), pp. 244-5; W. Reuter, 'Zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Buchdruckgewerbes im Rheinland bis 1800 (Köln/Bonn/Düsseldorf)', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 8 (1958), p. 141.

¹¹⁶ In W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889-1920; repr. 1978), vol. I, nos. 478 and 482.

LIST OF WORKS BY MENNO SIMONS

(Numbered according to Irvin Horst's *Bibliography*.)

- H 1 Sommarie. 2 vols. Hoorn, Jan Janszoon (pseud.?), 1600-1
- H 10 Dat Fundament [Eastern Netherlands?, printer unknown], 1539 (colophon: 1540)
- H 11 Ein Fundament [Fresenburg, printer B.L.?, 1554-5]
- H 12 Een Fondament [Emden, W. Gaillart], 1562
- H 13 Een Fondament [Franeker?, successor of Jan Hendricksz], 1565
- H 14 Een Fondament [Steenwijk, H. 't Zangers], 1567
- H 15 (15b) Een Fundament [Leeuwarden, Pieter Hendricksz], 1579
- H 16 Een Fundament [*ibidem*], 1583
- H 19 Vermaninge aen allen overheyden [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1556]
- H 20 Redene aen die overheyt [etc.] [Antwerpen, Hans (II) van Ruremunde, c.1552]
- H 21 Fundamentum. Ein Fundament [Cologne, N. Schreiber], 1575
- H 34 Voele goede [...] leringhen [Eastern Netherlands?, printer unknown], 1539 [=1540]
- H 35 Eyne seer lieflijcke meditation [Fresenburg, printer B.L.?, 1554-5]
- H 37 Van die wedergeboorte [Eastern Netherlands, printer unknown, c.1540]
- H 38 Die hemelsche wedergeboorte [Antwerp, Hans (II) van Ruremunde, c.1552]
- H 39 Die hemelsche gheboorte [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1556]
- H 40 Die hemelsche gheboorte (printer unknown, c.1560?)
- H 42 Van dat rechte christen gheloove [Antwerp, Henrick Peetersen van Middelborch, c.1542]
- H 43 Van het rechte christen gheloove [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1556]
- H 44 Verclaringhe des christelycken doopsels [Antwerp, M. Crom, 1539]
- H 46 Die oorsake waerom dat ick M.S. [*ibidem*, 1539]
- H 48 Vander Menschwerdinghe [Amsterdam, Nic. (II) Biestkens, c.1580]
- H 49 Vander Menschwerdinge [Amsterdam, Barent Adriaensz, c.1596]
- H 51 Een weemodige [...] ontschuldige [Deventer, S. Steenbergen], 1565
- H 52 Een weemoedige [...] ontschuldige [Delft, Albrecht Hendricksz], 1576 [= not before 1583]
- H 58 Eyne klare unwedersprekelike bekentenisse [Fresenburg, printer B.L.?, 1554-5]
- H [58b] [*idem*] [Amsterdam, Nic. (II) Biestkens, c.1580]
- H 59 Een gans duytljck [...] antwoordt [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1556]
- H 60 Een gants duytljck [...] antwoord [Amsterdam, Nic. (II) Biestkens, c.1580]
- H 61 Een gants duytljck [...] antwoord [Amsterdam, Barent Adriaensz, c.1596]
- H 62 Van die geestelicke verrysenisse (printer unknown, c.1560?)

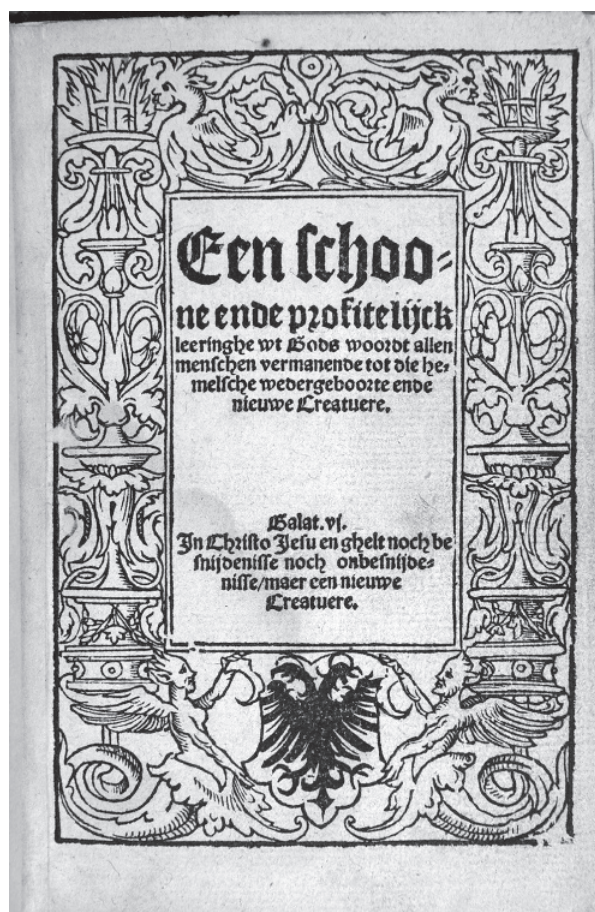
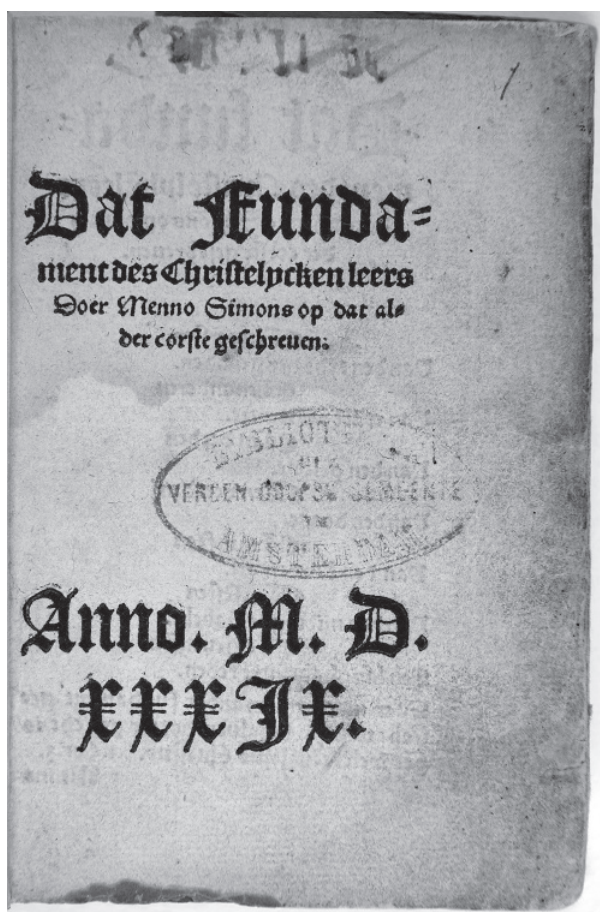
- H 63 Van die gheestelicke verrysenisse [Büderich, W. Gaillart, 1554-5?]
 H 64 Kindertucht + Benedicite [Steenwijk, H. 't Zangers, c.1567]
 H 65 Kindertucht (in: Een testament ghemaect
 by Soetken van den Houte) Amsterdam, Nic. (II) Biestkens, 1579
 H [65b] *idem* [Rees, D. Wylicks van Santen, c.1582?]
 H 70 Eyne troestelijke vermaninge [Fresenburg, printer B.L.?, 1554-5]
 H 72 Van de excommunicatie [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1558]
 H 73 Een liefelijcke vermaninghe [Homberg, N. Gevaerts, c.1575?]
 H 75 Een liefelijcke vermaninge [Rees, D. Wylicks van Santen, c.1582?]
 H 76 Een liefelijcke vermaninghe 'Harlingen, Yge Ygesz', c.1600
 H 82 Een seer grontlijcke antwoord [...] op Zylis ende Lemmekes [...] Harlingen,
 Gherit Andrieszoon [= Leeuwarden, Pieter Hendricksz], 1587
 H 83 (+ 87) Belydinghe van den drie eenigen God Amsterdam, [N. Biestkens the
 Younger for] Aert Hendricksz, 1597

LIST OF WORKS BY DIRK PHILIPS

(Numbered according to Marja Keyser's *Catalogue*.)

- K 1 Een korte bekentenisse [etc.] [Deventer, S. Steenbergen], 1564
 K 2 Enchiridion oft Hant-boecxken [Franeker?, Mennonite press], 1564
 K 3 Enchiridion oft Handt-boecxken [Ghent, Gautier Manilius], 1578
 K 4 Enchiridion oft Hantboecxken [Leeuwarden, Pieter Hendricksz], 1579
 K 5 Enchiridion oft Hantboecxken (printer unknown), 1600
 K 8 Enchiridion ou Manuël [Amsterdam, Abr. Biestkens], 1626
 K 16 Verclaringe des tabernakels [Emden, S. Mierdman], 1556
 K 17 Bekentenisse vanden eenigen God [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1557]
 K 18 Vander doope Jesu Christi Middelburg, J. Wullebrechts [printed by R.
 Schilders], 1589
 K 19 *idem* (title edition) Middelburg, Bern. Langhenesz, 1589 [= 1597]
 K 20 Van de menschwerdinghe Jesu Christi + Van die rechte kennisse Jesu
 Christi [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1557]
 K [20b] Vandie rechte kennisse Jesu Christi (printer unknown), 1564
 K 21 Vander warachtigher kennissen Godts [Groessen, N. Biestkens], 1558
 K 22 Vande wedergeboorte [Emden, S. Mierdman, c.1556]
 K 23 Een lieflicke vermaninghe [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, 1558]
 K 24 Vander sendinge der predicanten [Groessen, N. Biestkens], 1559
 K 25 Sendtbrief aen die huysvrouw van I. den S [Leeuwarden, Pieter Hendricksz],
 1579
 K 26 Van de geestelijcke restitution [Emden?, W. Gaillart?, c.1559?]

- K 27 Van de gheestelijcke restitution [Groessen], N. Biestkens, 1562
K 28 Van de ghemeynte Godts [Groessen], N. Biestkens, 1562
K 32 Eene apologia ofte verantwoordinge [Franeker, Jan Hendricksz, c.1563]
K 33 + 37 + 40 Sendt-brief [etc.] twistigen
handel [etc.] [Amsterdam, Nic. (II) Biestkens, c.1580]
K 34 + 38 + 41 (*idem*, original editions) (printer unknown, [1567])
K 47 [Second Ban Book, fragment] Horst 82 (1587)
K 49 Van die echt der Christenen [Emden?, W. Gailliart?], 1569
K - Traicté [...] de la sincere religion chrestienne [Antwerp, Gillis Coppens van
Diest], 1567



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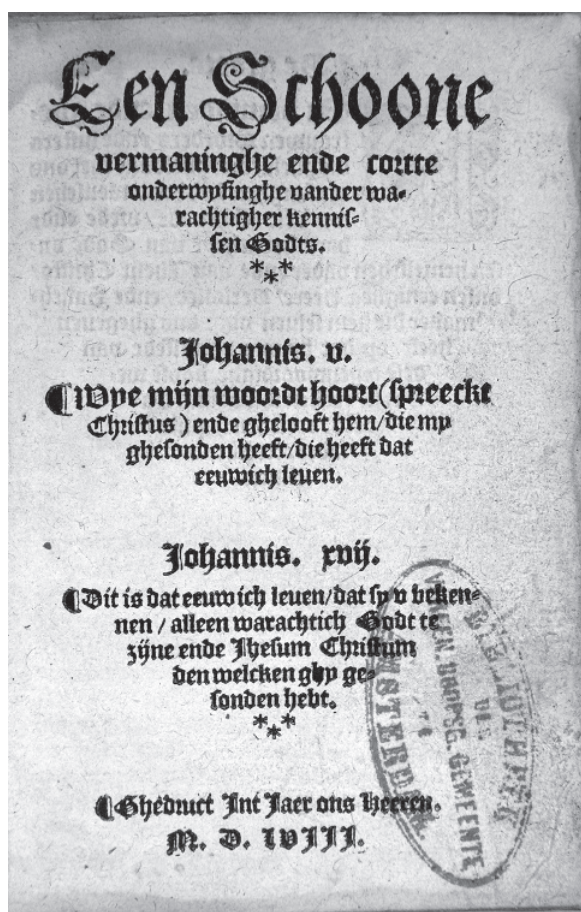
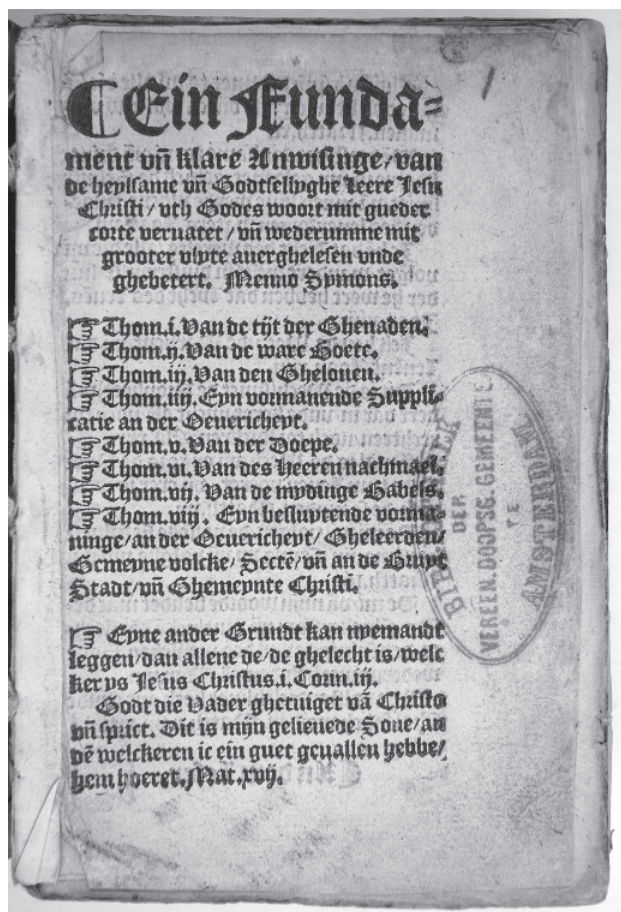
Menno Simons. *Dat Fundament des Christelycken leers* (s.l. [Oost-Nederland?], 1539-40 [in fine])

(Amsterdam: Special Collections: Ned. Inc 139; Horst 10)

2

[Menno Simons], *Die hemelsche wedergeboorte ende nieuwe creature* (s.l.e.a. [Antwerpen, Hans II van Ruremunde, c.1551-2])

(Amsterdam: Special Collections: OK 65-391; Horst 38)

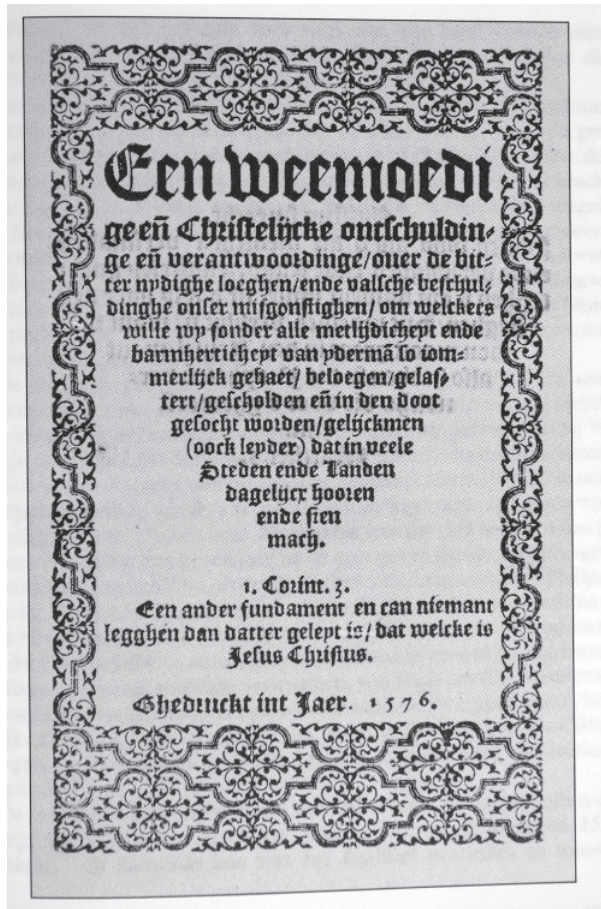
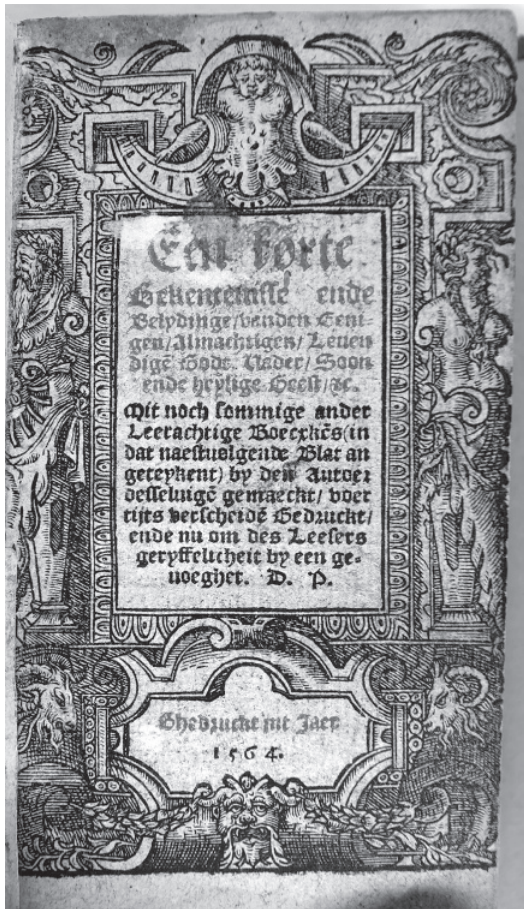


3

Menno Simons, *Ein Fundament* (s.l.s.n. [Fresenburg, Mennonite press], 1554/5)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-389)

4

D[irk] P[hilips]), *Van der warachtigher kennissen Godts* (s.l. [Groessen, Nicolaes I Biestkens van Diest], 1558)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-1057; Keyser 21)

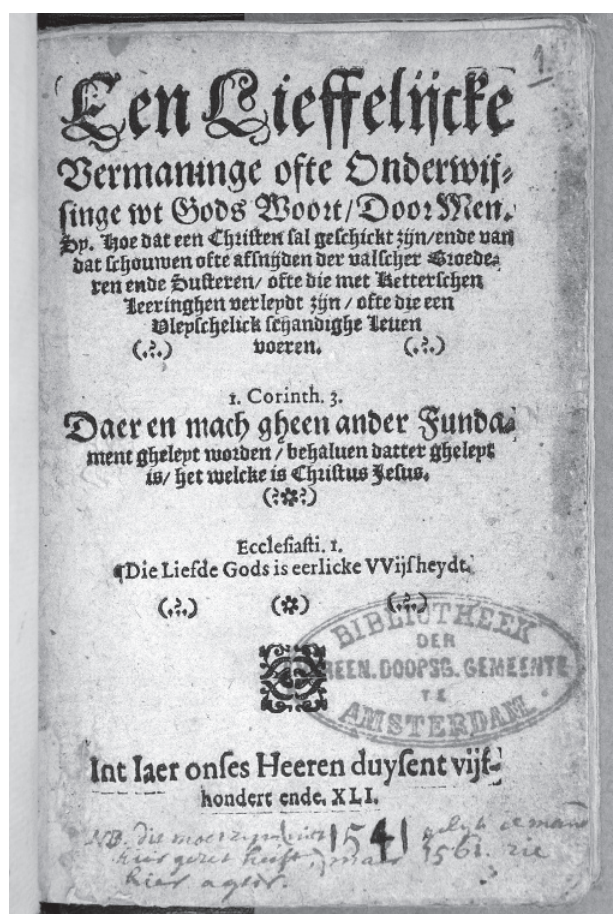


5

D[irk] P[hilips], *Van de eenigen, almachtigen, levendigen Godt* [en andere geschriften] (s.l. [Deventer, Simon Steenberghe], 1564)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 91-4; Keyser 4)

6

[Menno Simons], *Een weemoedige ende christelijcke ontschuldinge* (s.l., 1576 [= Delft, Albrecht Hendricksz, before 1583])
(Scan from original publication; Horst 52)



7

Men[no] Sy[mons], *Een lieffelijcke vermaninge ofte onderwijsinge uut Gods Woort* (s.l. 1541 [=Rees, Derick Wylicks van Santen, c.1582])

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-393; Horst 75)

PRINTERS TO THE 'ARCH-HERETIC'

DAVID JORIS

Prolegomena to a Bibliography of His Works



On 13 May 1559 a sensational event occurred in Basel: following the legislation against heretics which established that they must be prosecuted up to three years after their death, an exhumed corpse was burnt in the market place together with a portrait of the deceased and a number of the books he had written. That was what remained of a widely respected citizen of the town who had died in August 1556. It had since come to light that he was none other than the Dutch arch-heretic David Joris.

The man who was posthumously condemned in such a manner was one of those reformers who, acting on the edge of the great reformatory movements, had for some time had a substantial following in the Netherlands. Born in 1501 or 1502, with considerable artistic and literary gifts, he began his career as a glass-painter. He worked for several years as an artist outside the Low Countries, even spending some time in England, but after his marriage in 1524 he settled in Delft, the town in which he had probably grown up. Here he came under the influence of early Dutch reformers who rejected the established religion of the Church of Rome, particularly the doctrine of the sacraments. Besides a number of religious songs David Joris then wrote certain apparently violent attacks on the Church, none of which have survived. His militant attitude, even in public, led to a trial and banishment from his town of residence for three years in 1528. In the following years, which he probably spent mainly in East Frisia, he encountered the ideas of Melchior Hoffmann and Bernhard Rothmann. In 1535 he was ordained 'oudste' (elder) – bishop – in Delft by one of the leaders of the Dutch Anabaptists, Obbe Philips. A year later David Joris assumed a prominent position in the historic meeting at Bocholt, where, after the fall of Münster, the representatives of various currents of Anabaptism tried to agree on a new policy. His international influence did not last, however, and, after years of fierce persecution in his native country, he sought a safer existence abroad. His personal absence and the rise of Menno Simons diminished his following, yet adepts of his teaching continued to be active in the northern Netherlands well into the seventeenth century.¹

¹ My thanks are due to Dr Piet Visser, Amsterdam, and Dr Samme Zijlstra, Groningen, for reading this article and for their invaluable suggestions. – Modern research into the life and work of David Joris started with R.H. Bainton, *David Joris, Wiedertäufer und Kämpfer für Toleranz im 16. Jahrhun-*

David Joris left a massive literary output. Some of it was printed, but much also remained in manuscript. A great deal of what was rescued from his estate by the members of his family, who had been exiled from Basel, was published in later years thanks to his followers. Starting in the year 1537, the publication of his work continued for a period of almost a century. In this article I shall try to classify these hundreds of editions according to the date and place of their publication. My research is limited to the bibliographical aspects of the subject. Both biographical information and details taken from the content of Joris' writings are only mentioned in so far as they contribute to dating them.

David Joris became the object of bibliographical interest at an early stage and received more attention than any other writer in the Low Countries. The first man to draw up a list of his works was Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert, the prominent Dutch author on religion and ethics, who did so in a book published in 1590, attacking various points of the prophet's teaching.² The text was preceded by an extensive list of writings by the heresiarch, most of which, according to Coornhert, served for the compilation of his treatise.³ Such a catalogue, almost a personal bibliography, was a hitherto unknown phenomenon in Dutch literature. Never before was so complete an account given of the sources used for a monograph. The list is also significant since it shows which of David Joris' writings were available in printed form in 1590. In actual fact this *terminus ad quem* is even earlier, since Coornhert delayed the publication of his book in order to allow certain followers of David

der (Leipzig 1937). Important contributions have been made subsequently by K. Deppermann, Melchior Hoffmann (Göttingen 1979), pp. 315-24: 'David Joris und die Strassburger Melchioriten', and especially by S. Zijlstra, Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk. *Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het David-jorisme* (Assen 1983), *passim*, and *id.*, 'David Joris en de doperse stromingen (1536-1539)', *Historisch bewogen. Opstellen [...] aangeboden aan A.F. Mellink* (Groningen 1984), pp. 125-38. For his Basel years, see P. Burckhardt, 'David Joris und seine Gemeinde in Basel', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertums-kunde*, 48 (1949), pp. 5-106; for his work as an artist, see H. Koegler, 'Einiges über David Jorisz als Künstler', *Jahresberichte der Oeffentlichen Kunstsammlung Basel*, NS, 25-6 (1928-30), pp. 157-201 (illus.), and K.G. Boon, 'De glasschilder David Joris, een exponent van het doperse geloof', *Academiae Analecta. Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 49 (1988), pp. 117-37 (illus.). Also of recent date are J.M. Stayer, 'David Joris: A Prolegomenon to Further Research', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 59 (1985), pp. 350-61, and G.K. Waite, *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1990).

² *Kleyn-Munster. Des groot-roemighen David Jorissens roemryke ende wonderbare schriften elckerlijck tot een proeve voor ghestelt*, door Dirck Volckharts Coornhert (s.l.e.n. [Gouda, Jasper Tournay] 1590). Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter quoted as BB, vol. 1, p. 718, no. C 68; A. van der Linde, *David Joris. Bibliographie* (s-Gravenhage 1867), (hereafter also quoted as vdL), no. 251.

³ 'Aanwyzinghe der boecken David Jorisz. by dezen Schryver meest ghelezen ende ghebruyckt, tot lichte naspueringhe of d'anghetoghene plaatsen hier na trouwelijck zijn gestelt, dan niet. Daar de cyfer talen beteecken den boecken hier neven de cyfer talen ghenoeemt ...' — *Kleyn-Munster* (n. 2), f. 2.

Joris to point out any inaccuracies – a chance of which they did not choose to avail themselves. We do not know how long the delay lasted, but what is certain is that the author did not complete his text before 1584, since he refers repeatedly to the *Wonderboek* in its revised version which, though dated 1551, was only published at about that time.⁴

In his list Coornhert gives 51 titles,⁵ three of which are missing in Van der Linde's David Joris bibliography – over a century old and incomplete, but still the current reference work for the writings of the heresiarch.⁶ Three tracts mentioned by Coornhert are recorded twice by Van der Linde and he wrongly divided another into three numbers. It is also possible to object to some of his identifications: he sometimes refers to reprints which had not yet appeared in Coornhert's time.⁷ Finally, not only does the appearance of certain writings in Coornhert's

⁴ For Coornhert's attack on David Joris' ideas, see H. Bonger, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 274-84; p. 279, for the history and date of publication of *Kleyn-Munster*; B. Becker, *Bronnen tot de kennis van het leven en de werken van D.V. Coornhert* (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Kleine serie, 25; 's-Gravenhage 1928), p. 214, n. 3, points out that the foreword must be dated after October 1588, but that the author had already declared in 1583 that he had written against David Joris.

⁵ There are actually 52 of them, but one, no. 52 in his list, 'De gphantse leeringhe van D.J.', refers to a work printed in 1582 (vdL 235), written by C[laes] M[eyndertsz van Blesdijk] and dating from the period when he was still a follower of his father-in-law.

⁶ For the title, see n. 2. Van der Linde used above all the collection of writings by David Joris belonging to the Mennonite Community in Amsterdam (the Mennonite Library, now on loan to Amsterdam UL), to the Royal Library (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'KB') in The Hague, to the Athenaeum-bibliotheek in Deventer, and two private collections now in the University Library of Ghent. He also made use of the description of titles drawn up by the Hamburg librarian F.L. Hoffmann and based on the many Joris editions in the Krohn collection which were subsequently lost during the Second World War. The book is unfortunately disfigured by a vast number of misprints, apparently the result of careless proof reading. Bainton's appreciation, 'eine ausgezeichnete Bibliographie', in op. cit. (n. 1), p. 108, is thus too flattering. That the author could do better emerges from his earlier article 'Les œuvres de David Joris', *Le bibliophile belge*, 1 (1866), pp. 129-48, in which a number of the same titles are reproduced correctly. Van der Linde's work served as the basis for the numeration of David Joris' writings as they are incorporated in *The Radical Reformation Microfiche Project: Books by and about David Joris* (Zug 1977).

⁷ For a concordance of Coornhert's numbers with those of Van der Linde, see p. vi of his bibliography. The doublets in question are no. 3 (vdL 179 = 188), no. 7 (vdL 189 = 196) and no. 39 (vdL 174 = 191). No. 36 is vdL 5-7. The tracts named by Coornhert which do not appear in vdL are: no. 22: *Leeringhe ende vermaninghe met bequame ...*; no. 31: *Onderzoeckt u zelven of ghy inden gheloove ...*; and no. 38, which is not vdL 115 as the bibliography says, but *Een dialoog of twee-spraec tusschen Peter unde Jan ...* (see here n. 107). Some references are wrong, moreover: no. 12 is not vdL 77 but 194 (or 201?); no. 13, not vdL 205 but an earlier edition unknown to him; no. 27, not vdL 177 but 186; no. 28, not vdL 48 but 213; no. 29, not vdL 118 but 178. Coornhert's no. 51, for which the bibliography provides no number, is vdL 190 (the improved title on p. viii which replaces the one on p. 48). See the Ap-

work set a limit to their date of publication, but the same also applies to those treatises he does *not* mention.

An even earlier source of bibliographical information are the writings of Nicolaes van Blesdijk (or Bleesdijck), who was married to a daughter of David Joris. As a follower of his father-in-law (during the latter's lifetime: he was later to turn against him) he wrote a number of accounts of his doctrine.⁸ Blesdijk refers there to various tracts by his leader part of which, we can assume, were already circulating in printed form in 1545-7, the years in which the apologies were composed.⁹ There are also numerous references to writings by David Joris in the additions which the East Frisian preacher Gerhardus Nicolai made to his translation of Heinrich Bullinger's great work, *Teghens de Wederdoopers*. Nicolai died in 1568, so he too can be said to set a time limit for the various tracts he mentions.¹⁰ The trouble with these early sources is, however, that they usually give highly abbreviated titles. It is thus sometimes hard to determine which writings are actually referred to.

Subsequently a strikingly large number of writers dealt with David Joris and his work. The first was the Groningen rector Ubbo Emmen (Emmius) in his *Grondelijcke onderrichtinghe* (1598).¹¹ After the publication of a *Wederlegginghe* of the

pendix at the end of this article.

⁸ The largest number of writings is mentioned in: Nic. Meyn[dertsz] van Bleesdijck [=Blesdijk], *Billijcke verantwoordinge ende eenvoldighe wederlegginghe op eenen scheltlasterighen brief door Doctorem Hieronimum Wilhelmi [...] teghens die heylsame leere D.J. ... Wtgegaen Anno 1547 (s.l. 1610)*. Cf. J.G. Boekennoogen, *Catalogus der werken over de Doopsgezinden en hunne geschiedenis, aanwezig in de bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1919), p. 76. – In this work Blesdijk names: vdL 2, 9, 14, 17, 28, 166, 173, and 199; in addition to: *Die acht salicheden* (1539); *Boecxken van den echten staet* (1541; = NK 3275?); *Prophetie, of boeck der volmaetheyt* (1542); and *Laet de kinderkens tot my komen* (according to Van der Linde his no. 24). All these editions must thus be dated 1547 at the latest. – NK refers to W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s Gravenhage 1923-71).

⁹ In Deventer in 1642, Jacobus Revius published: *Historia vitae, doctrinae ac rerum gestarum Davidis Georgii haeresiarchae* (vdL 242), a translation of a history composed in 1576 by Blesdijk on the basis of earlier notes. Here, however, all the works have shortened Latin titles, which sometimes makes a proper identification virtually impossible.

¹⁰ Nicolai's additions to Bullinger's *Teghens de Wederdoopers* (Emden, [Jan Malet], 1569) have been published separately in *Zestiende-eeuwsche schrijvers over de geschiedenis der oudste Doopsgezinden hier te lande*, ed. S. Cramer (Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, 7; 's-Gravenhage 1910), pp. 269-487; see also B. Becker, 'Nicolai's inlassching over de Franckisten', *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 18 (1925), pp. 286-96. – Nicolai, too, uses abridged titles: *Tuchtboecxken* (vdL 5-7?); *Troostboecxken* (vdL 10); *Vermaenings boecxken* (vdL 15?); *Boecxken vanden laetsten dach* (vdL 164); *Verlichting boecxken* (vdL 168); *Boeck des Levens* (vdL 177); *Kentenisboecxken* (vdL ?).

¹¹ Ubbo Emmius, *Grondelicke onderrichtinghe van de leere ende den geest des hooft-ketters David Joris, uyt zijne eygene schriften [...] vergadert ...*, appeared in Middelburg in 1598 as a joint publication by Richard Schilders, the printer, and Barent (I) van Langenes. A part of the edition was dated 1599 (vdL 254).

same book by Andreas Huygelmumzoon (= Bernhard Kirchen?)¹² he again published in reply an extensively documented attack on David Joris' teaching: *Den David-Jorischen gheest* (1603), in which still more writings by the 'arch-heretic' were discussed.¹³ Here, too, the description of the titles is very summary.

If we leave aside certain accounts of Joris' life which are of less importance from a bibliographical point of view, we come to Fridericus Jessenius, whose *Auffgedeckte Larve Davidis Georgii* (Kiel 1670) contains an extensive list of his writings based on autopsy.¹⁴ These data were adopted in full by Vincentius Placcius in his *Theatrum anonymorum et pseudonymorum* (Hamburg 1708). The next man to compile as complete a bibliography as possible was Gottfried Arnold.¹⁵ Much of the information this church historian provided about David Joris' literary output was based on Jessenius, but he also possessed some volumes of tracts himself.¹⁶ His detailed list was followed by studies by S.J. Baumgarten¹⁷ and J.C. Adelung,¹⁸ until, more recently, A.M. Cramer assembled all the bibliographical information known to date, together with particulars he had discovered himself, in a check-

The book had originally appeared in the East Frisian Low German also current in Groningen: *Ein grundtlick bericht van der lere und dem geist des ertzketters David Joris, uth synen schrfften [...] vervatet ...* (s.l. 1597). Cf. C. Borchling & B. Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, 3 vols. (Neumünster 1931-57; repr. Nieuwkoop 1976), no. 2593. The anonymous publisher was Warner Berends in Emden.

¹² Boekenooogen, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 77. Bernhard Kirchen, who was married to David Joris' daughter Clara, was living in Emden in 1597 and died in Rotterdam in 1602; see J.H. Scheffer, 'Een oude passie speler en zijn nageslacht', *Algemeen Nederlandsch familieblad*, 1883, no. 18, p. 2.

¹³ Ubbo Emmius, *Den David Jorischen gheest in leven ende leere, breeder ende wydtloopigher ontdect [...] daarmede hy syn vorige wt-ghegeven Bericht van den selven gheeste bewyst ende verdedicht ...* (s-Gravenhage, Hillebrant Jacobsz, 1603; vdL 262).

¹⁴ vdL 263 gives the full title of this work, which contains one of the most violent attacks on David Joris ever published. For our purpose pp. 42-73 of the second part of the work are of particular interest: 'Historiae Davidis Georgii ander Theil, von den Büchern und Schrifften Davidis Georgii, die er ohne Vermeldung so wol seines eigenen als des Buchdruckers Nahmens, wie auch des Orthes da sie gedrucket, ausgehen lassen.' – The author had access to a large collection of 15 tract volumes containing, according to his own calculation, 218 treatises.

¹⁵ G. Arnold, *Fortsetzung und Erläuterung oder Dritter und Vierdter Theil der Unpartheyischen Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie, vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments bis auf das Jahr Christi 1688* (Franckfurt a/Main 1715), pp. 509-669.

¹⁶ A number of these are now in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

¹⁷ S.J. Baumgarten, *Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Bibliothek*, vol. 5 (Halle 1750), pp. 261-4, 305-30. For a list of the corresponding numbers in Van der Linde see p. vi.

¹⁸ Joh. Christ. Adelung, *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit, oder Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Schwarzkünstler ...*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1787), pp. 398-413. The concordance given by Van der Linde (p. vi) of the works and tracts there described contains a few inaccuracies.

list to which J. van Harderwijk could make some additions.¹⁹

After Friedrich Nippold had also provided new material in his still valid history of David Joris and his doctrine,²⁰ A. van der Linde's aforesaid *Bibliographie* appeared in 1867. Other scholars made occasional additions,²¹ but, for the work of the sectarian, we still have to refer to this book. Clearly nobody felt inclined again to tackle this 'vipers' nest' in its entirety.²² The undertaking does indeed have a forbidding side to it: none of the two hundred or so editions which we know contains an imprint and where some of them give a date in the colophon the external appearance of the book suggests that this is not the date of publication but the year in which the work was written. Van der Linde steered clear of these problems and did not take into consideration the origin and possible date of publication of the various editions. In certain notes he indeed referred to what was known about the publication of the 'old' *Wonderboek* and some smaller works printed in Deventer by Albert Pafraet and Dirk (II) van den Borne from the proceedings of their trials.²³ But the typographical appearance shows that they were certainly not the only printers involved in the publications.

In order to discover the date of printing of the first editions of all these writings – so essential for assessing their diffusion – we have to establish the identity of those printers who, besides Pafraet and Van den Borne, dared to set such heretical texts on their presses. Since there is virtually no historical evidence on the subject, only a bibliographical analysis can lead to the identification of the majority of these men. As has become generally known by now, this method is based on the recognition of ornaments and woodcut initials in the printed work or, if these do not appear, exclusively on information derived from the typefaces used and the combinations in which they appear.

The first scholar to have applied this method to the tracts of David Joris was Dr A. Hofmeister, custos of the former Landesbibliothek (now University Library) in

¹⁹ A.M. Cramer, 'Bijvoegselen tot de levensbeschrijving van David Joris, I: Schriften van David Joris', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis*, 6 (1846), pp. 292-303, 367-8, as a supplement to his 'Levensbeschrijving van David Joris', published *ibidem*, 5; J. van Harderwijk, 'Lijst van werken van David Joris', *ibidem*, 7 (1847), pp. 400-11.

²⁰ F. Nippold, 'David Joris von Delft', *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 33 (1863), pp. 3-166; 34 (1864), pp. 483-673; and 38 (1868), pp. 475-591.

²¹ E. Weller, 'David Joris', *Serapeum*, 30 (1869), pp. 253-6; H.C. Rogge, 'Een band met tractaten van David Joris', *Bibliographische Adversaria*, 2nd S., 1 (1887-94), pp. 1-14 (1887, pp. 10 ff.); see *Collectie van rariora, inzonderheid godsdienst en theologie*, 2nd enl. edn. (Utrecht [1892]), p. 46, and *Collection of Rariora [...] from the library of the late Dr. J.I. Doedes [...] sold by auction ...* (Utrecht, J.L. Beijers, 1898), no. 322.

²² A term launched by Professor H. de la Fontaine Verwey, who used it during one of his lectures.

²³ Van der Linde derived this information from P.C. Molhuysen, 'Procedure over de werken van David Joris', *Nijhoff's Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 9 (1854), pp. 246-55.

Rostock.²⁴ In 1885 a volume containing, according to his estimate, twenty Dutch tracts dated between 1539 and 1545 was put up for sale, and he recognized these as the work of the Rostock printer Ludwig Dietz. After he had managed to buy the collection for his library, he published, in the same year, a full description of the contents but without knowing who the anonymous author was. He based his attribution to Dietz on the evident similarity of the typographical material to that used by this printer – such a complete correspondence that there could be no doubt whatever of Dietz' involvement in the publication.²⁵ The author also made a further interesting observation: this was not a volume containing pieces published separately, but a collective edition in which the tracts were printed in chronological order. This emerged from the use of various gathering signatures with one or two capitals and/or lower case letters. Hofmeister concluded that the entire edition had been dispatched to the Netherlands in order to be distributed there, obviously underground.

After the publication of this discovery it was established in Holland that the tracts in question were by David Joris and had already been described by Van der Linde. Dr H.C. Rogge knew of another copy of the same tract volume, with exactly the same contents in the same order – which thus confirmed the view that it was a collective edition. The Amsterdam librarian doubted the identification with Dietz' types, however, and thus the accuracy of the attribution proposed. Instead he perceived a sufficient similarity with the material of the presses of Pafraet and Van den Borne to ascribe the publications to Deventer.²⁶

In his reply to this article,²⁷ Hofmeister provided convincing examples of works signed by Ludwig Dietz with typefaces and ornaments which also appeared in the Joris editions. In a postscript Rogge had to admit he was wrong on this point:

²⁴ A. Hofmeister, 'Zwanzig Sendschreiben eines ungenannten Hauptes der Wiedertäufer an seine Glaubensgenossen in den Niederlanden, 1539-45', in C.M. Wiechmann, *Mecklenburgs altniederländische Literatur*, vol. 3 (Schwerin 1885; repr. Utrecht 1968), pp. 131-41.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 140: 'Sämmtliche zwanzig Schriften [...] sind alle mit den Dietzischen Lettern No. 3, Randnoten und einzelne eingeschobene Stücke mit denen No. 5 gedruckt. Jede beginnt mit einem der schönen Initialbuchstaben in Schrotmanier, welche sich in so vielen aus Ludwig Dietz' Officin hervorgegangenen Drucken finden ...'.

²⁶ Rogge, art. cit. (n. 21), pp. 4 ff. On p. 12: 'Dat al deze met dezelfde lettersoort gedrukte geschriften, benevens die van het Rostocksche bandje, afkomstig zijn deels van Paffraet [...] deels van Van Borne, kan aan geen redelijken twijfel onderhevig zijn. Het aantal zal bij verder onderzoek blijken nog veel grooter te zijn ...' (That all these works printed with the same typefaces, together with those in the Rostock volume, should have been produced partly by Pafraet ... and partly by Van Borne, cannot be reasonably called in doubt. Further investigation will prove that there were far more of them ...).

²⁷ A. Hofmeister, 'Nog iets over den Rostocker band met tractaten van David Joris', *Bibliographische Adversaria*, 2nd S., 1 (1887-94), pp. 86-93 (1888).

his rejection of Hofmeister's theory had been based on a comparison with lithographed facsimiles which differed in some respects from the originals.²⁸ But he could not give up the idea that the book had been printed in Deventer and that the printers there had used types and woodcuts which they had obtained from Rostock. The closer investigation which Rogge demanded on this point shows, however, that he was wrong. No material belonging to Dietz ever went to Deventer and there can be no doubt that Dietz and nobody else had printed the David Joris editions in question.

A good fifty years elapsed before typographical investigation was again applied to reach further results. After some four books had been attributed to Dietz in the first volume of Nijhoff-Kronenberg's *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*²⁹ – 'wthgegaen' (issued) in the years 1539 and 1540 but described by the compilers as 'possibly after 1540'³⁰ – Dr Kronenberg provided more attributions in a further volume of this great work. She could ascribe four tracts to Albert Pafraet, a fifth to Dirk (II) van den Borne, but had to leave two others which belonged to 'her' period without a printer. A single publication (NK 3274), about the authorship of which she herself was in doubt, subsequently appeared to have been not by David Joris but presumably by Claes Meynerts van Blesdijk.³¹ A number of undated editions also remained without description, since she obviously regarded them as post-1540 and thus outside the scope of her work. Their titles are also lacking in her supplements.

At about the same time an interesting document came to light: the record of an interrogation on 30 April 1596 before the Court of Holland in which the Rotterdam printer Dierck [de Raeff van] Mullem declared that he had printed the *Wonder-boeck van David Georis* some twelve or thirteen years earlier in Vianen.³² He had done so on the orders of a merchant from Emden who had bought up the entire edition, with the exception of six copies which Mullem had sold or given away.

²⁸ 'Lettern von Ludwig Dietz zu Rostock', 2 plates in C.M. Wiechmann, *Mecklenburgs altniedersächsische Literatur*, vol. I (Schwerin 1864; repr. Utrecht 1968). The appearance of facsimiles lithographed by hand in earlier literature can still occasionally lead the investigator astray.

²⁹ A full description of the work is given in note 8.

³⁰ It has obviously escaped the authors that NK 1234 (vdL 5), *Straffinghe ende leer*, with signature A⁸, forms a bibliographical unit with vdL 6, sign. a-b⁸, which has the same title (even printed from the same type matter!) but is dated '30 Martij 1542' at the end. NK 1234 cannot consequently have appeared before that date.

³¹ For this authorship, see Zijlstra, op. cit. (n.1), p. 20. Both copies mentioned in NK were lost in the Second World War. There is, however, a transcript by F.C. Wieder in the Mennonite Library, now on loan to Amsterdam UL.

³² '... voor omtrent 12 of 13 jaren'; see J. Smit, 'Nogmaals Dierck Mullem', *Het boek*, 25 (1938-9), pp. 65-6 (p. 66).

Since he had been banished from Rotterdam on 9 November 1583 for six years, the printing of this revised edition must have taken place in 1584.

After Eugénie Droz had managed to prove that Mullem was also the printer of four French translations of the works of David Joris which had appeared later and to which I shall be returning, there was a pause. Renewed research in Basel, where a great deal of unstudied material had been discovered in the university library (the so-called 'Jorislade') and in the State Archives, brought no more information to light about the publishing history of his writings than a declaration, made from hearsay, that indicated the towns of Deventer, Frankfurt and Utrecht as the places of publication.³³ The extent to which this is correct is most uncertain: Utrecht can almost definitely be excluded. The 'Jorislade' was of more assistance in another respect: it contains nine printed tracts by David Joris, four of which are the only surviving copies after the losses in the Second World War.³⁴

Despite many investigations, only the most important of which I have mentioned in this survey, we still do not know where and when the greater part of David Joris' literary output was published. Besides a number of inaccurate attributions all that has been identified so far are, as we have seen, five works produced in Deventer, another five produced by Dierck Mullem, and finally a tract volume with twenty treatises printed by Dietz in Rostock. The origin of all the other publications remains obscure. What follows is an attempt to identify at least a majority of them according to their order of publication. I shall thus begin with the earliest editions which have survived.

THE FIRST PRINTERS: DEVENTER

According to Van der Linde, David Joris' earliest dated work is *Van die heerlijcke ende Godlijcke ordeninge* of 1535 (vdL 99). It only appeared in print far later, however. The text is included in a volume of seventeen consecutively foliated tracts (vdL 94-110) which, as we read on various title-pages, were published in 1614. They were

³³ On 30 November 1558 the Basel printer and publisher Peter van Mechelen, who originated from the Netherlands and was apparently once a close friend of David's secretary Hendrik van Schor, testified that: '... von dysen Henrich hab ich auch dess Dauids buecheren ettlyche von im empfanghen die ich vor niemand hab mögen bekommen / syndt in vil orten in iren costen getruckt worden / also zu Franckfort, Deuenter, Vtrecht, vnd anderszwo ...' (... from this Henry I obtained also several of David's books, which I could get from no-one else, and which were printed in many places at their expense – in Frankfurt, Deventer, Utrecht and elsewhere ...). – Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Handschriftenabteilung, Jorislade, *Berichte über David Joris und die Niederländer*, Stück D. Quoted from: Bainton, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 159.

³⁴ This is vdL 10, vdL 50-2 and vdL 39 which form a bibliographical unit, 53 and 178 (*idem*), 165, 170, 180, 183, 184 and 199. The last four would appear to be the only copies in existence.

obviously printed after a manuscript since no earlier edition of any of the pieces is known.³⁵ David Joris' first *printed* work must thus be another one. He himself said it was *Hoert hoert hoert. Groot wonder, groot wonder, groot wonder. Siet op dye berge(n) (s.l.a.n.)*; vdL 163.³⁶ Since the anonymous biography of David Joris published by Arnold,³⁷ the work has generally been dated at the end of 1536. Both the ideas contained and the flamboyant manner of expressing them point to the emotional *crise de conscience* which David Joris experienced in December of that year.³⁸

When was this treatise published, however? We would have expected the prophet, in his urge to convert, to have proclaimed his newly acquired views as soon as possible, but Dr Kronenberg did not include the work in her bibliography, although she had definitely seen it. The only possible conclusion one can draw is that she must have dated it later than 1540, the termination of her period. The question is whether she was right in doing so. When and (in this context an essential element) by whom was the book printed?

The only known copy is in a tract volume in the collection of the Mennonite Library in Amsterdam, at present on loan to the Amsterdam University Library.³⁹ Apart from a number of pieces in manuscript (dating from about 1700) the volume also includes four other early tracts by David Joris: *Een onderwysinge ofte raet* (vdL 1), 'Vth ghegeuen int iaer 1537' (Published in the year 1537), and vdL 165-7, all three of which are undated. Of these Dr Kronenberg has included in her work, and correctly attributed to Albert Pafraet, vdL 1 (NK 3277) and vdL 166: *Een seer suuerlick tractaet* (NK 3279).⁴⁰ Both books are printed in three Schwabacher typefaces, the

³⁵ Any more than of the pieces contained in the first, undated editions of the *Handt-boecxken* (vdL 218) and of *Dat tweede Handt-boecxken* (vdL 220). In the reprints dated 1616 (vdL 219, 221), however, a number of tracts have been added which had already appeared earlier but were no longer available separately. The same applies to the following two volumes in the series (vdL 222-4); vol. 4 consists entirely of reprints.

³⁶ Cf. vdL 163 note. The author there refers to a statement by David Joris 'in his work on the word Devil'. This probably corresponds to vdL 212: *Een cort ende leerlyck tractaet [...] wat dat woort Duyvel sy ...* 'Herdruckt [...] 1616'; obviously a reprint of the text which had originally appeared with the title *Dat boeck des levens* (vdL 177).

³⁷ 'David Joris sonderbahre Lebens-Beschreibung, aus einem Manuscripto', in Arnold, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 669-702.

³⁸ For the earliest writings of David Joris, see also G.K. Waite, 'David Joris' thought in the context of the early Melchiorite and Münsterite movements in the Low Countries, 1534-1536', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 62 (1988), pp. 296-317; previously published in Dutch: 'David Joris' ideeën in het kader van de vroege Melchioritische en Munsterse bewegingen in de Lage Landen', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 12-13 (1986-7), pp. 81-106.

³⁹ Boekennoogen, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 67.

⁴⁰ During his trial in July 1544, to which we shall be returning, Pafraet himself admitted that he

smallest of which, used for the text, has a format of 74/5 mm for twenty lines. This combination of German typefaces in the Low Countries is typical of Deventer, for Albert's colleague Dirck (II) van den Borne also worked with them. But here the initial S in vdL I undoubtedly belongs to Pafraet: we already come across the letter in his New Testament of 1525. The woodcut border on the title-page of vdL 166, with Peter and Paul and the emblems of the four evangelists, was also in his possession.⁴¹

Hoert, hoert ... is printed in two of these Schwabacher typefaces and contains a smaller initial S which, even if replicas also appear outside Deventer, is easily recognizable owing to characteristic damage. I have not hitherto seen the woodblock in work by Pafraet, but I have found it in a book that must be attributed to Simon Steenbergen, a printer who settled in the town in 1557.⁴² Some time later he took over the still serviceable material of Pafraet's press and the fact that the mutilated S should subsequently have been owned by him proves that this earliest publication of David Joris in 1537 was the work of Steenbergen's predecessor Albert Pafraet.

With this analysis the question of who David's first printer was would seem to be answered. One of the prophet's printed tracts, albeit then ascribed to another author, has, however, been given an earlier date. With the title *Hoert die stemme des Heeren, die bruyloft des lams is bereyt ... (s.l.a.n.)*, see illus. I,⁴³ it goes at present under the

had printed NK 3279.

⁴¹ The three typefaces have been reproduced together in W. Nijhoff, *L' Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. & supplément (La Haye 1926-35), Albert Paffraet, Plate X, figs. 49, 53; the initial and the woodcut border are to be found *ibidem* IX 47 and V 22 respectively. – Nijhoff's work will be quoted hereafter with the customary acronym NAT.

⁴² Simon Steenbergen (Steinberchen, Saximontanus) married Geertruida ('Druede'), the daughter of Albert Pafraet, between Whitsun 1551 and Easter 1552. As we see from his later typographical productions the still functional parts of the inventory of the family firm passed into his hands after the death of Albert's son and successor Richard (II) in 1569. On Steenbergen, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'A study of the printer Simon Steenbergen († 1596) of Deventer', *Quaerendo*, 13 (1983), pp. 5-37, and the literature listed there. The work in which the damaged S appears (and in which Steenbergen hides behind the fake imprint of Petrus Stephanus van Gendt in Geneva) is a translation of Johannes Bugenhagen's *Psalter*. This book (NK 254), which is usually dated much earlier, presumably appeared in the early 1580s. The S is used there together with a D (in fact a reversed Gothic Q) from the same alphabet. This initial can also be found in two signed editions printed by Albert Pafraet in 1545 and 1546.

⁴³ See B. Rothmann, *Die Schriften Bernhard Rothmanns*, ed. R. Stupperich (Die Schriften der Münsterrischen Täufer und ihrer Gegner, I; Münster 1970). B. Haller, 'Bernhard Rothmanns gedruckte Schriften. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis', *Jahrbuch für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte*, 78 (1985), pp. 83-102, no. XI (p. 101); *id.*, *Der Buchdruck Münsters 1485 bis 1583. Eine Bibliographie* (Münster 1986), no. 67; A. Bömer, 'Der münsterische Buchdruck vom zweiten Viertel bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts',

name of Bernhard Rothmann, minister and spokesman of the Anabaptists at the time of their notorious 'kingdom' in Münster.⁴⁴ This speculative attribution does not seem tenable: both the style and the argumentation differ too much from his other writings and besides, the language is not (Low) German but a hybrid dialect which points to the north-eastern Low Countries. The real author was undoubtedly David Joris, as we see from the fact that he himself referred to this tract as his *Boecxken van de Bruyloft*.⁴⁵ The reprints also furnish proof: added to David Joris' *Inden name Jesu mijns Heeren si ghescreven ...* (vdL 183) an edition appeared in pure Dutch, a reprint of which was issued in 1616 (vdL 209) in a collection of previously published early texts by the prophet (vdL 208-12). His authorship is thus sufficiently documented.

We are here dealing with one of the visionary warnings which David Joris proclaimed to the world after he had become aware of his calling, as the third mediator and successor of Jesus Christ, to convert mankind in the last phase of its existence before the rapidly approaching Last Judgement. The emotional tensions which accompanied this spiritual breakthrough found expression in the ensuing months in various appeals and messages, some of which have survived in print and others only in manuscript.⁴⁶ They are characterized by a particularly emotional and incantatory use of language which seems to have been intended primarily for oral transmission. This characteristic style makes it possible to place them in a period of his life shortly after December 1536, the month in which he became aware of his election.

Westfalen, 12 (1924-5), pp. 25-76, illus. (p. 65, no. 3); also as an offprint paginated 1-43. Besides Bömer the relevant studies in *Ex officina literaria. Beiträge zur Geschichte des westfälischen Buchwesens*, ed. J. Prinz (Münster 1968), are of particular interest for the history of printing in sixteenth-century Münster.

⁴⁴ See Rothmann, op. cit. (n.43), pp. 119-25, where the text is printed in full. Following in the footsteps of Andreas Knaake the editor took the piece for a sermon by Rothmann, but noted: 'Da direkte Zeugnisse fehlen und der Ursprung nicht genau angegeben werden kann, wird die Verfasserfrage offen bleiben müssen'. He also pointed out that the language contained more Dutch elements than any other work by Rothmann (it is actually eastern Dutch, but with a stronger German influence than usual). This led an earlier historian to consider it 'ein Wiedertäuferpredigt niederländischen Ursprungs, vermutlich in Münster erschienen'. See P. Bahlmann, 'Die Wiedertäufer zu Münster. Eine bibliographische Zusammenstellung', *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Westfalens*, 51 (1894; repr. Nieuwkoop 1967), pp. 119-74, (p. 140, no. 2); the author could then use a reprint of the tract in C.A. Cornelius, *Der Antheil Ostfrieslands an der Reformation bis zum Jahre 1535* (Münster 1852), pp. 60-6.

⁴⁵ Cf. Van der Linde p. viii. The author does not say where he found this reference.

⁴⁶ The so-called 'Hydeckel' manuscript of David Joris in the Basel University Library (Jorislade IX; see n. 33) contains four works dated 1537, one of which is a prayer. Probably only one of these appeared in print (vdL 94), as part of a volume dating from 1614 (vdL 94-110) in which the tract was published without a date.

Although there is no doubt that *Hoert die stemme* belongs to this group of writings and thus cannot have appeared before the beginning of 1537, it has hitherto been regarded as a publication of 1535, printed by a private press which Bernhard Rothmann had set up for his own publications. The press was initially installed in the radical reformer's house and later, after the town magistracy had claimed it, presumably in the town hall of Münster. The fall of the town in that year also put an end to these activities.⁴⁷

We saw that within the context of David Joris' spiritual development the dating of 1535 for the composition of the work must be incorrect if only for reason of its contents, while a later year must be excluded since the press in question no longer existed.⁴⁸ So, besides the authorship, the provenance, too, must be revised. The date appears to rest on a mistaken attribution to Rothmann's press. That was a small enterprise which printed with Schwabacher types in two sizes: one of 74/5 mm for twenty lines and a larger fount of 88 mm. The latter obviously came from the local printer Dietrich (I) Tzwyvel, who had left Münster before the siege began, not to return to the town until after its fall.⁴⁹ Apart from two or three works by Rothmann in the larger type there appeared in 1533, at the author's house and, as always, anonymously, his *Bekentnisse van beyden sacramenten* in the smaller face.⁵⁰ This type can be found in two other publications which have been attributed to the Anabaptist printing-press ('Druckerei der Täufer'). One is one of the three editions of Rothmann's *Van verborgenheit der schrift des Rykes Christi* dated 1535, and the other the aforesaid *Hoert die stemme des Heeren*.

⁴⁷ The brief existence of Rothmann's 'Druckerei der Täufer' in his own house, the confiscation by the city magistrates and the unknown place where its activities continued (the cellar of the house where the mayor, Barend Knipperdollinck, lived is also mentioned) are dealt with in Bömer, art. cit. (n. 43), pp. 29 ff. (reprint: pp. 5 ff.); its publications are listed on pp. 64 f. (reprint: pp. 40 f.).

⁴⁸ Apart from the fact that it seems unlikely that David Joris, who rejected violence in matters of faith and could not approve of the developments in Münster, should have applied to Rothmann or his circle for the publication of his tract.

⁴⁹ See K.-H. Kirchhoff, "In platea montana commorans". Zur Geschichte der Tzwyvelschen Druckerei an der Bergstrasse in Münster', *Ex officina literaria*, op. cit. (n. 43), pp. 73-6 (p. 74).

⁵⁰ The works printed in the larger type are: Haller, art. cit. (n. 43), nos. Vllla, IX and X (c) = Haller, 'Buchdruck Münsters' (n. 43), nos. 122, 123 and 126. This last number refers to one of the three existing editions of Rothmann's *Van verborgenheit der Schrift des Rykes Christi* ..., all with the imprint 'Im Yare M.D.XXXV. In der ij. Maendt'. Of these Haller X (c) (= 'Buchdruck Münsters' 126) is the most lavish, with 66 leaves as opposed to the two others of only 44, but the book has so far been regarded as a reprint for reasons which remain obscure. The first edition is supposed to be Haller X (a) (= 'Buchdruck Münsters' 124), printed in a Schwabacher of 77 mm, a fount which does not appear in any of the other works printed in, or attributed to, Münster. Further research will probably show that Haller X (c) was the original edition and that Haller X (a) and X (b) (= 'Buchdruck Münsters' 125) are reprints which appeared elsewhere in later years.

The reason for the erroneous attribution of this last work to Münster is now clear. It is because the small Schwabacher in which the piece was printed is not only identical to the type used in Münster, but also to that in Deventer, which is of exactly the same size. The same format, 74/5 mm, makes it impossible to distinguish between the two founts. *Hoert die stemme des Heeren* consists of no more than four quarto leaves and is set exclusively in that one face, with a heading instead of a separate title-page. There is no indication in the form of a woodcut initial or any other ornament.

How, in these circumstances, can we establish with any certainty that this piece came not from Münster but Deventer, and that Albert Pafraet printed it? We may be reassured since, at the beginning of the text, a typographical capital is printed from a set which once belonged to Albert's brother-in-law Wessel Zuseler. Albert had taken over his business and, as far as we know, these were the only two printers in the northern Netherlands and Westphalia who ever owned a fount of these large (presumably French) capitals.⁵¹

On the basis of these indications it thus looks certain that Albert Pafraet was indeed the first printer to work for David Joris. After the two publications here discussed he produced *Een seer schoon tractaet* (NK 3278; vdL 3 is a reprint) in 1539 and, at about the same time, *Van die offerhande* (NK 3276 = vdL 200). Later on vdL 10 followed: *Troost, raet, leere ende onderwysinge ...*, with a few other tracts added to it and, at the end, the date 21 June 1542. These activities were discovered two years later. Pafraet took flight but was arrested and had to answer for his wrongdoing before the Court in Arnhem. During an interrogation in July 1544 he admitted having printed various booklets which were shown to him. In contrast with customary practice the titles were given with such clarity in the report of the interrogation that they can be recognized. All publications mentioned appear to have been preserved.⁵²

Pafraet was lucky: he got away with a light punishment. After spending five months under arrest, he was condemned to public penance and to meet the costs

⁵¹ The D in question is a somewhat coarse copy of Froben's well-known 'Basel' capitals; see H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter quoted as VPT, R 9. The letter, there not reproduced in fig. 173, is to be found in NAT W. Zuselerus I 2. Although Zuseler was still alive in 1533 his career as a printer had been brief: it hardly lasted three years (1523-5). Shortly afterwards Albert Pafraet took over his material, as we see from the woodcut border NAT W. Zuselerus I 3 which he was using in 1527; cf. NAT Albert Paffraet XII 60. On the relationship between the two men, see M.E. Houck, 'Iets over Deventer's oudste drukkers', *Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch regt en geschiedenis. Verslagen en mededeelingen*, 23 (1904), pp. 19-34 (pp. 24 ff.).

⁵² For Pafraet's trial reconstructed from the proceedings, see Molhuysen, art. cit. (n. 23), *passim*, and *Bescheiden betreffende de Hervorming in Overijssel*, ed. J. de Hullu, vol. 1: *Deventer 1522-1546* (Deventer 1899), pp. 320-4. The titles of the incriminating publications, taken from Molhuysen, art. cit. (n. 23), p. 251, are also to be found in the note to vdL 3.

of his imprisonment. Once he had paid them, he could resume his business. His colleague Dirck (II) van den Borne fared even better when he was tried in the same year in his town of residence for the same crime: printing books by David Joris. He, too, spent almost six months under arrest before his trial came up, but his punishment consisted solely in house arrest, which was revoked after another six months – even if he was no longer allowed to appear in any inns or take part in any games. His life, as Dr Kronenberg pointed out, can thus hardly have become more enjoyable.⁵³

This lenient treatment of Dirck van den Borne is striking since he was even more guilty than Pafraet in infringing the laws of the central government. He printed David Joris' 'Boecxken van den echten staet', a little book about matrimony, *Hoe sich die gelouighe ...* (NK 3275), presumably in 1541 or 1542,⁵⁴ and vdL 15: *Een seer goede vermaninghe off onderwysinghe ...*, dated March 1543 and to which vdL 11 and 12 of 1542 are added with running signatures.⁵⁵ In addition to this he saw to the production of the two largest books which appeared during his client's lifetime: *Donschuldinge D.J.* (vdL 170) and the original edition of his main work, *Twonder boeck* (vdL 14; see illus. 2).⁵⁶ Van den Borne owed his rescue to a disagreement amongst his judges about the extent to which he was responsible for his crime. Certain members of the clergy believed that one could not expect somebody of his education to be able to assess the orthodoxy of similar texts. Although other councillors found this argument hardly persuasive, Van den Borne was given the benefit of the doubt. He

⁵³ M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), p. 130. For various documents from Van den Borne's trial, including the sentence, see *Bescheiden*, op. cit. (n. 52), pp. 317–20.

⁵⁴ Cramer, art. cit. (n. 19), no. 10 (cf. vdL p. vii) dated the book 1541, presumably after Blesdijk, *Vitae*, op. cit. (n. 9), who mentions the 'libellum de matrimonio editum Anno 1541' on p. 32; NK 3275 says 'perhaps shortly after 1540'. Since Van den Borne clearly took over Pafraet's function as printer to David Joris, it seems likely that the book was indeed printed at the end of 1541 or early in 1542.

⁵⁵ The three texts form a bibliographical unit of 24 leaves with the collation A-C⁸. It is not clear why Van der Linde should have given them separate numbers: he almost always passes similar combinations over in silence. – Emmius, op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 109, 111, mentions 'Een seer goede vermaninghe of onderwysinghe, synen eersten Boecke Prophetia by-ghevoeght ...', written before Strasburg (1538; p. 122) and refers (pp. 117, 209–13) to places with signatures in the letters D–F. In the four copies of vdL 15 (+ 11–12) I know (Amsterdam UL (2x); *ibid.*, Mennonite Library; The Hague, KB) these gatherings are missing and I have never come across them independently. Elsewhere (*Onderrichtinge*, n. 11, p. 46), Emmius mentions 'dat Boeck der Prophecie edder perfectie'. This may be identical to the book which, according to Van der Linde, David Joris himself quoted as 't Boeck geintituleerd: *God is volmaect of perfect in alle dingen*'; see vdL p. viii. Do all these references indicate the same text?

⁵⁶ Van der Linde wrote on the subject: 'La première édition du Wonderboeck de David Joris de Gand (1542)', *Annales du bibliophile belge et hollandais*, 1 (1864–6), pp. 137–41, 158–60.

appears, however, to have been incorrigible and again succumbed some ten years later to the temptation of printing forbidden books for another prophet, Hendrik Niclaes. This time the printer was more fortunate, for he died a few years thereafter before his relapse had been discovered.

It is not clear whether *Donschuldinge D.J.* came off the press before the *Wonderboeck* or vice versa. The work is a collection of tracts and epistles and we know that the author sent a copy to a follower at the end of March 1543.⁵⁷ The printing of the *Wonderboeck* began in 1542, but there are indications that it was only completed in the course of the following year – something which is hardly surprising in view of the size of the work (some 700 pages). During the printing, moreover, changes were made in the text which required extensive corrections on the press and undoubtedly held up publication. The book in its (provisionally) final version may not even have been ready until 1544.⁵⁸

It was an imposing publication by contemporary standards, differing greatly in format and layout from the octavo and small quarto editions produced in these years by the presses in the northern Netherlands. The book contains three woodcuts based on designs by David Joris himself, two of which bear his monogram.⁵⁹ The author also had numerous figures of hands printed in the margins beside those passages to which he wished to draw the reader's special attention.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the acquisition of various sets of calligraphic initials and the excellent quality of the paper contributed to make the production an expensive undertaking.⁶¹

The printing of a work such as this can only have taken place at the author's expense. We know nothing of the nature and extent of David's revenues but we do

⁵⁷ Zijlstra, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 39 ff.; Van der Linde, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 130 ff. The content of this 'grote [large] Ontschuldige' is thus entirely different to that of *Onschuldige Davids Jorisz* (vdL 9), the defence which he sent to Countess Anna of Oldenburg in, or shortly after, 1542 (see also n. 112).

⁵⁸ Apart from the sketchy article by Van der Linde (n. 56), no one has devoted a special study to this first edition of the *Wonderboeck*. Yet a bibliographical investigation into the variants in the text (independently of their theological importance) and into the genesis of the work as a typographical product promises interesting results.

⁵⁹ For these woodcuts, see Boon, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 121 ff. and illus. 8 en 9 (reduced).

⁶⁰ Curiously enough Van der Linde does not mention these hands under the first edition of the work (vdL 14), but does so in his description of the version dated 1551 (vdL 58), which was printed in about 1584. In that edition, however, the hands no longer appear.

⁶¹ Quite exceptionally in this matter, we possess details of the expenses. In March 1543 David Joris wrote in a letter, a transcript of which has survived in the 'Hydeckel' manuscript (see n. 46), that the printing costs had risen to 425 or 430 guilders. The selling price had been set at one guilder; if this were about the cost price, it would suggest an edition of a good 400 copies. Less prosperous supporters received the book for free, however. The author consequently did not expect the sale to bring in more than 100 to 150 guilders. See Zijlstra, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 62.

know that he had for some time been on terms of close friendship with members of two distinguished and extremely rich families in Antwerp: Van Berchem and Van Lier (de Lyere). In the course of 1539 he found a safe refuge there after years of persecution in the northern Netherlands. It is assumed that the publication of this expensive work was at least partly due to considerable financial assistance from that source. This was also the view of Joriaen Ketel, himself the son of a nobleman, who supervised the printing of the book in Deventer and probably saw to the proof correction. In him David Joris lost one of his most expert and devoted followers when, in 1544, his house was searched and the *Wonderboeck* and other of the prophet's works were discovered in his possession. During the ensuing trial he declared, under severe torture, that Cornelis van Lier as well as Karel, a bastard son of the Duke of Gelre and former Stadtholder of Groningen, had contributed to the expenses of the book. In a defence directed to the Council of Deventer, the latter rejected the charge, although he admitted having visited Ketel in Deventer and having had a copy of the book in his hands. How far Karel was directly involved in the publication can no longer be established, but other sources also mention his enduring sympathies for the Anabaptists. Ketel's testimony on this matter, therefore, should not be dismissed as altogether undeserving of belief.⁶²

Besides these two groups of Deventer publications there is another early edition which may perhaps have come from that town. This is *Eyn wt roepinge van des brudegoms kompst ...* (NK 3280 = vdL 2), with, at the end, the words 'Wt ghegeuen int Iaer M.D. vnde XXXIX' (Issued in the year 1539). The booklet consisting of a mere eight leaves is, as Dr Kronenberg has already pointed out, a product of the same press which also printed the original edition of the *Testament* (NK 3933 = vdL 228) of Anneke Jans, an admirer of David Joris who had roused him to his prophetic mission in 1536 and was herself executed as an Anabaptist in 1539. Here we again find the aforesaid Schwabacher, now on 77/8 mm, together with two larger Texturas VPT T 3 and T 20. Both pieces are published without a title-page; the text begins under a heading.

Like all early editions of the work of David Joris these, too, lack an imprint and consequently any indication of place and year of publication. Dr Kronenberg was in doubt about whether the aforesaid date at the end of NK 3280 was put in by the author or by the publisher and she dated NK 3933 'c.1540 or a little later?' since she

⁶² For Ketel's trial and documents relating to it, see *Bescheiden*, op. cit. (n. 52), pp. 276 ff.; a more recent treatment is to be found in Zijlstra, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 75 ff.: 'Het proces Ketel'. For information on the possible involvement of David Joris' protectors in Antwerp, the noblemen Cornelis van Lier and his cousins Joachim and Reinier van Berchem, see *Bescheiden*, op. cit. (n. 52), pp. 306 ff., supplemented by Appendices XVIII-XXI in J. Frederichs, *De secte der Loïsten of Antwerpsche libertijnen. Eligius Pruystinck en zijne aanhangers* (Gent/s-Gravenhage 1891), pp. 23 ff. Information about Karel van Gelre's supposed share in the printing costs is also given in *Bescheiden*, op. cit. (n. 52), pp. 296 ff.

believed that another edition (NK 3932) had preceded the latter one. That was a mistake: NK 3932, on the contrary, is, the title tells us 'Na ghedrucket, na een olde Copye [...] gedrukt [...] Anno 1539' (Reprinted after an old copy [...] printed [...] Anno 1539), a much later anonymous reprint; actually by Gillis van der Erven (Aegidius Ctematius) in Emden, as we see from its typographic features.⁶³

We can thus say with certainty that NK 3280 and NK 3933 were published in or shortly after 1539 – a date confirmed by other publications by this press which do give a year. These are Menno Simons' *Dat fundament des Christelycken leers* (1539/40), NK 1512, *Voele goede und Chrystelycke leringhen op den 25. Psalm* (1539), NK 1513, by the same author, and finally *Die Testamenten der twelff Patriarchen der soenen Jacobs ...* (1541).⁶⁴ The two books by Menno may perhaps provide an indication of where we should look for the anonymous printer. On 31 March 1545 a certain Quirijn Pieterssen was interrogated in Amsterdam and admitted that he had sold 25 books by Menno Simons which came from Friesland but had been printed in Deventer by a tall man who lived near the Great Church and who, according to what he had heard, had been in prison for printing books for 'evil' sects.⁶⁵ The statement makes a reliable impression and is supported by the circumstance that in the northern Netherlands the only printers apart from Peter van Elzen (Elsenius) from Nijmegen to use a Pica Schwabacher lived in Deventer. It does not, however, enable us to identify the printer. It seems unlikely that Pafraet or Van den Borne should, without there being any other sign of it, have used a second Schwabacher on 77/8 mm besides their fount on 74/5 mm, and nowhere is a third printer in Deventer mentioned in this period. We can thus go no further than to assume that a clandestine press was at work in the north-eastern Low Countries which, judging from the dates of its production, existed for two or at the most three years.

There is a clear reason why David Joris should initially have sought his printers in Deventer: there was no-one any nearer to his place of residence, Delft, who was willing to take the risks. Nobody dared embark on dangerous publications in the western part of the northern Netherlands since Jan Seversz had had to flee from Leiden for printing a prohibited book in 1523 and shortly after had also been

⁶³ In 1553 he went from London to Emden, where he published the first book in which his name appears as printer in 1555.

⁶⁴ NK 1999. Originally described as undated after the copy in the Royal Library in The Hague, but see the correction in NK, vol. 2, p. lvii. – The only further edition known to have been published by this press, the above-mentioned *Eyn korte unde heerlicke bekentenisse des geloves*, presumably by Blesdijk, is undated.

⁶⁵ *Amsterdam 1536-1578*, ed. A.F. Mellink (Documenta anabaptistica neerlandica, 2; Leiden 1980), pp. 53, 55: 'de boucken die hij die spreect heeft vercoft, die zijn gedrukt tot Deventer bij een lange man wonende bij die groote kerck, ende nae hij heeft gehoort zoude de dezelve gevangen hebben geweest overmits dat hij boucken van quade secten hadde geprint'.

banished from Utrecht for the same reason.⁶⁶ The authorities in the eastern areas apparently paid less attention to what was being printed and were far slower in proceeding to prosecution. David Joris may have personally established the first contacts with the Deventer printers, on his way to Oldenburg or to Groningen and Friesland, where he was in touch with various Anabaptist leaders. Little is known about his movements between his journeys to Bocholt in August 1536 and to Strasbourg in the summer of 1538.

That a large part of the edition was taken to the west of the country emerges from the sentence of a certain Lambrecht Duppijns from Haarlem. His name was disclosed by Jan van Deventer, an Anabaptist interrogated in Amsterdam, and when the bailiff of Haarlem searched Duppijns' house in the hope of finding David Joris, he did not discover the man he was looking for, but he did find some five hundred unbound copies of Joris' publications. On 23 May 1539 Duppijns was arrested together with everyone else who had been found in his house and an investigation was started which led to fourteen people being suspected of Anabaptism. They were all sentenced to death, except for a thirteen-year-old boy who was flogged and driven out of town.⁶⁷ This was obviously a central supply, a sort of regional distribution centre of the sect.⁶⁸

ANTWERP: ADRIAEN VAN BERGHEN

David Joris also had his works published elsewhere in this period: there is a series of early tracts whose external appearance shows that they do not come from Deventer. Their format is octavo too, but, unlike the Schwabacher impressions we have

⁶⁶ For Jan Seversz and his forbidden edition of the *Summa der Godliker scrifturen* (1523), the first book in the Low Countries to have known such a fate, see M.E. Kronenberg, 'Lotgevallen van Jan Seversz., boekdrukker te Leiden (c. 1502-1524) en te Antwerpen (c. 1527- c. 1530)', *Het Boek*, 13 (1924), pp. 1-38, 142 (pp. 18 ff.); G.A. Evers, 'Boekdrukker, ketter en banneling: Jan Seversz te Utrecht', *Bibliothekleven*, 3 (1918), pp. 241-3; J. Trapman, *De Summa der Godliker scrifturen* (1523) (Leiden 1978; thesis Leiden), pp. 15 ff.

⁶⁷ A. Hulshof, 'Extracten uit de rekeningen van het schoutambacht van Haarlem betreffende Wederdoopers (1535-1539)', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, 41 (1920), pp. 198-201.

⁶⁸ From a more or less contemporary letter by David Joris we see that one of his followers in Groningen also received a fairly large number of copies of a tract for further distribution. In about 1540 David Joris sent at least 25 copies of his just published *Seer goet onderwijsinghe der wijsheyt [...] voor ouden unde jonghen* (vdL 167), printed by Adriaen van Berghen, to Jacob up de Elder in Groningen. If he needed any more he could fetch them from Emden. See Zijlstra, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 11 and p. 182, n. 60, where the book is wrongly identified with vdL 8, a reprint by Ludwig Dietz. For David Joris' connections with Friesland, see S. Zijlstra, 'Gabbe van Aesgema als aanhanger van David Joris', *De Vrije Fries*, 70 (1990), pp. 53-60.

encountered so far, they are set in a Textura typeface. Their spelling, furthermore, contains none of the elements associated with 'oosters', the dialect spoken in the north-eastern Low Countries, and there is no dating by the author. Nevertheless it is possible to give a date to at least one item in this group: there is a reprint (vdL 8) of *Seer goet onderwijsinghe der weijsheyt* (vdL 167) which gives 1540 as the year in which the text was completed.⁶⁹

This date brings us to the period when David Joris, who had been banished from Holland ever since 1535, sought refuge in Antwerp, where he was temporarily safe from his persecutors. As a revered guest in the house of Cornelis van Lier (de Lyere), lord of Berchem, he could work undisturbed on his *Wonderboeck*. But before this great opus was completed he had a number of shorter tracts printed. At present we know of nine⁷⁰ and they all come from the press of Adriaen van Berghen, whose firm – as also appears from other publications – continued to function after its owner had been banished.

This printer was one of the silent workers for the Reformation, who finally paid for his commitment with his life. He started a business in Antwerp in 1500 which was to turn into the most important publishing firm of Protestant works in the Low Countries after 1522. The risks he incurred were considerable and he had already had to answer various charges when the magistrates again descended on him in 1535. After six months' imprisonment he was banished from his town of residence early in 1536 and sentenced to a pilgrimage to Nicosia. Instead of that he

⁶⁹ See note 68. The date also applies to vdL 183 (*Inden name Jesu mijns Heeren si ghescreven ...*), which was produced by the same printer. The text begins with the words: 'Nemet waer, den gheest ende gave der ootmoedicheyt ...'. Van der Linde, p. viii, quotes a statement made by David Joris in 1555 in which he says: 'Heb over een jaar of drie, ja ook over vijftien, eenmaal een klein geschrift *van den geest der ootmoedigheid* laten wtgaan' (About three years ago, yea also about fifteen years ago, I issued a little work on the spirit of humility). Van der Linde rightly observed that this report leads us back to 1540, but mistakenly identified the book with vdL 5.

⁷⁰ Viz. the tracts vdL 164, 165, 167, 168, 177, 180, 183, 184 and 199. In the case of one of these nine tracts it is not absolutely certain that Adriaen van Berghen was the printer, since the only surviving copy was lost in the Second World War. This is *Hoort, hoort, siet dat leven sal wt den dooden opstaen* (vdL 164), with on the first leaf the Latin title, *De primo ac novissimo die*, as sole text (in some other treatises in this series the first leaf is left blank). Van der Linde's description of the title is identical to that in MS 394 of the Mennonite Library in Amsterdam, now on loan to Amsterdam UL: a volume with transcriptions from a David Joris tract volume formerly in Hamburg. The latter included seven works printed by Adriaen van Berghen, so that it would seem reasonable to attribute this one to him as well, until further notice. Jessenius (no. XV 6; see also Nippold, art. cit. (n. 20: '38 (1868)'), p. 502) also possessed a volume (Oct. XI) in which the tract appeared together with five others from this press. A further reason for the attribution could be that this small work of 8 leaves is described as not having a single signature – a peculiarity which appears in various products by this printer. In editions of several sheets he often only provided the first leaf of each gathering with a letter, leaving the others unmarked.

moved to the northern Netherlands and embarked on a peripatetic life as a dealer in Protestant books. He was reported to have been in Schoonhoven, Rotterdam, The Hague and also in Delft, where he obtained lodgings from which he set out on his travels. But he came to grief again. His house was searched, his secret supply of books discovered, and he was tried once more. The punishment imposed by the town council was regarded as too light by the Court in The Hague: the printer received a further summons and was sentenced to death on the scaffold on 2 October 1542.⁷¹

The sentence contains a somewhat cryptic remark about the press which Adriaen 'hadde [...] gehad' since his banishment from Antwerp and which had printed several books with no indication of the author's name.⁷² We can conclude from this that he remained in touch with his firm and was in a position to give instructions as to how it should proceed. Nijhoff & Kronenberg's *Bibliographie* describes four publications produced by his press after 1536, but there were no doubt others which appeared without an imprint, even if they have not yet been identified.⁷³

He obviously had certain devoted collaborators who were also capable of executing commissions in their master's absence. Perhaps Adriaen himself took the opportunity occasionally to visit his family and his firm in person – a port like Antwerp could never be entirely cordoned off from clandestine visitors. However this may be, it looks quite possible that the exile met David Joris after arriving in Delft, where the prophet had been living. It is thus not surprising that David, when staying in Antwerp, should have jumped at the opportunity of having his work

⁷¹ The sentence is reproduced in M.E. Kroneberg, 'De drukker-martelaar Adriaen van Berghen († 1542)', *Het Boek*, 16 (1927), pp. 1-8 (pp. 6 ff.). Unfortunately the document does not give the titles of the confiscated books but speaks generally of 'veele ende diverse gereprobeerde ende quaede geprente duytsche bouckens [...] in welke [...] nyet verclairt en zyn die namen vanden aucteurs, tijt ende plaetse waer die geprent zyn' (many different forbidden and pernicious Dutch printed books [...] in which [...] the names of the authors, and the time and place where they were printed, are not given) For a survey of his life and the literature on him, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 12 ff.

⁷² '... zedert welke bannissement zoe hadde die voorsegde gevangen [...] zyn parsse binnen antwerpen gehad ende eenige boucxkens sonder naem vanden aucteurs doen prenten ...' (... since which banishment the aforesaid prisoner [...] had his press in Antwerp and had printed several books without the author's name ...); Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 71), p. 7.

⁷³ Of these four editions two (NK 2977 and NK 470), both dated 1537, were lost in Louvain in 1914, while the attribution of NK 4242, from 1538?, is uncertain. NK 1786, however, which bears Adriaen's imprint and the year 1540, is undoubtedly printed with his material. This fact, which proves that the firm was still functioning at the time, also applies to NK 1928 en NK 3890, reprints of the Ghent *Spelen van sinne* of 1539, which are attributed in NK to the publisher Mattheus Crom on account of his address in the colophon. We should, however, allow for the possibility that at least one of these editions appeared after 1542. It thus seems advisable to investigate what happened to Adriaen van Berghen's printing-office after his death.

produced by a printer whom he already knew and who was also in the position to deliver his publications in the north for further distribution.⁷⁴

The attribution of the nine above-mentioned publications, which we can thus date in 1540/1, rests both on the types used and on the initials. All of them have as type a narrower and lighter variant of Lettersnijder's popular Pica Textura VPT T 30. The face appears in this form in the work of many printers in the southern Netherlands, but Adriaen alone (obviously in order to distinguish them more clearly from his n and m), replaced the original v and w in his type cases with Bastarda versions of these letters. In the headings of the books we find the English-bodied French Textura T 25, with repeated use of an open ('blank') section-mark so characteristic of this printer⁷⁵ and, on one of the title-pages, the standard two-line Great Primer Textura T 3 is used.⁷⁶ There are three sorts of metal cut initials, all with Gothic capitals and a decoration of foliage. The largest set, which Adriaen was to use throughout his career, measures 20:20 mm, and the smaller ones 16:16 mm and 11:11 mm respectively.⁷⁷ For other initials Uncials are used, as so frequently in his books. One of the editions (vdL 184) has a title-page with a woodcut border in which, besides various kinds of flowers, two birds and a strawberry are represented in a frame between two lines.⁷⁸

As we see from his sentence, Adriaen was imprisoned in the winter of 1541/2 and this sad event obliged David Joris to turn again to the printers in Deventer. In this connection it would seem to be no coincidence that Joriaen Ketel went to live in that town in 1542: he could thus supervise the production of the *Wonderboeck* and,

⁷⁴ Since nearly all Protestant literature in these years came from the south – Mattheus Crom in Antwerp was particularly active in this respect – Adriaen must also have found a means of conveying the material to Delft for his trade as a bookseller. The transport of the sheets of the unbound books probably took place by ship in barrels.

⁷⁵ Reproduced in NAT, Adriaen van Berghen XV 61, from a publication of 1529.

⁷⁶ VPT is the customary acronym for Vervliet's *Printing Types*, op. cit. (n. 51). For T 30 see pp. 140 ff., for T 25 pp. 130 f. and for T 3 pp. 89 f.

⁷⁷ Of the letters in the largest set, the A (NAT, Adriaen van Berghen IX 34) appears in vdL 199; the N, also printed in NK 2073 and NK 3035 (a signed impression), is to be found in vdL 183. Of the letters in the medium-sized set, the D is used in vdL 168, 180, 183 and 184, the H in vdL 168, the I in vdL 177, the O in vdL 165 and 168, and the S in vdL 168 and 177. For a reproduction of another D from this set, see NAT, A.v.B. IX 35. The printer owned more than one woodblock of various letters: compare the A in NAT, A.v.B. IX 34 with the one in NAT, A.v.B. IV 12. Of the smallest initials only the S, the T and the W appear in vdL 167.

⁷⁸ I have not yet come across this attractive border in other work by Adriaen van Berghen, but it was used, after the liquidation of his business, by the Antwerp printer Jan Roelants in 1552, in a translated edition of [Baptista] Mantuanus, *Een schoon profijtelijcke gheschiedenisse ...* (s.l.e.n. 1552; copy in Amsterdam, UL). Adriaen also owned a similar border, of roughly the same format and undoubtedly made by the same woodcutter; for a reproduction, see NAT, A.v.B. XII 51.

as we saw, anything else that the prophet had printed. After the trials in 1544 both Pafraet and Van den Borne naturally had to decline any further orders. Besides, in the course of that year David Joris, together with his Antwerp friends, left the Low Countries for good. After an investigation of their precedents by the town council, the companions obtained permission to settle in Basel. David's true identity was not discovered; under the name Johan von Bruch (of Bruges) he passed for a retired businessman and moved into a small castle ('Binningen') just outside the town. He there led a peaceful life, proved himself a good citizen, also from a social point of view, and was generally respected in the city. He established contacts with university circles and made friends with scholars like Castellion and Jean Bauhin. Both men were probably aware of who he really was.

PRINTERS IN GERMANY

For his further publications David Joris no longer applied to a printer in the Netherlands and he may have thought it inadvisable to look for one in Switzerland. Only some years later did six tracts by him again appear in print: vdL 169 (see illus. 3a), 173, 176 ('175' [bis]), 182, 185 and 194, which seem to have been published at about the same time. All six can be found together in two almost identical tract volumes,⁷⁹ while I have only come across two of the pieces on their own. None of these publications has a date, but in later reprints of vdL 169 and vdL 176 we see that they were written in 1546.⁸⁰ We can assume that they were printed shortly after that year. On two title-pages (vdL 176, see illus. 3b, and 185) the heading is cut in wood with much scroll-work. In several of these tracts we encounter two different, fairly large interlaced tailpieces, of a design which appears in the work of various printers. There are no woodcut initials. I have not yet been able to identify this press but, judging from the typefaces and the ornaments, it was operating in a German-speaking area. Maybe it should be sought in Frankfurt, where, according to the testimony of an expert friend of David's secretary Hendrik van Schor, works were printed for the prophet.⁸¹

Both volumes also contain another treatise in a Schwabacher type, this time on a body of 82 mm, with two lines in a larger face on the title-page. The text is *Eine korte suverlike Wairschuwinge, Vermanunge unnd Lere* (vdL 187) printed, without much

⁷⁹ One of these volumes is in the Royal Library in The Hague; the other, belonging to the Menno-nite Library, is now on loan to Amsterdam UL; for the latter, see Boekenooogen, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 71.

⁸⁰ For these reprints of 1610, see vdL 43 and 44 respectively.

⁸¹ For this interpretation, see n. 33. On Hendrik van Schor, see E. Droz, 'Hendrik van Schor et autres traducteurs de David Joris', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [= 1968]), pp. 90-118.

care, in a language which bears a closer resemblance to (Low) German than to eastern Dutch. Since neither the type on this body nor the large calligraphic initial W appears among Dutch printers, we can assume that this tract, too, was printed in (western) Germany. In one of the volumes at Amsterdam, moreover, *Een seer goede vermaninghe off onderwysinghe* (vdL 15 + 11-12), a book printed by Van den Borne in 1543 (see n. 55), is also included.

I believe that the composition of these volumes, apparently collected in the immediate circle of David Joris or elsewhere on his instructions, indicates the sequence of the different printers who worked for him at about this time. After Van den Borne had backed down in 1544, it was first a small printer across the border who obtained a commission, but what he produced was of a quality so inferior to what the author was accustomed to, that the experiment was not repeated. Once he had settled in Switzerland, he found another printer whose whereabouts is still unknown and who produced six tracts for him in all. This was probably in, or shortly after, 1546, the year given at the end of two reprints of these publications. The contents of both volumes also show that two later works, *Vant gebruyck der spysen* (vdL 50-2 + 39, with running signatures; see illus. 4a) and *Vann die mensch unde gerechticheit* (vdL 53 + 178, ditto) were subsequently published elsewhere. They have dates running from September 1546 (vdL 39) to September 1547 (vdL 53). So in, or shortly after, 1547 David Joris changed his printer yet again.

The new man appears to have been an excellent choice but he had to be sought far afield: the last two publications mentioned were produced by the press of Ludwig Dietz to whom we have already referred as the printer of a large series of tracts by the prophet. After having gone to work for Hermann Barckhusen in Rostock in 1509, he took over his firm when Barckhusen died twenty years later and carried it on most successfully. From 1531 to 1534 he was (also?) based in Lübeck; between 1548 and 1550, he printed the first Bible in Danish in Copenhagen, on the orders of the Danish king. Dietz died in 1559, shortly after being appointed printer to the university of Rostock.⁸² Besides printing in Latin, High and (above all) Low German, and Danish, he also produced one of the first books published in Icelandic, and now, for David Joris, he printed in Dutch, albeit in a Dutch tinted with German. He possessed a very well-equipped printing-shop; what is most striking in his material are the particularly elaborate metal-cut vignettes and initials.⁸³

⁸² J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachbereich*, 2nd, corr. & enl. edn. (Wiesbaden 1982), p. 394. For a study on his life and work, see A. Hofmeister, 'Weitere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Meklenburg', *Jahrbücher [...] des Vereins für meklenburgische Geschichte und Althertumskunde*, 54 (1889), pp. 181-224 (pp. 207 ff.).

⁸³ They are by an engraver P.B., who also worked for Nikolaus Marschalk and the Brethren of the Common Life in Rostock; see C.M. Wiechmann, 'Die meklenburgischen Formschnitzer des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbücher [...] des Vereins für meklenburgische Geschichte und Althertumskunde*,

It is impossible to establish how the two men came into contact with one another, but Rostock was not unfamiliar to the Low Countries. After Cologne it was the town where the greatest number of Dutchmen went to study, attracted by the similarity of the language and the facilities of spiritual and material support provided by their compatriots. The Dutch Brethren of the Common Life of St Michael were particularly active in assisting the young. Besides their scriptorium they had set up a printing-office in order to carry out the task with its revenues; for over fifty years, from 1475 to 1530, their press was one of the two largest in northern Germany. In the years after 1531, when the town went over to the Reformation, Dutch teachers also played an important part in the reorganization of the university.⁸⁴

That the aforesaid two products of Dietz' press should appear in a single volume, together with a number of treatises by David Joris which had been issued earlier, suggests that they were published shortly after these and were the first which the new printer produced.⁸⁵ They thus formed the beginning of a far larger production: there are three other series of tracts printed by Dietz which also appear to have been distributed bound together. One of them has already been discussed: the volume in Rostock. This includes, in chronological order, vdL 3, 5-7, 8, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22 + 13, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 171 + 23.⁸⁶ All these tracts are dated; the years run from 1539 to 1545. The Mennonite Library in Amsterdam, on permanent loan to the University Library, owns a volume⁸⁷ in which vdL 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 181 and 213-15 (see illus. 4b) are contained, together with both the *Lerung* mentioned by Van der Linde on p. vii (referring to Arnold's *Ketzer-historie*), and the original edition, unknown to him, of vdL 110, *Hoe een Christen ...*.⁸⁸ These, too, are

23 (1858), pp. 101-24 (pp. 107 ff.); G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, 5 vols. (München 1858-79; several reprints), vol. 4, no. 2810, and see vol. 1, no. 2589. — L. Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550. Med særligt Hensyn till Dansk Bogtrykkerkunsts Historie* (Kopenhagen/Kristiania 1919), pp. 242-7, gives reproductions of the types and the ornaments used by Dietz in his Danish Bible. Of these there appear in David Joris tracts, beside other elements which are not reproduced, the typefaces 1, 2, 4, 6 and 10; initials a and d; and ornament B.

⁸⁴ For the cultural relations between Rostock and the northern Netherlands, see A. Hulshof, 'Rostock und die nördlichen Niederlande vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 16 (1910), pp. 531-53; *idem*, 'Nederlanders aan de universiteit te Rostock in de 15e en 16e eeuw', *De Navorscher*, 57 (1908), pp. 571-600.

⁸⁵ This could also be suggested by the fact that the headlines of both title-pages are cut in wood, as was the case with two publications of his predecessor.

⁸⁶ There are thus not twenty of them, as Hofmeister counted, but eighteen: vdL 5-6 form a bibliographical unit, as do vdL 22 + 13. The same applies to vdL 171 + 23, but the librarian himself had already established that.

⁸⁷ Boekenoogen, op. cit. (n. 8), pp. 70 f.

⁸⁸ *Hoe een Christen hem seluen doer breecken ende in Christo vlieten moet* [in fine: 'Wtgheghaen inth Jaer

all publications by Dietz, the tracts bearing dates running from 1544 to 1546. Finally, a volume at the Utrecht University Library contains vdL 172, 174 (= 191-2), 175 (= 190 on p. 48; see p. viii), 179 (= 188), 186, 189, 193, 195, 197 and 198. These also come from Dietz' press, but not one of them is dated. Apart from the two publications discussed above (vdL 50-2 + 39 and vdL 53 + 178) the three volumes contain all that the printer produced for David Joris. There is, however, one exception: a variant of vdL 35 exists with differences in spelling, which, with the same material, is printed from different type matter.⁸⁹

Strikingly enough David Joris does not appear to have included any work later than 1547 in these series. Nevertheless there is a statement by him which shows that he again had writings printed in about 1552.⁹⁰ In view of the fact that Ludwig Dietz was in Copenhagen between 1548 and 1550, working on his Danish Bible,⁹¹ it seems perfectly well possible that one or more of these later series were printed after his return to Rostock. As far as we can see for the time being, the many treatises which the prophet wrote in the 1550s were never printed in his lifetime. No reason for this is known: it is most unlikely that financial considerations exclusively played a part.

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS: DIERCK MULLEM IN ROTTERDAM

After David Joris' death several decades elapsed before any further edition of his works appeared in print. Here, too, we can only speculate on the reasons for this interruption and revival. We can assume that his long absence and the rise of the Mennonite movement of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips substantially diminished his support in the Netherlands. Written contacts now also ceased and the publicity given to the upheaval in Basel about the death of the arch-heretic prob-

1545'] (*s.l.a.n.*, [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz], *s.l.a.n.*, 8vo, collation: a⁸). See Boekenoogen, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 70 (incorrectly referring to vdL 110). – *Lerung ende vermaenung met bequame gelijckenissen wtgesproocken, totter Ghodtsaelicheit dienstelick* (*s.l.a.n.*), [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz], *s.l.a.n.*, 8vo, collation: a⁴). See Boekenoogen, p. 71; Bainton, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 108.

⁸⁹ *Van de snoothet des Olden ende duecht des Nieuwen Mensches. Een kostel Bericht* [In fine: 'Wtgegaen 1545'] (*s.l.a.n.*, [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz], *s.l.a.n.*, 8vo, collation: A-D⁴). Copy: Ghent, UL; see J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), no. J 209.

⁹⁰ For this quotation, see n. 69. I have hitherto been unable to find a copy of the reprint which, according to David Joris, appeared in this year. In connection with his assertion we should note that in Borchling & Claussen, op. cit. (n. 11), vol. 1, col. 701, the date of publication of Dietz' impressions is given (without any comment) as 1550-6.

⁹¹ The commission which Dietz received in 1548 to print a Danish Bible in Copenhagen resulted in his having to interrupt the production of a New Testament in Low German on which he had just started work. After his return to Rostock the book finally appeared in 1553. See Borchling & Claussen, op. cit. (n. 11), vol. 1, col. 727, no. 1617.

ably had some effect on the number of those who were prepared to follow his teaching.⁹² Belief in a prophet is always closely connected with the charisma of his personal appearance. The disappearance of that element can have far-reaching consequences, as we see from Blesdijk's defection after his father-in-law's death.⁹³

Nevertheless other members of his family, back in the Low Countries after their forced departure from Basel, continued to believe in David Joris and his doctrine. It has been assumed that this was the circle which produced the manuscripts and at least a part of the financial means necessary for further publications, although it seems perfectly possible that financial support also came from elsewhere. Herman Herberts, minister in Dordrecht and subsequently in Gouda,⁹⁴ presumably played a part in these activities, although the extent is not yet clear. His independent attitude in matters of faith, which repeatedly brought him into conflict with his Calvinist colleagues, can be detected in his involvement in the '1551' edition of the *Wonderboeck*, completely revised and partly rewritten by the author.

Herberts' concern with the undertaking was discussed on various occasions by both the consistory and the classis of Dordrecht⁹⁵ and in the synod of The Hague⁹⁶ in the course of 1583. The Dordrecht publisher Jan Canin was asked to give evidence in connection with an investigation into Herberts' orthodoxy. Canin, himself a former member of the Dordrecht consistory, told of a plan to publish the *Wonderboeck* again and about a dispute on the subject which had arisen with Herman Herberts. The re-

⁹² Immediately after the publication in 1559 of the history of the life and teaching of David Joris by the university of Basel (vdL 244), Pieter Warnersen in Kampen produced a reprint of the Latin original (vdL 245), followed by a version in the vernacular (vdL 248). The original edition of the latter, unknown to Van der Linde, was: *David Joris wt Hollandt des ertzketters waerafftighe Historie, synes levens unde verfurischen Leer ... (s.l.e.n., [Deventer, Richard Pafraet], 1559. 4to).* — See illus. 5; Mennonite Library, Amsterdam (on loan to Amsterdam UL).

⁹³ On the nature and the development of Blesdijk's doubts about certain points of David's doctrine, the debates on the matter in 1554 and the agreement then reached, whereby Blesdijk once more expressed his loyalty, see Zijlstra, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 121 ff. After the prophet's death he turned against him openly and started a publicity campaign against the movement. He found a supporter in David's former secretary, Hendrik van Schor (n. 81).

⁹⁴ A.J. van den Berg, 'Herman Herberts (ca. 1540-1607) in conflict met de gereformeerde kerk', *Kerkhistorische opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. J. van den Berg* (Kampen 1987), pp. 20-29 (pp. 21 f.). For further literature, see A. de Groot in *Biografisch Lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, vol. 3 (Kampen 1988), pp. 178 ff.

⁹⁵ J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 200 f., excerpts (i)-(k), (o) and (p); *Classicale acta 1573-1620. Particuliere Synode Zuid-Holland I: Classis Dordrecht 1573-1600*, ed. J.P. van Dooren (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Kleine serie, 49; 's-Gravenhage 1980), pp. 129, 136 ff., 141, 144.

⁹⁶ *Acta der provinciale en particuliere synoden, gehouden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden [...] 1572-1620*, eds. J. Reitsma & S.D. van Veen, vol. 2 (Groningen 1893), pp. 244, 258, 321, 339 f., 382 f., 416; Briels, op. cit. (n. 95), p. 200, excerpts (m) and (n).

ports have been interpreted in different ways,⁹⁷ but the course of events was presumably as follows. During 1582 Canin, then the most important publisher of Protestant literature in the Low Countries, was approached with a request to produce a reprint of the work. From a commercial point of view this was an attractive proposition, but it brought him into conflict with his own faith. He discussed the problem with Herman Herberts who, according to Canin, applauded the plan and expressed himself in the most favourable terms about the book and the author. The matter came into the open, however. Canin was ordered to answer for his behaviour at the consistory and was 'advised against' taking part in the next communion service. He obviously thought that the reprimand was due to Herberts' indiscretion, for a violent quarrel developed, in which the minister went so far as to call him a rogue. The upheaval naturally meant that Canin, probably to his regret, had to decline the order.

After he had also had the chance to explain the matter in The Hague, both the consistory and the synod came to the conclusion that he was not the only, and perhaps not even the chief, culprit. That does not mean that Herberts actually conceived the plan of publication. But that he was probably closely involved in it can be deduced from the choice of the man who received the commission in Canin's stead: Dierck Mullem.⁹⁸ For in these years this printer published three of Herberts' own books, one of which appeared with the address of Vianen, the town where he worked from 1583 to 1586 when he had been temporarily banished from Rotterdam.⁹⁹

We have already seen that Mullem later admitted during an interrogation that he had printed the *Wonderboek* (vdL 57) on commission in 1583/4 and that he had delivered the entire edition to a merchant in Emden.¹⁰⁰ His banishment from Rot-

⁹⁷ In *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 7 (Leiden 1927), cols. 273 f., the view is expressed that Canin printed the *Wonderboek* in 1580 on Herberts' instigation. This inaccurate report can also be found elsewhere.

⁹⁸ Dierck (or Dirck) [de Raeff van] Mullem received this order late in 1582. Briels, op. cit. (n. 95), p. 374, mentions a report by the Dordrecht minister Hendrik van den Corput on 25 November of that year in which he quotes Jan Canin who had heard from colleagues that Mullem had told several of them that he was going to print the book and thus considerably improve his position ('soude met dezen druck gans te voren comen').

⁹⁹ For his career and publications, see F. Kossmann, [1] 'Dierck Mullem, de oudste Rotterdamse boekdrukker', *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje*, 9 (1931), pp. 69-94; *idem*, [2] 'Dierck Mullem', *Het Boek*, 20 (1931), pp. 17-32 (the works he printed for Herberts are nos. 11-13, 16 and 17). See also Briels, op. cit. (n. 95), pp. 373 ff., and, for his hitherto unknown purchase of a printing shop in 1576, P. Valkema Blouw, 'De eerste drukkers voor de stad Leiden (1574-78): Jan Moyt Jacobsz en Andries Verschout', *Uit Leidse bron geleverd. Studies over Leiden en de Leidenaren aangeboden aan Drs B.N. Leverland* (Leiden 1989), pp. 407-16 (p. 409).

¹⁰⁰ One might wonder whether it was purely a coincidence that the physician Bernhard Kirchen should have been living in that very town (see n. 12). He is reputed in later years to have written a

terdam on 29 March 1583 had nothing to do with it. This had a completely different cause: although he was aware of a plot against the State, he had failed to inform the authorities.¹⁰¹ As a punishment he was not allowed to reside in Holland for six years, but it is doubtful whether he was very affected by his sentence. He now had the unexpected opportunity of carrying out the great order he had just received in Vianen, a town which had already proved a safe place for clandestine printing. With the consent, and partly at the command, of Hendrik van Brederode, lord of the area, a series of Protestant and political publications had appeared there between 1563 and 1566 and had caused the government in Brussels great embarrassment.¹⁰² The fall of the town in May 1567 had put an end to it, but Vianen long continued to remain a haven for fugitives from justice.¹⁰³ Mullem had such an agreeable memory of the three years he worked in Vianen (half of his punishment was remitted) that he went there in 1602 to spend the last years of his life.

Unhindered by suspicious authorities the printer could execute his first large commission there in 1584. The book assumed a completely different appearance from the publication issued forty years previously: the German typefaces were replaced by Dutch ones, the obtrusive hands in the margins disappeared, and the three large woodcuts were replaced by an etching and three engravings, two of which were by Hieronymus Wierix. This artist from the southern Netherlands had stayed in the north from 1578 to 1580 together with his brother Johan because he

defence of David Joris in reply to an attack by the Groningen rector Ubbo Emmius: *Wederlegginghe van de grove onbeschaemde unde tasteliche logenen van Ubbo Emmen [...] tegen het leven unde leere van David Jorisson* (s.l.e.n. 1600). Kirchen is considered a candidate for the authorship of the book since he was married to one of the heresiarch's daughters, Clara van Brugge, after her previous marriage with a son of Johan van Berchem. In 1600 both a German edition (vdL 255) and a Dutch edition of the work was produced by anonymous publishers; by then Mullem had already sold his press. One of David Joris' daughters-in-law was also alive: Anna van Lier, a daughter of Cornelis van Lier, who had been married to Hans von Bruck (Johan van Brugge). In 1603 she was living in The Hague with her brother Emmery de Lyere; see C. Kramer, *Emmery de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde ...* (La Haye 1971; thesis Amsterdam), pp. 84 f., 90.

¹⁰¹ J. Smit, 'Dierck Mullem en zijn gevangenschap als medeplichtige aan den aanslag van Cornelis de Hooghe tegen de veiligheid van den Staat, 1583', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 101-8.

¹⁰² See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90; and *idem*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103. An article on the activities of the printer Albert Christiaensz in Vianen is forthcoming. ['A printer in four countries: Albert Christiaensz in Vianen, Sedan, Emden and Norwich (1565-70)', *Quaerendo*, 26 (1996), pp. 3-36. *Eds.*]

¹⁰³ See M. Gijswijt-Hofstra, *Wijkplaatsen voor vervolgd ...* (Dieren 1984; thesis Amsterdam), *passim*. In a document mentioned on p. 216 'a certain Dick Mullinin' from Rotterdam is named as being in search of asylum before 1596 – undoubtedly a misspelling of Dirck Mullem's name.

was being pursued by the law in Antwerp.¹⁰⁴ We also find a number of large calligraphic initials in the book, sometimes as many as six or seven different ones of the same letter and other than the ones in the first edition. The printer had probably acquired them for this particular publication. The first *dated* book in which I have come across one from this set is of this same year 1584.¹⁰⁵

Since Mullem's Textura faces are used by too many printers to be at all indicative, these initials are a valuable and generally indispensable means of recognizing the products of his press. They make it possible to establish that this was not the only commission he received but that he also published a large number of other writings by David Joris and thus became his most important printer after the prophet's death. None of the books contains an imprint and it is only sporadically that we obtain any information about their date of publication via other channels. As I have already observed, we have one such statement about the *Wonderboeck*.

On the basis of the initials and certain vignettes in the work, we can establish that Mullem also printed another folio volume of David Joris, his *Verklaringhe der Scheppenissen* (vdL 61) followed by three other tracts (vdL 59, 216 and 111). In this book numerous hands are again printed in the margins in order to draw attention to various passages in the text. The title-page has an unsigned engraving representing the Creation. Coornhert does not give this work in his bibliography, but Ubbo Emmius does. We can thus conclude that it only appeared in the 1590s. This also applies to a reprint of the '1551' *Wonderboeck* (vdL 58), in which most of the same material is used as for the previous edition with that date, including the by now very worn copperplates of Hieronymus Wierix.¹⁰⁶

The initials in question can also be found in a series of thirteen tracts in quarto (vdL 19, 21, 30, 55, 56, 63, 113, 114, 201-4 and undescribed) which, as we see from their signatures, appeared separately. They are all mentioned by Coornhert and

¹⁰⁴ M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les estampes des Wierix [...] Catalogue raisonné ...*, vol. 3¹: Portraits, armoiries et illustrations de livres (Bruxelles 1982), nos. 1987-8 and Plate 306. Three of the illustrations are free imitations of the woodcuts of the original designed by David Joris himself. The fourth, a representation of a female figure as the bride of Christ, would seem to be an original design by Hieronymus Wierix. There is no reason to suppose that he made the engravings during his stay in Delft and that the reissue of the *Wonderboeck* was consequently prepared at that time.

¹⁰⁵ One of the letters appears in: Erasmus Johannis, *Clare bewijsinghe dat d' Antichrist terstondt naer den doot der Apostelen beghonst heeft in der Kercke Christi te regneren ...* (s.l.e.n., [Vianen, Dierck Mullem], 1584). This date is correct, for nearly the entire edition was 'opgehaald' (fetched away) on 13 October of that year from the house of the Leiden minister Casper Coolhaes, who also had various books printed by Mullem.

¹⁰⁶ For the representation of the Lamb at the beginning of the book, a new woodcut has now been used. The etching of the Fount of Life has been replaced by an engraved copy in reverse. The rest of the ornamentation displays few differences.

can thus be dated no later than 1590.¹⁰⁷ The same applies to an octavo edition unknown to Van der Linde: *Dat Vader onse*, printed in Lettersnijder's Great Primer and English Texturas (VPT T 14 and T 20), which Mullem replaced by Van den Keere's types after his return from Vianen. The book contains one initial from a set which he had been using ever since the start of his career.¹⁰⁸ The same Lettersnijder types were used for David Joris' *Catechesis, dat is onderwijslijck gespreck [...] die catechismiseringhe [...] betreffende*, which is therefore probably also of about 1585. This publication, which Van der Linde does not mention either, displays a layout which is almost identical to *Dat Vader onse*, but contains no initials.¹⁰⁹

Mullem later published reprints of these last two books together with a new version of a tract on the sacraments (vdL 205-7).¹¹⁰ Furthermore he printed French translations of them, just as he did of three other tracts – a series of works having so many typographical features in common that they must all have been printed at about the same time.¹¹¹ Here, too, we can assume that Mullem worked on commission and that the entire edition went to the party who ordered it – the translator? His identity is not known.

A further octavo publication we can ascribe to Mullem is *Onschuldt Davids Jorisz [...] gepresenteert an [...] Vrouw Anna [...] Gravinne tot Emden etc. Int Jaer 1540 ...* (vdL 9).¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ The Coornhert treatise no. 38, which Van der Linde overlooked, is: *Een dialogus of tweespraek tusschen Peter unde Jan, twee godtlijcke gheleerde welspreckende verstandige mannen (s.l.a.n. [Rotterdam, Dierck Mullem, 1586♣]. 4to)*. Van der Linde refers to his no. 115, a later reprint. He did know of the edition in question, however, and described it in his earlier article (n. 6) under no. 7. Some copies of the collection also contain vdL 190 ([bis]; see p. viii): *Een waerachtighe fijne reden [...]*. Mlle Eugénie Droz, at the suggestion of Professor Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, has already established that the types and the paper of a similar tract volume in Geneva correspond to those of the *Wonderboek*; see her 'Sur quelques traductions françaises d'écrits de David Joris', *Het Boek*, 38 (1965-6), pp. 152-62 (p. 159). The *Civilité* in this volume, which she reproduces on p. 160, is VPT C 5 (H. Carter & H.D.L. Vervliet, *Civilité types* (Oxford 1966), H 6), a face which was only used by two printers in these years: besides Albrecht Hendricksz in Delft only by Mullem.

¹⁰⁸ Coornhert no. 40. The only known copy is at Ghent UL; see Machiels, op. cit. (n. 89), no. J 222.

¹⁰⁹ For the title, see W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), vol. I, pp. 343 f., no. E 11.2.

¹¹⁰ Each has its own title-page and signatures, but they were issued together. vdL 205: *Catechismus ...*; cf. also Heijting, op. cit. (n. 109), p. 344, n. 3. – vdL 206: *D' alderchristelicste Religie on der Cerimonien [...] Andermaal verbetert ende ghemeeerdert vanden authen selve* (A new version of vdL 28: *Wtspraek des waeren Religions ...*) – vdL 207: *Verclaringhe vant Vader onse. Op een nieuw weder [...] deursien ende [...] die hoochduytsche woorden in nederlantsch overgheset*.

¹¹¹ For four of these tracts, see Droz, art. cit. (n. 107), *passim*, with numerous reproductions of typographical details; for the fifth publication, the *Catechisme* which she did not know about, see Heijting, op. cit. (n. 109), vol. I, p. 343, no. E 11.1. The date 1580 given by both authors is too early; about 1590 is more likely, at roughly the same time as the reprint of the Dutch text (vdL 205).

¹¹² The date 1540 given in the title is incorrect and should be 1542 or 1543, as is shown by Zijlstra,

This apology had not yet appeared when Coornhert composed his *Kleyn-Munster* – he would otherwise have mentioned it – but Emmius refers several times to it in his *Grondelicke onderrichtinghe* of 1598.¹¹³ I have been unable to find anywhere else in Mullem's work the initial with which the book opens, of a fairly common design – but he did own the other initials which appear, as well as all the typefaces. That he did not use one of his calligraphic initials here can be explained by the fact that they were intended for quarto books and were thus too large for an octavo edition.

During his interrogation at the end of April 1596 Mullem's questioners showed him a copy of *Tegenbericht op een laster ende scheltboecxken* ... (see illus. 6b)¹¹⁴ which had apparently only just been discovered. The printer said that he had published the book about eleven years previously in Vianen – as stated in the imprint at the end 'Ghedrukt int Jaer 1584'. This date was deliberately misleading, however. It had been taken over from the original edition (vdL 250) printed in that year which, judging from the typefaces, was produced by a German press (see illus. 6a). By predating the book, Mullem tried to shift his reprint to an earlier period, when he had been working outside Rotterdam. His precaution was successful: his account was accepted and he had no further difficulties. That it was indeed a recent publication, however, is shown not only by the typefaces, but also by a statement by the Delft minister Arent Cornelisz Crusius. In a letter dated 18 March 1596 Crusius reported that David Joris' *Onschuldt* had just been reprinted.¹¹⁵ He was undoubtedly referring to the undated reprint in 12mo, which appeared in one volume with both *Van die rechte ware kentenisse Christi* and the aforesaid *Tegenbericht*.

There are also a few other books in a small format which can be ascribed to Mullem, although they do not contain any initials or other woodcut ornaments which can serve as proof. An edition of the *Handt-boecxken*, unknown to Van der Linde,¹¹⁶

op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 39 ff. *Onschuldt* was a reply to the 'Articulen' of Adam Pastor (Roelof Martens), who attacked David Joris' doctrine on 25 points in 1542. Fifty years later the correct chronology of this event had evidently been forgotten. The date in the title was probably the work of the man who then edited the text. Zijlstra's argumentation has been adopted by G.K. Waite, 'David Joris' Apology to Countess Anna of Oldenburg', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 62 (1988), pp. 140–58, which contains a translation of the document.

¹¹³ Emmius, op. cit. (n. 11), pp. 99, 145, etc.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Smit's communication mentioned in n. 32. The edition in question (not in vdL) is entitled: *Teghenbericht op een Laster ende Scheltboecxken gheintituleert, David Georis wt Hollandt des Ertzketters waerachtige Historie* ... (s.l.a.n. 12mo). Only a single copy is known of this reprint. It is described in Boekenoo-gen, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 77, where, however, there is an incorrect reference to vdL 250.

¹¹⁵ Nippold, art. cit. (n. 20: '34 (1864)'), p. 643.

¹¹⁶ *Handt Boecxken: Inholdende vele Godlijcke trouhertighe vaderlijcke vermaninghen unde leeringen: geschreuen deur D.J. aen syne Kinderen* ... (s.l.a.n. [Rotterdam, Dierck Mullem, 1590♣]. 8vo). – Copy in the Mennonite Library, on loan to Amsterdam UL; cf. Boekenoo-gen, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 66, with an incorrect reference to vdL 218.

is printed in a combination of eight typefaces which are all to be found in work by Mullem. Such a number of identical typographical elements seems sufficient to indicate him as the printer.¹¹⁷ Finally this also applies to vdL 162: *Een Geestelyck Liedt-Boecxken*, in which the songs are collected that David Joris had composed mainly in his youth. Both the types and the music printing, not to mention the (cast) initials, are familiar to us from other publications by Mullem, so here, too, the attribution to him seems to be correct.¹¹⁸

As far as we know, we have now reached the end of this printer's activities for the sect. Mullem probably parted with his business in about 1598, a year after the last book in the publication of which he was involved.¹¹⁹ In 1599 his colleague Jan van Waesberghe seems to have owned the alphabet of woodcut initials which he had been using all that time,¹²⁰ and in the same year we see Gillis Pieters continuing the book trade at Mullem's address.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Six of the typefaces were part of the standard equipment of printers in the northern Netherlands in those days: Van den Keere's Texturas VPT T 16, T 23, T 28, T 40 and T 49, and Tavernier's Great Primer Roman R 20. What would appear to be of far greater significance for the attribution is the presence of Granjon's 'Cicero Currens' (A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308, no. 12) and, above all, of Garamont's Cicero Italic as the face is here cast on Small Pica (20:72 mm). Our knowledge of the typographical equipment of the various printers in the northern Netherlands in about 1600 is not yet sufficiently complete for us to be able to draw conclusions by elimination, however.

¹¹⁸ C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985), p. 37. The dating between 1576 and 1582 would appear to be too early: the initials in the book show that Mullem did not publish it until after his stay in Vianen. A facsimile edition of the only known copy in the Royal Library in The Hague has been published in *Mennonite Songbooks, Dutch series*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam/Nieuwkoop [1971]). – Ghent UL owns a unique copy of a later edition of *Een gheestelijck Liedt-Boecxken*; see Machiels, op. cit. (n. 89), no. J 191. As also emerges from the publisher's foreword this is a reprint, expanded with two songs, but without music and without any indication of the author. – It is perfectly conceivable that an edition of David Joris' songbook had appeared far earlier. In the proceedings of a trial dated 3 January 1553 we read of *Een gheestelick Liedtboecxken inhoudende veele ende zuverlick loffsangen* ..., which is described as a 'boeckgen mit de geprente liedekens' (a booklet with the printed songs); cf. op. cit. (n. 65), p. 218. See also A.F. Mellink, 'The "Radical Underground" in the Dutch Radical Reformation', *Commissie tot de uitgave van Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, Bulletin*, 12-13 (1980/1), pp. 43-57 (p. 52).

¹¹⁹ [Jeronimus van der Voort,] *Het leuen en sterven ben ick genaemt* ... (Rotterdam, Dierick Mullem, 1597). – BB, op. cit. (n. 2), vol. 5, p. 751, no. V 49; Kossmann, art. cit. (n. 99: '[2]'), no. 24. – The book was a joint publication with Peter Verhaghen in Dordrecht; cf. BB, *ibid.*, no. V 48.

¹²⁰ In the revision, by J. W[aesberghe] himself, of E.E.L. Mellema's *Dictionnaire françois-flamen* (Rotterdam, Jan van Waesberghe, 1599); for which see F. Claes, *Lijst van Nederlandse woordenlijsten en woordenboeken gedrukt tot 1600* (Nieuwkoop 1974), no. 347. The initials he had taken over were perfectly suited to complete the set of the same design which he had owned since his Antwerp days.

¹²¹ In that year he published his first book: Michiel Joostens van Heede, *Discours ende beschrijvinge van het groot eylandt Canaria* ..., 'by Gillis Pietersz. Boec-verkooper op Steygher, inden Rooden Enghel'

THE LAST PRINTERS

The Davidists thus had to look for someone who could replace the man who had printed for them for fifteen years. They soon succeeded: before the century was out he produced the first two volumes (vdL 225-6) of the prophet's extensive correspondence with the title *Christlijcke Sendtbrieven* (see illus. 7). They were referred to by the writer who, under the pseudonym Andreas Huygelmumzoon, replied to Ubbo Emmius' attack on David Joris' doctrine in 1600.¹²² For these books, which of course appeared anonymously like all the other ones, the new printer had had a reversed copy made of the large vignette on the title-page of the '1551' edition of the *Wonderboeck*. Two years later he used this ornament again, this time at the end of a news report with his own name.¹²³ We thus know that the Delft printer Jacob Cornelisz Vennecool was Mullem's successor.

He did not work long for the sect, however, for his career seems to have ended by 1605.¹²⁴ There are indications that Jasper Tournay, probably in his second Gouda period (1609-25), printed the great series vdL 64-76 and 129-61,¹²⁵ but we do not know enough about the typefaces owned by the various Dutch printing-offices in the seventeenth century to make attributions exclusively on the basis of typographical material. For even after 1600 they were still careful not to use any recognizable ornaments in the publications of an arch-heretic against whom the churches still issued urgent warnings. Not until well into the nineteenth century did broader views make it possible to study his work with fresh eyes.

A conclusive solution to all the problems connected with the printing history of the work of David Joris is still beyond our reach. We do not know yet who

– the address where Mullem resided in his last Rotterdam years. Cf. W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1890-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), no. 1106.

¹²² Andreas Huygelmumzoon [= Bernhard Kirchen?], *Widerlegung* (vdL 255; see n. 100), p. 35.

¹²³ *Ample ende waerachtige beschrijvinghe [...] in wat manieren de ses groote Galleyen (ghesonden wt Spaengien na de Nederlanden) zijn vergaen [...] den 7 October 1602* (Delft, Jacob Cornsz. Vennecool, [1602]. 4to). – L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. I, no. 778.

¹²⁴ J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473-1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid. Dutch printers and booksellers. With places and years of activity* (Nieuwkoop 1989), pp. 181, 231; and see Briels, op. cit. (n. 95), pp. 498 f.

¹²⁵ One of the types in this work is Berntsz' Double Pica Textura (VPT T 6), an old face which had been used earlier by Dierck Mullem, but which according to Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 51), pp. 94 f., was only to be found in the type cases of Jasper Tournay in these years. This printer published various books which aroused the indignation of the orthodox. Biographical information and a (fragmentary) list of his editions are to be found in Briels, op. cit. (n. 95), pp. 466 ff. On his work for Coornhert, see Bonger, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 136, 379, 384.

the two German printers were who worked for him briefly any more than we can identify the last publishers of his writings. We do not know who printed the third and fourth *Handtboecxken*, the various parts of the third book of the *Sendtbrieven*, and whatever else appeared after 1600. Now, however, we can indeed see how the sect organized its publicity during the prophet's life and in the later years of the sixteenth century – which printers collaborated and what their individual part in the production was. We are in a position to distinguish between the writings which appeared in David's lifetime and which he himself wished to have published, and the many others which were issued subsequently by his followers. We can tell now which tracts were early available in printed form and thus became accessible to readers on a vaster scale, and which remained in manuscript and were only open to be read in a narrowly confined circle. For our knowledge of the reception of these works and their possible influence such information is essential.

APPENDIX

A List of David Joris' Works and Their Printers.

(Numbers according to Van der Linde's *Bibliographie*.)

1 <i>Eene onderwysinghe ofte raet</i> , 1537	[Deventer, A. Pafraet, 1537]
2 <i>Eyn wtroepinghe van des brudegoms</i> , 1539	[eastern Netherlands, 1539]
3 <i>Een seer schone tractaet</i> , 1539	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
4 <i>Neemt waer een gesicht</i> , 1539	(manuscript)
5 <i>Straffinghe ende leer</i> [I], 1540	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
6 <i>Straffinghe ende leer</i> [II], 1542	<i>idem</i>
7 <i>Straffinghe ende leer</i> [III], 1540	<i>idem</i>
8 <i>Een seer goede onderwysinghe</i> , 1540	<i>idem</i>
9 <i>Onschuldts Davids Jorisz</i> , 1540 [=1542<]	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1590<]
10 <i>Troost, raet, leere</i> , 1542	[Deventer, A. Pafraet, 1542]
11 <i>Van die groetinghe</i> , 1542	added to vdL 15
12 <i>Wten monde stemmelick ghesproocken</i> , 1542	<i>idem</i>
13 <i>Vermaenunghe ende leere</i> , 1542	added to vdL 22
14 <i>Twonder boeck</i> , n.d.	[Deventer, D. v.d. Borne, 1542-4]
15 <i>Een seer goede vermaninghe</i> , 1543 (+ vdL 11-12)	[<i>ibidem</i> , 1543]
16 <i>Wten monde stemmelijck gesproocken</i> , 1543	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
17 <i>Hoe die mensch van Godt gevallen</i> , 1543	<i>idem</i>
18 <i>Van dat vergaen ende naevolgen</i> , 1543	<i>idem</i>
19 <i>Cort bericht unde schriftelijck</i> , 1544	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<]
20 <i>Van dat gherechte waere Sion</i> , 1544	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
21 <i>Ernstelijcke klage, leere</i> , 1544	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<]
22 <i>Waer toe [...] die mensche</i> , 1544 (+ vdL 13)	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
23 <i>Neemt waer, hoort die des Heeren</i> , 1544	added to vdL 171
24 <i>Een rechte [...] kijnder tuicht</i> , 1544	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
25 <i>Van de ongerechte [...] predicanten</i> , 1544	<i>idem</i>
26 <i>Een affsonderinge of onderscheit</i> , 1544	<i>idem</i>
27 <i>Hoemen sich tot diesen [...] tyden</i> , 1544	<i>idem</i>
28 <i>Wtspraeck des waeren religions</i> , 1544	<i>idem</i>
29 <i>Van die gherechte waere aenbeders</i> , 1545	<i>idem</i>
30 <i>Van die vreemde tonghen of talen</i> , 1545	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<]
31 <i>Wie men voert an van herten</i> , 1545	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
32 <i>Van Godes ende des menschen</i> , 1545	<i>idem</i>
33 <i>Hoe hy sijn moet die gebot</i> , 1545	<i>idem</i>
34 <i>Vant ooch synen aart</i> , 1545	<i>idem</i>
35 <i>Van die snoothet des olden</i> , 1545	<i>idem</i>
36 <i>Waerschouwinghe voer den aarth</i> , 1545	<i>idem</i>

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 37 Een stille swyghende styven, 1545 | <i>idem</i> |
| 38 Alle waere gheloevighen saluyt, 1546 | <i>idem</i> |
| 39 Een hertelijcke waerschouwinge, 1546 | added to vdL 50-2 |
| 40 Hoe ende in wat maneren, 1546 | [Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550] |
| 41 Een twesprake tuschen een meister, 1546 | <i>idem</i> |
| 42 Antwoort tegen die sich beklacht, 1546 | <i>idem</i> |
| 43-9 (A collection of seven reprints), 1546 | [Netherlands] 1610 |
| 50 Vant gebruyck der spysen, n.d. | [Rostock, L. Dietz, 1547<] |
| 51 Een stemmelijcke reeden, 1547 | added to vdL 50 |
| 52 Een droevich beklach, 1547 (+ vdL 39) | added to vdL 50-1 |
| 53 Vann die mensch, 1547 (+ vdL 178) | [Rostock, L. Dietz, 1547<] |
| 54 Thien Christelijcke gespraecken, 1548 | [Netherlands] 1610 |
| 55 Seer schoone aenwysingen, 1550 | [Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<] |
| 56 Waerschouwinghe voor den dach, 1551 | <i>idem</i> |
| 57 Twonder-Boeck, 1551 | [Vianen, D. Mullem, 1584] |
| 58 Twonder-Boeck, 1551 (reprint) | [Rotterdam, D. Mullem, c.1595?] |
| 59 Een seer schoon [...] tractaet, 1553 | added to vdL 61 (+ 216 + 111) |
| 60 T'samen-spreekinge, 1553 | [Netherlands] 1610 |
| 61 Verklaringhe der Scheppenissen, 1553 | [Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<] |
| 62 Verclaringhe der Scheppenissen (reprint) | [Netherlands] 1609 |
| 63 Christelijcke waerschouwinghe, 1554 | [Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<] |
| 64-76 (A collection of 13 tracts), 1547-54 | [Gouda, J. Tournay?, c.1615?] |
| 77-93 (A collection of 17 tracts), 1551-4 | [Netherlands c.1610?] |
| 94-110 (A collection of 17 tracts), 1535-55 | [Netherlands] 1614 |
| 111 Alle vaten siehtmen wtgheven, 1556 | added to vdL 61 + 59 + 216 |
| 112 Alle vaten siet men wtgeven (reprint) | [Netherlands] 1610 |
| 113 Van die aart, blindtheyt, 1556 | [Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<] |
| 114 Antwoort unde onderricht D.J., 1556 | <i>idem</i> |
| 115-28 (A collection of 15 tracts), 1551-6 | [Netherlands c.1610?] |
| 129-61 (A collection of 33 tracts), 1551-6 | [Gouda, J. Tournay?, c.1615?] |
| 162 Een geestelijck liedt-boecxken, n.d. | [Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1590<] |
| 163 Hoert, hoert [...] groot wonder, n.d. | [Deventer, A. Pafraet, c.1537] |
| 164 Hoort, hoort, siet dat leven, n.d. | [Antwerp, A. van Berghen, c.1540] |
| 165 Dat eynde coemt, dat eynde coemt, n.d. | <i>idem</i> |
| 166 Een seer suverlick tractaet, n.d. | [Deventer, A. Pafraet, c.1538] |
| 167 Seer goet onderwijsinghe, n.d. | [Antwerp, A. van Berghen, c.1540] |
| 168 Ick verlichte allen menschen, n.d. | <i>idem</i> |
| 169 Een der Paradyscher rieveren, n.d. | [Germany c.1546] |
| 170 Donschuldinge D.J., n.d. | [Deventer, D. van den Borne, 1542/3] |
| 171 Warnunge ende leer, n.d. (+ vdL 23) | [Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550] |

172 <i>Van dat rechte voetwasschen</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
173 <i>Van die rechte gemeente Christi</i> , n.d.	[Germany c.1546]
174 <i>Een twesprake tusschen man unde wijff</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
175 <i>Die ellendige mensch</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
176 ('175') <i>Een klagelijck gebett</i> , n.d.	[Germany c.1546]
177 <i>Dat boeck des levens</i> , n.d.	[Antwerp, A. van Berghen, c.1540]
178 <i>Neemt waer myn kynderen</i> , n.d.	added to vdL 53
179 <i>Alle vrome goetwillige</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
180 <i>Ghescreven tot den wijsen</i> , n.d.	[Antwerp, A. van Berghen, c.1540]
181 <i>Vraege, hoet komt</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
182 <i>By een schryfft</i> , n.d.	[Germany c.1546]
183 <i>Inden namen Jesu mijns Heeren</i> , n.d.	[Antwerp, A. van Berghen, c.1540]
184 <i>Een heylich wacker vermanen</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
185 <i>Vant gelooff</i> , n.d.	[Germany c.1546]
186 <i>Neemt waer. Wie ick langer leve</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
187 <i>Eine korte suverlike wairschuwinge</i> , n.d.	[(western?) Germany c.1545]
188 = vdL 179	
189 <i>Een andachtige betrachtinge</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
190 (p. 48) = vdL 175	
190 (p. viii) <i>Een waerachtighe fijne</i> , n.d.	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<?]
191 + 192 = vdL 174	
193 <i>Die eerste sullen die laetste</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
194 <i>Een suverlijcke bewijszreden</i> , n.d.	[Germany c.1546]
195 <i>Waesrouwinge und vermaeninge</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
196 = vdL 189	
197 <i>Berichtunge wie syn huysz</i> , n.d.	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
198 <i>Een onderscheidelyke berichtinge</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
199 <i>Neemt waer ghi aenbeders</i> , n.d.	[Antwerp, A. van Berghen, c.1540]
200 <i>Van die offerhande</i> , n.d.	[Deventer, A. Pafraet, c.1539]
201 <i>Een suyverlijcke bewijsreden</i> , n.d.	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1586<]
202 <i>Waerachtige aenwysinghe</i> , n. d.	<i>idem</i>
203 <i>Een nootwendich vermanen</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
204 <i>Een Godtlijcke antwoordt</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
205 <i>Catechesis</i> , n.d.	[Rotterdam, D. Mullem, 1590]
206 <i>D'alderchristelicste religion</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
207 <i>Verclaringhe vant Vader onse</i> , n.d.	<i>idem</i>
208-12 (A collection of five reprints)	[Netherlands] 1616
213 <i>Dit kan of mach ick</i> , n.d. (+ vdL 214-15)	[Rostock, L. Dietz, c.1550]
214 <i>Een kostelyck klennoet</i> , n.d.	added to vdL 213
215 <i>Neemt waer. Oerwint u selven</i> , n.d.	added to vdL 213-14

216 <i>Een leerlijck [...] ghespreck</i> , n.d.	added to vdL 61 + 59 (+ III)
217 = vdL 54	
218 <i>Handt-boecxken</i> (reprint)	[Netherlands c.1605?]
219 <i>Dat eerste Hand-boecxken</i>	[Netherlands] 1616
220 <i>Dat tweede Handt-boecxken</i>	[Netherlands c.1605?]
221 <i>Dat tweede Hand-boecksken</i>	[Netherlands] 1616
222 <i>Dat derde Hand-boecxken</i>	[Netherlands] 1614
223 (<i>idem</i> , another edition)	[Netherlands] 1614
224 <i>Dat vierde Hand-boecxken</i>	[Netherlands] 1626
225 <i>Christlijcke sendtbrieven</i>	[Delft, J.Csz. Vennecool, c.1600]
226 (<i>idem</i>), <i>Het tweede boeck</i>	<i>idem</i>
227 (<i>idem</i>), <i>Het derde boeck</i>	[Netherlands] 1611

Not in Van der Linde
(*In chronological order.*)

[David Joris], *Hoert die stemme des Heeren* [heading]. *De bruloft des lams is bereyt ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Deventer, Albert Pafraet, c.1537]). 4to, 4 unnumbered leaves, A⁴. Copy: Münster, UL. – For bibliographical references, see n. 43.

[David Joris], *Een seer schoon tractaet of onderwijs va(n) menigerley aert der menschen vianden ...* [In fine: 'Wtgeghaen in Jaer .XXXIX'] (*s.l.e.n.* [Deventer, Albert Pafraet, 1539]). 8vo, 36 unnumbered leaves, A-C⁸D⁴ (last blank). Copy: Amsterdam, UL. – NK 3278

[David Joris], *Hoe sich die gelovighe, die een suster ofte vrouwe tot hem neemt, draghen [...] sullen* (*s.l.a.n.* [Deventer, Dirck (II) van den Borne, c.1541/2]). 8vo, 24 unnumbered leaves, A-C⁸. Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek (SB). – Weller (n. 21), p. 256; NK 3275.

[David Joris], *Lerung ende vermaenung met bequame gelijckenissen wtgesproocken, totter Ghodtsaelicheit dienstelick ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz, c.1550]). 8vo, 4 unnumbered leaves, a⁴. Copies: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library); Copenhagen, Royal Library (RL); Ghent, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB); New York, Union Theological Seminar. – Machiels (n. 89), no. J 190; Bainton (n. 1), p. 108.

[David Joris], *Hoe een Christen hem selven doerbreecken ende in Christo vlieten moet ...* [In fine: 'Wtgheghaen inth Jaer 1545'] (*s.l.e.n.* [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz, c.1550]). 8vo, 8 unnumbered leaves, a⁸. Copies: Amsterdam, UL and Mennonite Library; Deventer, Athenaeumbibliotheek.

[David Joris], *Van de snoothet des Olden ende duecht des Nieuwen Mensches. Een kostel Bericht ...* [In fine: 'Wtgegaen 1545'] (*s.l.e.n.* [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz, c.1550]). 8vo, 16 unnumbered leaves, A-D⁴. Copy: Ghent, UL. – Machiels (n. 89), no. J 208, a variant edition of vdL 35.

[David Joris], *Catechesis, dat is, Onderwijslijck gespreck tusschen vader unde soon, die catechismiseringhe un(de) catechumenieringhe betreffende ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Dirck Mullem, c. 1585]). 8vo, 67 numbered leaves, A-H⁸I⁴ (last blank). Copies: Amsterdam, Library of the Free University (FrUL); Leiden, UL. – Heijting (n. 109), vol. I, pp. 343 f., no. E 11.2.

[David Joris], *Dat Vader onse. Proverb. 15. Der Godtloosen offerhande ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Dirck Mullem, c.1585]). 8vo, 140 unnumbered leaves, A-R⁸S⁴ (last blank). Copies: Copenhagen, RL; Ghent, UL. – Machiels (n. 89), no. J 222.

[David Joris], *Een dialógus of tweespraecck tusschen Peter unde Jan, twee godtlijke gheleerde welspreckende verstandige mannen ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1586<]). 4to in eights, 21 unnumbered leaves, AB⁸C⁶ (last blank). Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); Basel, UL; Chicago, UL; Dublin, Trinity College Library (TCL); Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL. – Van der Linde in *Le bibliophile belge*, I (1866), p. 135, no. 7.

[David Joris], *Brieve explication de la Pate-nostre ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1590<]). 8vo, title and 134 numbered leaves, A-R⁸ (last blank). Copies: Geneva, UL, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB). – Droz (n. 107), 4°, p. 157.

[David Joris], *Catechisme, c'est a dire, les premiers enseignementz de la Religion Chrestienne, lesquelz le pere enseigne à son filz ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1590<]). 8vo, title + 63 numbered leaves, A-H⁸. Copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB. – Heijting (n. 109), vol. I, p. 343, no. E 11.1.

[David Joris], *Colloques Chrestiens de trois personnes ...* [In fine: 'Mis en lumiere en l'an 1548'] (*s.l.e.n.* [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1590<]). 8vo, 4 unnumbered and 135 numbered leaves, A-R⁸S⁴ (last blank). Copy: Geneva, UL. – Droz (n. 107), 3°, p. 156.

[David Joris], *Complaincte, doctrine & instruction de sapience à manifestation des doctes* ['Mis en lumiere le 20. d'Octobre, en l'an 1544'] (*s.l.e.n.* [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1590<]). 8vo, title and 94 numbered leaves, A-M⁸ (last blank). Copy: Geneva, UL. – Droz (n.107), 1°, p. 154.

[David Joris], *Une belle et clere demonstration [...] où & en qui c'est qu'est la vraye Foy ...* (*s.l.a.n.* [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1590<]). 8vo, 5 unnumbered and 53 numbered leaves.

Copy: Geneva, UL. – Droz (n. 107), 2°, p. 155.

[David Joris], *Handt Boecxken: Inholdende vele Godlijcke trouhertighe vaderlijcke vermaningen unde leeringen: Geschreven deur D.J.* (s.l.a.n. [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, 1590<]). 8vo, title, 142 numbered leaves and 1 unnumbered leaf, A-S⁸. Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library). – Boekenooogen (n. 8), p. 66 (with an incorrect reference to vdL 218).

[David Joris], *Van die rechte ware kentenisse Christi unde kraft des alderheylighsten Gheloofs* ['Wtghegaen in't jaer 1554'] (s.l.e.n. [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, c.1596]). 8vo, 24 numbered leaves, A-C⁸. Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library). – Boekenooogen (n. 8), p. 65.

[David Joris], *Onschuldt Davids Jorisz. gedaen unde ghepresenteert an [...] Vrouw Anna, geborene Gravinne van Oldenburch, etc. Gravinne tot Emden etc. int jaer 1540 [=1542 <]* (s.l.a.n. [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem, c.1596]). 8vo, 29 numbered leaves, A-C⁸D⁶ (last blank). Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library). – Boekenooogen (n. 8), p. 63, and comp. vdL 9.

[David Joris], *Een gheestelijck Liedt-boecxken: Inhoudende veel schoone sinrijcke Christelijcke liedkens: oock troostlijcke Nieuwe-jaren, claech ende lof-sanghen ...* (s.l.a.n. [Netherlands, after 1600?]). oblong 16mo, 4 unnumbered, 90 numbered and 2 unnumbered leaves, A-M⁸. Copy: Ghent, UL. – Machiels (n. 89), no. J 191.

Hoert die stemme des Heeren.

DE brulofst des lams is bereyt/de spijs is gaer/compt haer
stetlick vñ wert verblit/in den Koning de alder schoenste/
die de brudegom is/siet he sal mit zyn bruyt proncken om
de herlicheyt de haer tho gedragen sal werden. Alle volcken sullen
haer tho voete vallen/alle de luden sullen haer denen/de Koning
gen sullen haer grote eer bewysen vñd haer macht vñd glorie an
brengen/Alle de landen sullen verwonderen in haer schoenheyt
vñd gulden tyraet/de macht der heydenen sal haer swygen/ores
sen/vñd daer voer verschrieken.

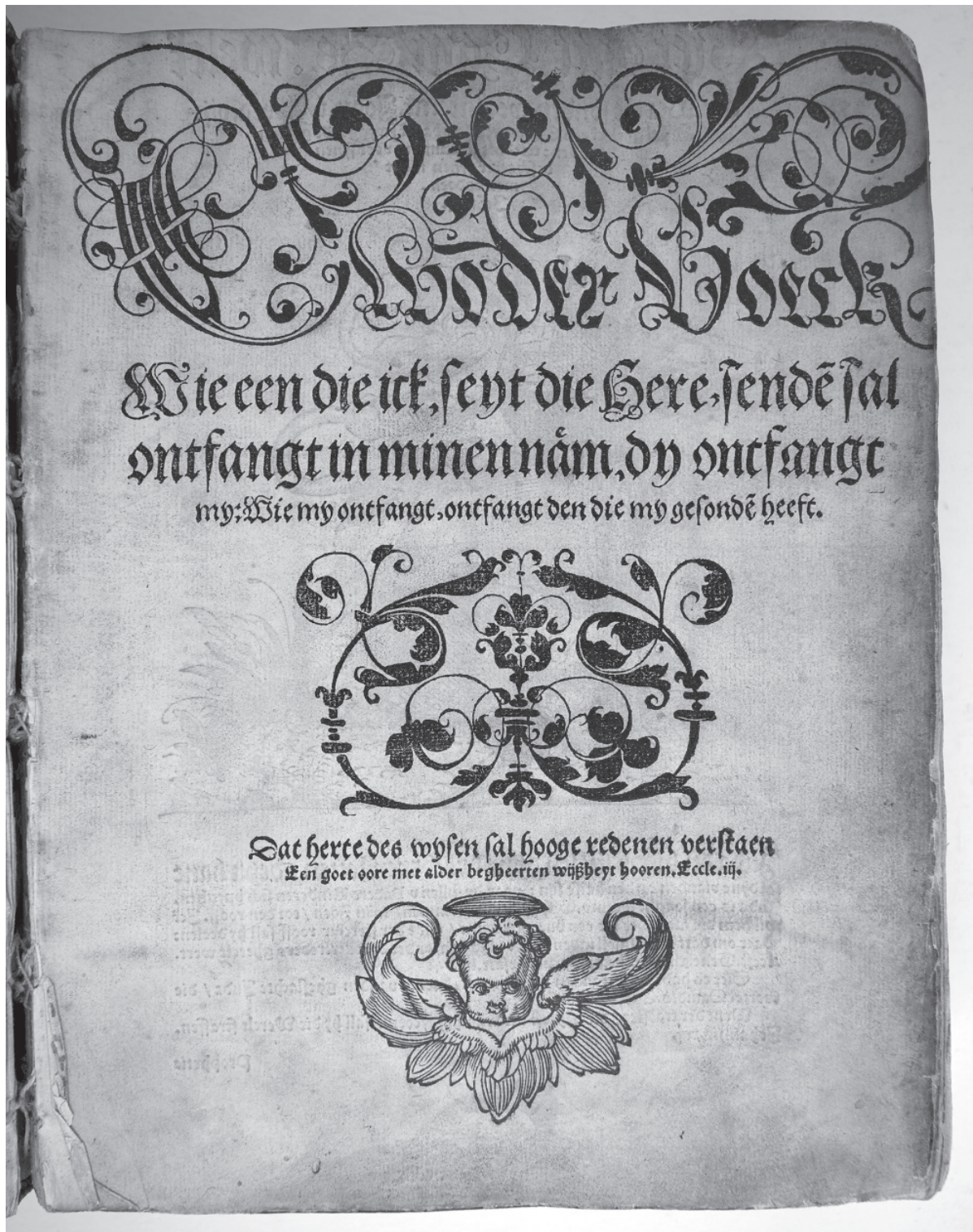
Coempt vñd holt fest in mynder herlicheyt/ghy de in droefheyt
bedruckt vñd verlaten sittet. Coempt de arbeiden de beladen zijt.
Compt de beswaert zijt. Compt de nu schreyt/hungers vñd dura
stet. Compt etet vñd drincket vñd werdet versadet/vñ zijt vrolick.
Compt ghy benaude/bekommerde zielen vñd werdet vertroestet/
want mijn lust is v te verbliden vñd wal te doen/de waerachtlick
geloest/de gerechticheyt soeckt/vñd de de waerheyt lief heeft.

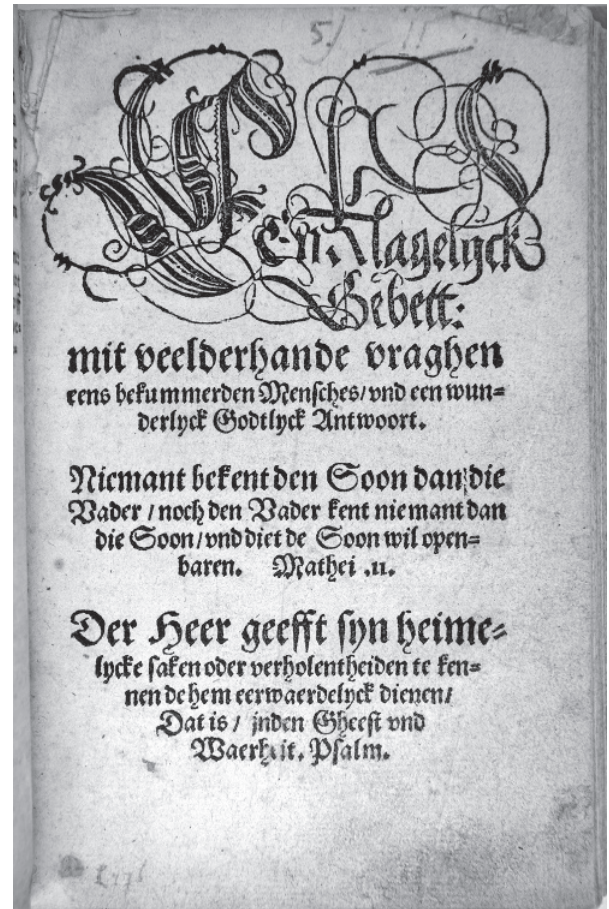
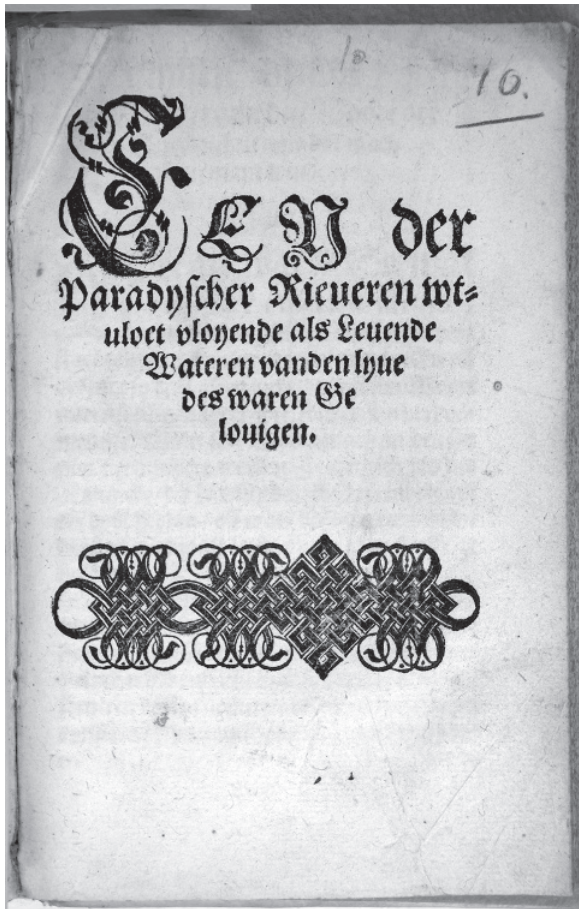
Die wech de tot der verdoemenisse leydet/is seer breyt/vñd
veel zijnder die hem wandelen/Maer de wech tho dem leuen is
smal/vñd de poerte seer enge/weynich isser diese vinden/vinden
segge ick/Ick swige diese wandelen willen/Letter vp.

Wee der menichte des groten volcks/want se sullen gelick de
zee ruysschen.

Vrees niet ghy cleyne schare/want het heeft den vader be
haecht v tho geuen dat rycke/eyn cleyne hoepken soldet zyn/want
veel geroepen/weynich wtuerkaren/waerumme Here? mer sy en
willen byr nicht lyden/vñd sonder dat en mogen sy nicht regni
ren/het is eyn volck dat sonder verstant is/als ick se leren wil ddr
fastiende/onderwisinge/so weygeren se my/vñd gaen noch mer
achterwaert om my tho vergrinnen/hoe kan ick se dan na mijn
hant vñd sinne setten vñd wtuerkaren maken.

Waer by comptet Here Here? om dat haer herte niet vast an
my en hanck/vñd geyn waer geloue en hebben/het is eyn ghes
lacht dat my niet en behaecht/eyn harden aert/eyn verdeffelick
zaet/de groet van herten zyn/welcke oghe in de hoge staen/de
gheern geacht/geseen vñd ghepresen zyn van eyn geslachte dat
blind is/Vñd zyn ganz ydel van gedachten heel vleyschelick ges
sint/den doot eygen. Och Heer Heer en ysser gheynen raet tho?
wat raet is voer de ter herten nicht bekeert en wort/de als men
hem roept bedroeuert/vñd zyn oren daer mede dief maket vñd zyn
bert



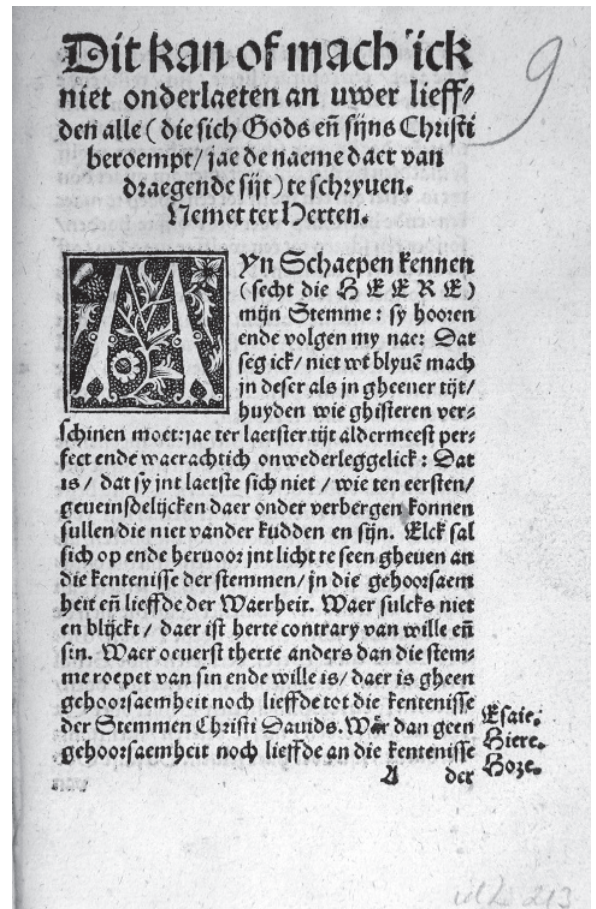
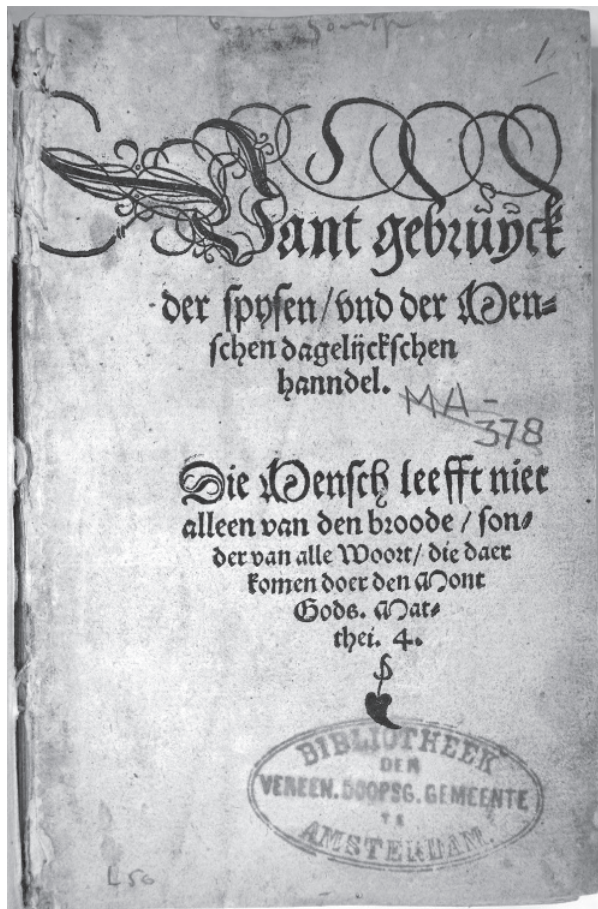


3a

[David Joris], *Een der Paradyscher rieveren uytvloet* (s.l.e.a. [Germany, c.1546])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-955)

3b

[David Joris], *Een klagelijck gebett* (s.l.e.a. [Germany, c.1546])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-955)

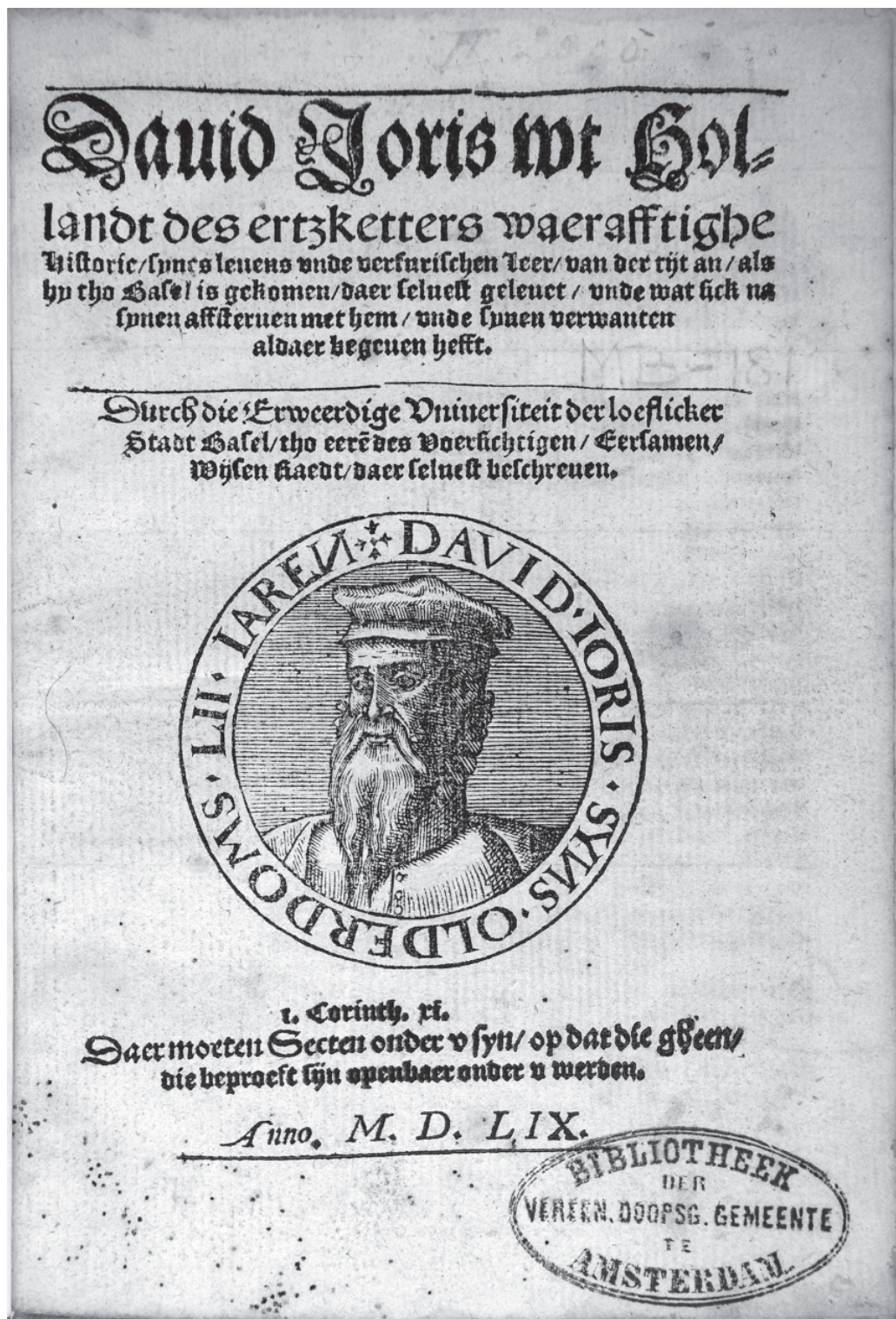


4a

[David Joris], *Vant gebruyck der spysen* (s.l.e.a. [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz, before 1547])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-955)

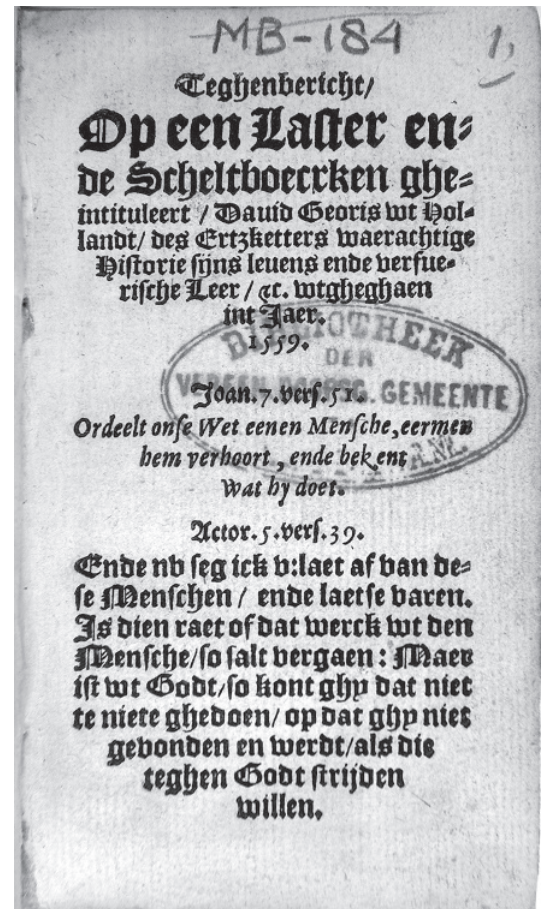
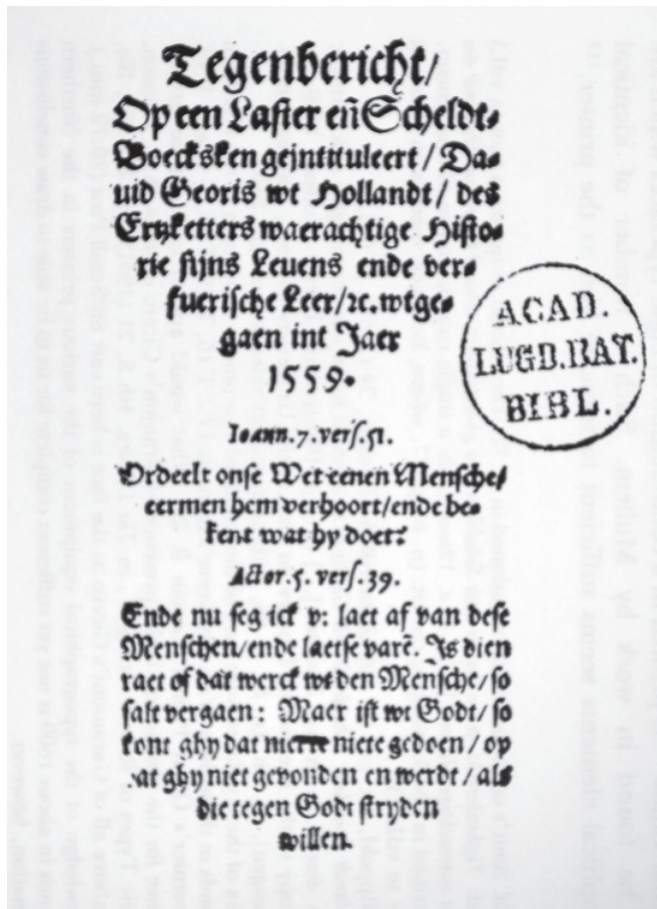
4b

[David Joris], *Dit kan of mach ick niet en onderlaeten* (s.l.e.a. [Rostock, Ludwig Dietz, c.1550])
(Scan from the original publication)



5

David Joris uut Hollandt des ertzketters waerafftighe historie (s.l. [Deventer, Richard Pafraet], 1559)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: O 65-857)

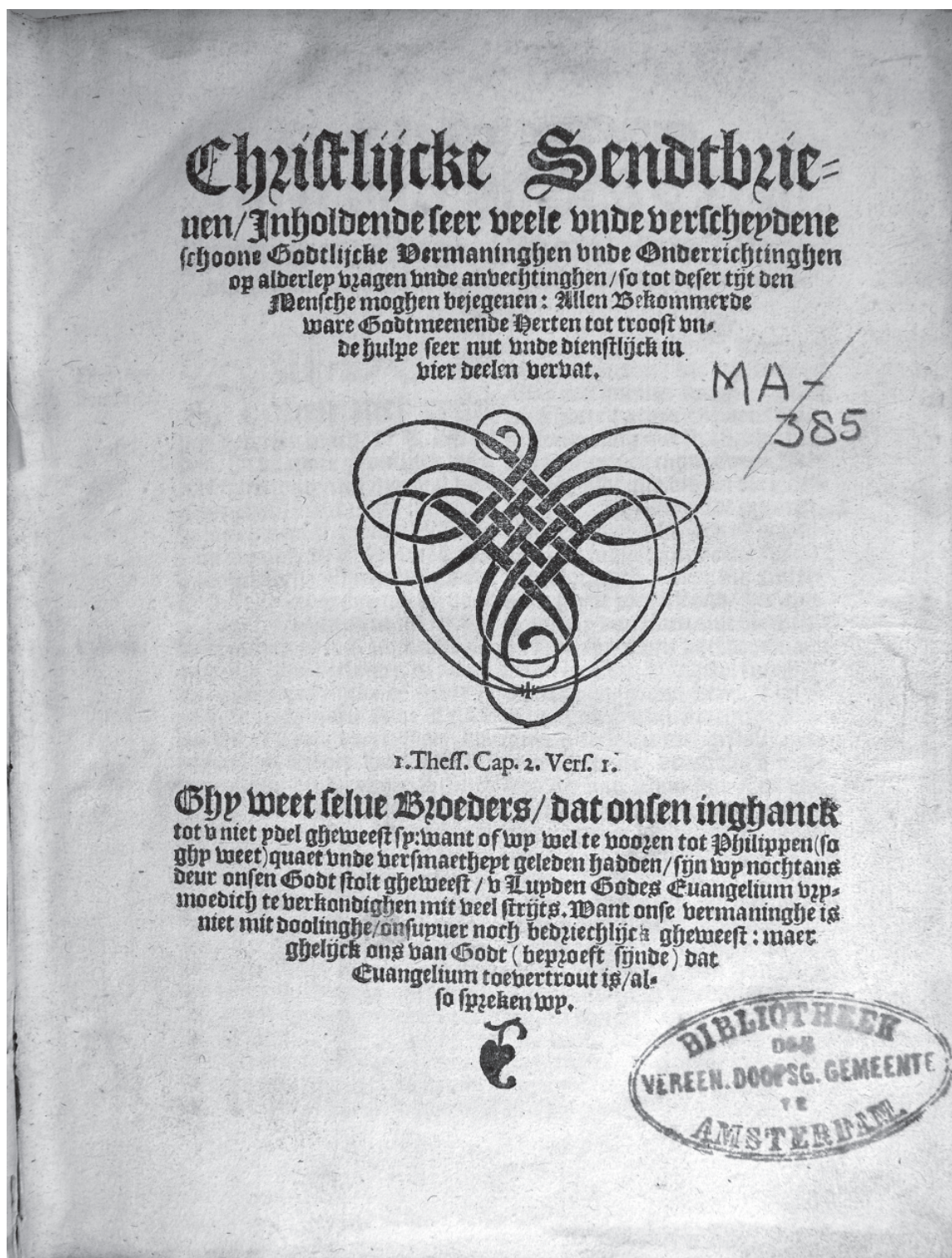


6a

Tegenbericht op een laster ende scheldt-boeckken (s.l. [Emden?], 1584)
(Scan from the original publication)

6b

Teghenbericht op een laster en scheltboeckken (s.l. [Rotterdam, Dirck Mullem], 1584 [=1596])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-960)



THE ANTWERP YEARS OF NICLAES MOLLIJNS,

1579 to 1586



In March 1588 the city council of Riga sent a delegation to Warsaw in order to present itself to the new Polish king, Sigismund III, who had acceded to the throne a few months earlier. The last section of the instructions which the mission received from the council contained a request to the King for a *privilegium* for a printing-office which would be to the advantage of both the city and the country in general ('weill solches beide zu Stadt und des algemeinen landes bestem gereicht'). Although we don't know whether a decision was made at the time, the town had apparently already taken steps to satisfy this need. For in the same year there appeared, as the first product of the recently established press, an edition of the church ordinance of Riga and the hymns there used.¹ The printer in question was Niclaes Mollijs and he came from Antwerp.

With his removal to Riga, Niclaes Mollijs not only became the prototypographer of the city but also of the entire Baltic area. After the King had accorded him a privilege as printer on 16 May 1590, the municipality gave him a permanent appointment on 1 January 1591, which was defined more closely two years later. He also obtained the right to operate as book dealer. Indeed, from 1592 on he was the only man in town who had such a permit. From July 1597 he was assisted in his bookshop by his son-in-law Peter van (der) Meren. After the liberation of the city from the hated Polish regime, Mollijs also received a general privilege from the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus. When he died in 1625, his list would seem to have consisted of a good 160 titles. Copies of most of these publications, which also include engravings, have survived.² Many editions, including a number of occasional works for the city intelligentsia, appeared in Latin, but he also printed texts – particularly theological ones – in German, and, for the use of the native population, three ecclesiastical works in the local vernacular. In all this period Mollijs was the only printer in Riga.

¹ A. Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga, 1588-1888* (Riga 1890; repr. Nieuwkoop 1965), pp. 15-74; for a summary, see V. Pengerots, 'Geschichte des Buchdrucks in Lettland bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 10 (Mainz 1935), pp. 213-22 (pp. 213 ff.). See also H. Helwig, 'Das Buchbinderhandwerk in Riga vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 8 (1967), cols. 485-504 (cols. 486-9).

² Buchholtz, op. cit. (n. 1), pp. 253-310: 'Verzeichniss der Molliynschen Drucke und Kupferstiche, 1588-1625'.

Even if we give no further details, this brief survey provides sufficiently full information about Mollijs' career in Latvia and stands in marked contrast to what is known about his Antwerp years. We know little more than that he was a son of the printer and wood-engraver Jan (I) Mollijs, who had settled in Antwerp as an independent publisher in 1551. Besides two large books on the history and the counts of Brabant, the father mainly printed shorter works, pamphlets and other ephemera. He had converted to Protestantism and, over the years, his publications included ever more forbidden titles. In 1566 he at last ran into trouble with the authorities and was banished from Brabant for six years – a period which he spent entirely, or anyhow partly, in Sliedrecht, on the river Merwede in the northern Netherlands.³

We can assume that Niclaes learnt the printing trade from his father, even if we have no information on the matter and do not even know his year of birth. All that is certain is that he was admitted as the son of a guildsman to membership of the St Lucas guild in 1575,⁴ having worked for two years, from 1573 to 1575, as a printer ('imprimeur') at Plantin's printing-office.⁵ After leaving Plantin he obtained a privilege as printer on 4 April 1576 in order to carry on the business of his father, who had died in the meantime.⁶ Presumably in contrast to his brother Jan (II), there are no indications that he was also a woodcutter like his father.

Where Jan (II) is concerned more biographical information is available from the certificate he obtained from Plantin in 1576.⁷ Although he, too, learnt the printing trade from his father, he opted for a living as a book dealer and, together with a colleague (probably a brother-in-law), he opened a shop. It suffered badly from the looting during the Spanish Fury in the same year, however, and shortly after

³ For biographical details and further literature on Jan (I) and Niclaes Mollijs, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 150-2.

⁴ *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde onder zinspreuk 'Wt jonsten versaemt'*. *Les liggender et autres archives historiques de la gilde anversoise de Saint Luc*, 2 vols., eds. P. Rombouts & T. van Lierus (Antwerpen/'s-Gravenhage, 1864-76; repr. Amsterdam 1961), vol. I, p. 260.

⁵ He appears to have worked there from 1 May 1573 until 1 May 1575. He received his first salary on 9 May 1573, and the last on 29 April 1575. See Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. 32 ('Livre des ouvriers' 1571-9), ff. 120, 192.

⁶ Jan (I) Mollijs died between 3 January 1575 and 24 March 1576; see A.J.J. Delen, 'De Antwerpsche drukkers en houtgraveurs Jan Mollijs de Oude en Jan Mollijs de Jonge', *Het Boek*, 21 (1932-3), pp. 45-56 (p. 55); also *id.*, *Oude Vlaamsche graphiek. Verzamelde opstellen* (Antwerpen 1943), pp. 63-85 (pp. 83-4). Where Niclaes is concerned further information and literature can be found in Rouzet, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 152.

⁷ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), pp. 42-3.

he appears to have died. We are here faced with the curious fact that the man who possessed a printer's certificate never, as far we know, actually practised the craft, while his brother, who does not seem to have possessed a similar diploma, had a successful career in that very same trade.

PUBLICATIONS WITH THE IMPRINT OF MOLLIJNS

I have not been able to establish Mollijns' activities between 1576 and 1578. It is not until 1579 (colophon: 1580) that we find his name in a book: Isbrandus [Bal(c)k], *Een predicatie van dat cleyn mostaert saeyken* ('ghedruckt Thantwerpen, op die Lombarde veste, int Root huys, by Niclaes Mollyns').⁸ C.P. Burger Jr., who devoted a study to Mollijns, father and son, could add a few more titles.⁹ *Een dialogue oft tsamensprekinghe tusschen de goetwillighe Ghemeynte ende [...] Anjou*, 1582 (BT 5621, Kn 588);¹⁰ *De principaelste redenen ende oorsaecken van den dieren tijdt in deze landen*, 1586 (Mach N 407);¹¹ and a pamphlet dated 1587. This last edition (Kn 822), however, is a publication from the northern Netherlands with Mollijns' name as a copy-imprint, and thus no work of his. After that A.J.J. Delen indicated the title of a fourth publication by Mollijns, printed in 1582 for the publisher Jasper Troyens: Dathenus, *Een christelijcke verantwoordinghe* (BT 5555).¹² *Belgica Typographica*¹³ added a further book which he produced for Troyens a year later: Calvin, *Een seer nuttighe waerschouwinghe* (BT 541), as well as a paste-in almanack dated 1583 and printed with the name of Hendrik Wouters as publisher (BT 5030). Finally, the Royal Library in The Hague owns a previously unknown occasional publication in verse: *Een dancksegghinge over die groote victorie van de stadt van Grave* (Antwerpen, Niclaes Mollijns, s.a.), Kn 767aa, which can be dated 1586 on account of that battle.

These publications with Mollijns' imprint, of which the paste-in almanack only

⁸ C.P. Burger Jr., 'De drukkers Jan Mollijns en Niclaes Mollijns', *Het Boek*, 16 (1927), pp. 337-41 (p. 339). For the correct title of the book (the one given by Burger differs), see *British Museum. General catalogue of printed books; photolithographic edition to 1955*, 263 vols. (London 1959-66), vol. 112, col. 807.

⁹ Burger, art. cit., (n. 8), p. 340.

¹⁰ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfjetten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 9 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, vol. 1/1, no. 466.

¹¹ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter cited as Mach.

¹² Delen, art. cit. (n. 6: Antwerpsche drukkers), p. 16; also *id.*, op. cit. (n. 6: Oude Vlaamsche graphiek), p. 85.

¹³ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), hereafter cited as BT.

consists of a single leaf, form a pretty meagre harvest for an activity lasting seven years. It seems most unlikely that a man whom the guild had acknowledged as a guild master and had officially admitted as a printer could survive on an average of a single publication a year. He must have printed more, but then for others and without mentioning his own name. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the editions of his own press are among the large number of publications which appeared in these years without an address. So there is every reason to search in these directions.

I believe it is now generally known that such an investigation must start from a bibliographical analysis whereby the external features of printed material serve to indicate its origin. From his signed publications we can become acquainted with the typographical material which a printer had at his disposal: typefaces (and the combinations in which he used them) and ornaments such as title compartments, frames, vignettes and initials. When we find identical elements in books without an imprint they make it possible to establish the press which produced them.

If, with this objective in mind, we search the aforesaid publications which appeared in the name of Niclaes Mollijns for characteristic features, we are immediately struck by two arabesque vignettes: one which is round, and the other which is oblong (illus. 1). This second one, apparently cast in Germany, had an international success and was applied in various countries in versions with only minimal mutual differences. Mollijns used the ornament in the Netherlands in these years, as we see from the title-page of the poem on the victory at Grave, one of the few editions furnished with his address. With this vignette as an indication we can now attribute a number of other anonymous publications to him.

In the first place we have *Een wonderlijcke nieu gheschiedenisse ghebeurt buyten Ghendt* [...] anno 1579, BT 7183, Kn 517,¹⁴ which he printed without a date, but probably in the same year, for the widow of Hans de Braecker (alias Hans van Braeckvelt) in Antwerp, as we see from the statement on the title-page: '[...] te coope in Deverichstraet inden Gulden Bybel', the address where her firm was established.¹⁵ This news report describes the curious phenomena which appeared both in the air and on the ground in Ghent at the time of a storm accompanied by a hurricane. As was so frequently the case, the forces of nature were seen as a warning from on high. The title-page provides a very clumsy illustration of the terrifying event

¹⁴ Kn 518 describes a second copy in the Royal Library in The Hague with a misprint on the title-page. Like Kn 517 it consists of a gathering of 8 leaves, not 32 as the description mistakenly tells us.

¹⁵ For the widow of Hans de Braecker, a printer who worked in Wesel and Aachen, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 26. From 1579 or 1580 to 1584 she ran a bookshop in a building where Paulus van Braeckvelt was also based. He was undoubtedly a relative, and probably her son. There is no indication that she had a printing-office.

(illus. 2).¹⁶ The last page of the report is occupied by three woodcuts, one above the other: an ornamental tailpiece, the representation of a griffin, and the arms of Ghent within a laurel wreath (illus. 3a). We shall be encountering this coat of arms elsewhere in the work of Mollijns. It is a copy of the original used in Ghent by the widow De Clerck and Cornelis de Rekenare.¹⁷

FURTHER BOOK DECORATIONS OF NICLAES MOLLIJNS

In this curious pamphlet the arabesque ornament under the text serves as a tailpiece, as it does in Georgius Ursinus, *Prognosticatie [...] van acht toecomende jaren [...] 1581 tot [...] 1588*.¹⁸ On the title-page we read: 'Eerst ghedruckt Anno 1580. Nae d'Exemplaer tot Erffort by Johan Beck'. Mollijns copied this imprint literally from the edition which he was reprinting and which gives the same address. But 'Erfurt' is a camouflage. In actual fact the prophecy was printed on the press of Niclaes Gevaerts, a printer-publisher from the southern Netherlands who had settled in Homberg on the Rhine, opposite Duisburg, after having worked for a few years in Wesel.¹⁹ Here Mollijns used the same ornamental letter A as in the Ghent pamphlet discussed above, a beautifully cut initial, striking on account of its unusually large size. We shall come across it again.

The arabesque vignette can also be found after the preface of Calvin's *Predicatie over den Lofsanck des Coninckx Ezechie*, printed in 1581 for Jasper Troyens (BT 5361) and on the title-pages of BT 5331, Kn 577, *Broederlijcke waerschouwinghe aen allen Christen Broeders [...] veroordent [...] tot de verkiezinghe der Overicheyt* ('T'Hantwerpen 1581')²⁰ and

¹⁶ For a more extensive description of the phenomena, see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale der Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as BB, vol. 3, pp. 203-4, no. G 195. Eight years later the account was again printed in Dordrecht by Peeter Verhaghen, now as an account of what occurred in Ghent on 7 August 1587. In his reprint (Kn 822) he gave the fictitious imprint: 'Eerst ghedruckt tot Alckmaer by Joost Willemsz. Duyt, daer na tot Amsterdam by Niclaes Mollijns'; see also E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 2, no. 504. Reports about Mollijns having settled in Amsterdam are based on this fake address.

¹⁷ Gautier Manilius, too, owned an excellent copy of this block, which he used in official publications printed for the publisher Jan van den Steene.

¹⁸ Not listed in any of the pamphlet catalogues. The only copy I know is in The Hague, Museum Meermannno Westreenianum (shelf-mark 145 E 19).

¹⁹ Cf. P. Valkema Blouw, 'An unknown Dutch printer in Germany: Nicolaes Gevaerts in Wesel and Homberg, 1571-79 (80?)', *Quaerendo*, 27 (1997), pp. 197-226. It is not known whether he was still alive in 1580. His son (?) Peeter may already have succeeded him.

²⁰ P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. Utrecht 1978), p. 126. The pamphlet is about the qualities and characteristics which a citizen might (and

of BT 2217, *Een nieu tijdinghe [...] tracteerende den krijch-handel*, of 1584. The last work describes the difficult position of the besiegers of Antwerp and is by a female lover of her country, 'ghemaeckt van eender vrouwen lief-hebbersse des vaderlants. I.M.' The ornament is used, too, in a book which has so far been thought to have been printed in Emden. The *Wereltboeck, Spieghel ende beeltenisse des gheheelen aertbodems*, by Sebastian Franck, is a literal reprint of the original Dutch edition of this large work, which was produced in Emden by Willem Gailliart in 1562. The collation is the same; the woodcut on the title-page is cut anew and printed in red and black as it is in the original. Even the *Errata* list at the end has been taken over unchanged, although several misprints in the text were corrected.²¹

Although it has never been recognized as having been produced in Antwerp, the edition corresponds perfectly to what was printed in that great port. Until the course of the war led it to lose its position as the principal economic centre of the Low Countries, Antwerp was the most important marketing and production area for Dutch editions of atlases and books about foreign lands, navigation and trade. After the city's fall in 1585 and the large-scale emigration that ensued, the towns of the north could inherit its international position and, within a short time, the highly active publisher Cornelis Claesz in Amsterdam could conquer the Dutch, and even a part of the international, book market in this domain. There was no question of that happening in about 1580, however, and the reprint was consequently produced in Antwerp – and not, as one might expect, by Nicolaes (II) Biestkens who had moved the press of Gailliart, the original publisher, to Amsterdam in 1578.²²

Mollijns' edition contains quite a few initials and these allow us to establish that he was working with much of the material that had belonged to his father, Jan Mollijns, whose printing inventory he had obviously taken over in its entirety. We thus encounter various initials with Biblical figures whose name begins with the letter in question – an alphabet which his father had used regularly. His smaller calligraphic initials, too, are to be found in the work of his son. But there are also initials in the book which Niclaes Mollijns must have acquired himself, such as a fairly large calligraphic A, with a slight malformation on the top left-hand side, of

should) expect of the government and the magistrate.

²¹ K. Kaczerowsky, *Sebastian Franck Bibliographie. Verzeichnisse von Francks Werken, der von ihm gedruckten Bücher sowie der Sekundär-Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1976), no. A 81; M. Tielke, 'Verzeichnis der Emden Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602', *Das Rätsel des Emden Buchdrucks. Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), no. 124.

²² For this removal, whereby all the typographical material, in as far as it could still be used, belonging, respectively, to Willem Gailliart, Steven Mierdmans, Nicolaes (I) Biestkens, Lenaert der Kinderen and Gillis van der Erven, went from Emden to Amsterdam, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 1558-83', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31 (pp. 318 ff.).

a model which had not existed in his father's day, as well, possibly, as a Roman H, also damaged.²³ We shall see that these easily recognizable letters are among the elements which make it possible to attribute certain anonymous editions to the press.

First, however, we must return to the second arabesque vignette. This round ornament had already been owned by Mollijs senior. It appears in works such as his *Relation sommaire du siege que le roy de Argel a mis à Oran ...*, BT 4122.²⁴ Niclaes used it repeatedly from 1579 on. He used it in that year for *Een goede waerschouwinghe voor den borgheren, ende besonder dien vanden leden van Antwerpen* (BT 1286, Kn 493), a political work directed against the peace negotiations in Cologne,²⁵ which also contains the large initial D, superbly cut in wood, which had been acquired by Jan Mollijs in order to adorn the title of *Die afcoemste [...] der hertogen [...] van Brabandt* (BT 47). The round vignette can be found, too, on the title-page of *Justificatie van het ontbieden ende innemen vanden vreemden garnisoene [...] tot Brugge [...]*, 'Eerst ghedruckt te Brugghe, 1579', a reprint of BT 7361;²⁶ in *Een warachtighe declaracie van die gheschiedenisse van tSertoghenbos [...]*. 'Eerst ghedruckt [sic] binnen tShertoghenbossch, 1579' (Mach H 167, Kn 466),²⁷ and in an edition of the Union of Utrecht, *Verhandelinge vande*

²³ The A appears in a number of publications including a book discussed above with Mollijs' imprint, Dathenus, *Een christelijcke verantwoordinghe* (BT 5555), and the H in *De principaelste redenen* (Mach N 407), another signed work.

²⁴ Printed on [B4]v. The ornament also appears in a Dutch edition of Guy de Brès' *Remonstrance*. The full title of this translation, which has not been mentioned in any of the existing literature until recently, runs: *Remonstrantie ende requeste der geenre vander ghereformeerder Kercken binnen der stadt van Valencijsne. Op tMandement by haer Hoocheyt ghedaen tegen hun opten 14sten dach van December [...]* 1566. Tot ende aen die Heeren vander Oorden. Gheprint ... (s.l.e.n. [Antwerp, Jan Mollijs,] 1566, colophon: 1567). 8vo, 12 leaves, collation: a⁸b⁴. Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB). – All the types used in it appear in the work of Jan Mollijs, cf. H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), T 20, T 39, T 43, R 17 and R 26. At the beginning of the text, on the verso of the title-page, there is a large capital N, 11 mm tall, which also appears on p. 349 of Jan Mollijs' *Die nieuwe chronijcke van Brabandt* (1565), BT 2211.

²⁵ Geurts, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 89. This appeal is ascribed by F. Prims in his *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, 29 vols. (Antwerpen 1929-49), vol. 15 (1941), pp. 393-404, to Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, an attribution confirmed by a report in a contemporary manuscript. See J.G. Sterck, *Bronnen en samenstelling van Marnix' Biënkorf der H. Roomsche Kercke* (Leuven 1952), pp. 34-5. It is surprising, however, that Marnix, who had had all his works printed in these years by Van den Rade, should have chosen another printer on this occasion.

²⁶ The original does indeed give 'Ghedruct tot Brugghe' (see Kn 471), but that imprint is a fake. The pamphlet was printed by the press belonging to the Widow de Clerck in Ghent.

²⁷ C.J.A. van den Oord, *Twee eeuwen Bosch' boekbedrijf 1450-1650* (Tilburg 1984), p. 161, no. 159 (there attributed to Jan (II) Scheffer). For the unfindable original edition, a full sheet or a bifolium, see no. 160.

Unie, Eeuwich Verbondt ende Eendracht [...]. ‘Ghedruct tUtrecht’ (Mach N 211-12; Kn 406).

There is something odd about this edition of the Union, however. Knuttel hailed it as ‘the first edition differing from all other known editions in that the explanation of the 13th Art. (the *poinct van de Religie*) is missing.’²⁸ He regarded this single difference as a reason to date the edition before another one which gives exactly the same text with the exception of the passage in question. This latter edition, which we could call the ‘official’ one, really is printed in Utrecht as stated in the imprint, namely by Coenraet Henricksz.²⁹ Later historians adopted Knuttel’s view and the unauthorized copy is still seen as the original publication – a good example of an erroneous conclusion which can be reached when bibliographical evidence is not taken into account. For the calligraphic initial A is so recognizable from the characteristic malformation that there can be absolutely no doubt that we are dealing with a product of Mollijs’ press. We can thus establish that, at the beginning of his career, he had no objections to reprinting other people’s publications not covered by patent or privilege – a liberty taken by quite a number of novice printers.

In 1581 Niclaes used his round vignette again, both for a political pamphlet, *Sommaire discours sur le moyen de [...] maintenir la vraye religion chrestienne [...] contre [...] l’ennemy de la Patrie* (BT 4372, Kn 574) and, commissioned by the publisher Jasper Troyens, for a publication of the town of Malines, *Ordonnantie politique op het stuck van houwelijcken, overspeelders, overspeeldressen ende doopen ...* (BT 2980). In 1586, finally, apparently the last year of Niclaes’ activities in Antwerp, we again see the ornament in *De principaelste redenen ende oorsaecken van den dieren tijdt in dese landen* (Mach N 407), a particularly topical subject at the time of the economic crisis which followed the lengthy siege of Antwerp. Mollijs then appears to have moved to the southern side of the churchyard of Onze Lieve Vrouwe, ‘in den Gulden Mol’.³⁰

Finally we find the same vignette also on the last page of *Een prophetie van sinte Hildegardis abdisse, de welcke ghepropheteert is gheweest ontrent tsestich jaren voor de instellinghe van de vier biddende oorden* (BT 5961). The prediction is said to have been taken from a very ancient copy which could hardly be read because it was so old (‘gheschreven

²⁸ Kn 406 describes a first state with the misprint ‘Eendrachth’ in the title. In other copies this is corrected. See, for example, Mach N 212.

²⁹ Kn 407: ‘this is probably the second printing’.

³⁰ A similar imprint is to be found in *Een dancksegghinge over die groote victorie van de stadt van Grave* (Kn 767^{aa}) of the same year (see above). The address is not mentioned by Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 3), but does occur in the list of J. van Roey, ‘Het boekbedrijf te Antwerpen in 1584-1585’, *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca.1520-1589)* (De Gulden Passer, 66-7; Antwerpen 1989), pp. 419-33 (p. 426).

wt een seer oudt exemplaer, twelck van ouderdom nauwelijcx leesbaer was'). As was usually the case with this sort of prognostication, the great age must have been a fiction intended to increase the credibility of the prophecy. The edition appeared in Antwerp two days before Christmas 1579 at the expense of Pauwel de Braecker (Paulus van Braeckvelt),³¹ a younger relative, possibly a son, of Hans de Braecker, who had printed Lutheran books for the southern Netherlands in Wesel and Aachen. The young De Braecker, who gives the same address as the widow of that name – perhaps his mother – seems not to have had a press of his own at the time and had to rely on the services of a colleague.

That such a prognostication could appear under the name of a publisher in this period shows how quickly the Antwerp book trade had adapted itself to the greater freedom which prevailed in 1578 and early in 1579. It was publications such as these, with their political implications, which the government in Brussels had always pursued. The publisher Frans Fraet had actually been executed in 1558 for printing a similar prophecy.³² For the time being, however, the threat was over – even if the political lull was to be brief.

Niclaes Mollijns owned yet another oblong arabesque tailpiece, shorter and smaller than the one we have discussed and which had also been used several times by his father. I have only encountered it on one occasion in the work of Niclaes, at the end of a piece of no more than three leaves (Kn 331). The heading – there is no title-page – runs: *Refereyn. Incarnation M.D.Lxxix. Den iij. Februarij.* with a chronogram below. This is followed by five sixteen-line verses, each with the recurrent last line 'Want die Heer zal ons wel vijnden te water of te landt' ('For the Lord will surely find us, on water or on land'). The poem tells the story of a ship from Utrecht which ran into a storm near Philipsland between Dordrecht and Antwerp and was saved by a miracle. At the end the poet signs himself 'Per Gillis Jorissen tot Utrecht'.³³

FURTHER PUBLICATIONS WITH WOODCUTS

Another round ornament, a woodcut (illus. 3b), can be found on the title-page of 't Boecken [sic] va[n] de drye Pausen, met een warachtighe ende seer schoone verclaringhe van de menichfuldighe loose practijcken va[n] d'Inquisitie (Kn 550), a fierce pamphlet directed above all against Granvelle and his policy – Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle was the adviser to the King of Spain for matters concerning the Low Countries. It was quite successful and various editions of it exist. This one has as its imprint

³¹ Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 26. He was admitted as a book dealer to the St Lucas guild in 1579.

³² For Fraet, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonyms, or Why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), pp. 165-90, 245-72 (pp. 245 ff.).

³³ Knuttel, op. cit. (n. 10), mistakenly lists the poem under 1578.

‘Ghedrukt buyten Roomen [...] 1580’. That it is a work by Niclaes is proved by the ornamental B at the beginning of the text belonging to a calligraphic alphabet once owned by his father.³⁴ The woodcut represents the papal arms surrounded by a laurel wreath, with the inscription on the shield ‘Tbegin der pausen met alle sijn gelederen’ (‘The beginning of the papacy with all its members’). The block is also used in a reprint of François Alaers’ *Een cort vervat van alle menschelijcke insettinghen der Roomscher Kercke*, anonymously produced by Mollijns in the same year for Jasper Troyens. The ornament may well have originally been made for this publication. A few years later, in 1582, he used the block again, but with the text cut out, for BT 3048 (Kn 609), *Copie van het placcaet van d’Inquisitie ghemaect [...] byden nieuwen bisschop van Luyck*. This, too, is an unsigned work by Mollijns for Jasper Troyens. In it he used two initials which also appear in his edition of Franck’s *Wereltboeck* and thus confirm the attribution.

Another woodcut, the arms of Ghent which we have already mentioned, recurs in *Warachtighe refutatie ofte verantwoordinghe van die edele vrome en[de] vermaerde stadt van Ghendt* [...] ‘Eerst ghedrukt te Ghendt by de Weduwe van Pieter de Clerck’ (1579). This unauthorized edition exists in two states: BT 7165 and a variant with the misprint ‘efutatie’ – BT 4852, Kn 448.³⁵ Nor is this the only coat of arms that appears on Mollijns’ title-pages. Again in 1582, in *Een dialogue oft tsamensprekinghe tusschen de goetwillighe Ghemeynte ende [...] mijn Heere die Hertoghe van Anjou* (BT 5621, Kn 588 and 588^a), he used a French coat of arms with three lilies that had already belonged to his father.³⁶

We come across an unusual case in another publication for which Niclaes used an already available woodcut: the arms of King Philip II, which appear, for example, on the last leaf of Jan Mollijns’ edition of *Relation sommaire du siege que le Roy de Argel a mis à Oran* (1563), BT 4122. This coat of arms is a particularly good copy of the frequently recut original owned by the Louvain printer Servaes van Sassen, who obtained numerous commissions from the government in Brussels. The surprising thing here is that the block is printed on a *Placcaet ende Ordonnantie beroerende de goude ende silvere ghelde [...] binnen den lande va[n] Hollant ende Zeelant*, with the

³⁴ That this alphabet, too, or at least that part of it which could still be used, was taken over by the son emerges from the signed work BT 541 (Calvinus), in which the A opens the text. This letter appears in works by Jan Mollijns, for example on f. 8 of his *Die nieuwe chronijcke van Brabant*.

³⁵ This is a reprint, perhaps of the same year, of *Declaratie ende staet generael*, a Ghent work of the Widow de Clerck, 1579. F. Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliographie gantoise. Recherches sur la vie et des travaux des imprimeurs de Gand (1483-1850)*, vol. I (Gand 1858), no. 544, thought it was the other way round, as in Kn 449.

³⁶ It is printed on the last page ([E4]v.) of Gentian Hervet, *Twee missiven ofte sendtbrieven aende verdoelde vande[n] Christen geloove* (Antwerpen, Jan Mollijns, s.a., but with privilege dated 17 October 1561). – Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

imprint ‘Ghedruct tot Delft in Hollandt, by Martigen Symons [...] 1579’ (illus. 4).³⁷ Obviously this imprint cannot be right. This is also indicated by such features as the incorrect spelling of the Christian name Maritgen (‘Martigen’). Such an ‘error’ always arouses suspicions,³⁸ and indeed, it emerges that we are here dealing with an unauthorized edition. Mollijns did try to imitate the outer design of the original as closely as possible, and he was assisted by the fact that he happened to own the same typeface and that the woodcut coat of arms of Maritgen Symons was a copy of the one of Van Sassen. There are certain differences in the spelling – the Delft edition has *Placcaet ende Ordonnancie*³⁹ – but otherwise the similarity is remarkable.

It is unusual, but not altogether exceptional, for an Antwerp publisher – and in this case that may have been someone other than the printer himself – to produce a foreign official publication. As a commercial centre the town had so many contacts with the surrounding countries that the business world always had to be punctually and fully aware of any change in the financial situation there. This was particularly true when it concerned the liberated northern areas and their legislation in such matters. A few decades later, when Amsterdam had replaced Antwerp as the most important commercial city in western Europe, we see the same phenomenon, albeit reversed: Cornelis Claesz began to reprint ordinances on currency matters issued in the southern Netherlands. There was obviously so much demand for similar publications that marketing them was profitable.

Another pamphlet that we can ascribe to the press thanks to one of the woodcuts is BT 2216 (Kn 745^{ab}): *Een nieu tijdinghe van die cloecmoedicheyt der Hollanders* ([1585]), a report in verse of a battle in which Dutch mercenaries had conquered some strongholds from the Spaniards near Antwerp. The title-page contains a woodcut which Jan Mollijns had made in 1564 for his *Warachtighe gheschiedenisse die onsen C. M. met sinen galeyen ghehadt heeft int reysen van Malaga nae Barberijen* (Mach P 360).⁴⁰ This news report described the conquest by Philip II of Peñón de Vélez on the North African coast. That a naval action in a Mediterranean bay could provide a different scene from hostilities on the river Schelde was clearly not regarded as an obstacle. The woodcutter had anyhow used the block himself previously for a purpose completely different from the one for which it was originally intended.⁴¹

³⁷ BB, vol. 4., p. 675, no. P 435.

³⁸ For other, almost contemporary, examples of pirated editions with the names of the original printers deliberately misspelled, see P. Valkema Blouw, ‘De eerste drukkers voor de stad Leiden (1574-78): Jan Moyt Jacobsz en Andries Verschout’, *Uit Leidse bron geleverd. Studies over Leiden en de Leidenaren in het verleden, aangeboden aan drs. B.N. Leverland* (Leiden 1989), pp. 407-16 (pp. 412-13).

³⁹ BB, vol. 4., p. 675, no. P 436.

⁴⁰ BB, vol. 3, p. 203, no. G 188.

⁴¹ Namely in *Die nieuwe chronijcke van Brabandt oft tvervolch vande oude ...* (BT 2211).

Niclaes chose a woodcut from his father's work for yet another publication: an allegorical representation which had once been used on the title-page of a prognostication for 1563, calculated on the meridian of Antwerp and published in the name of a certain Johannes P. from Ghent (BT 1630). It was now used in a satirical poem, *Pasquillus testament [...] deur den Paus toegelate[n] en[de] ghedruct in Roomen [...] Anno 1579* (BT 6503). This is the Dutch version of the *Testament de Pasquil impotent & vieil homme* (BT 4486, Kn 510) which was produced in the same year by another printer in Antwerp.⁴² Here, too, the woodcut has no connection whatsoever with the text.

It has been possible to attribute nearly all these publications to Niclaes Mollijns on the basis of the vignettes and woodcuts they contain (as well as the similarity of the corresponding typefaces), but without the help of the initials which also usually appear in them. In order to spare the reader too many details I have only mentioned these in exceptional cases. In every case, however, their presence confirms the attribution in question.

THE INITIALS OF NICLAES MOLLIJNS

The following editions, however, do not contain any vignettes or other woodcuts and are only decorated by one or more ornamental letters, which should thus provide sufficient evidence for an attribution. One news report, for example, can only be recognized as the work of the press thanks to the initial B which forms part of the calligraphic alphabet once belonging to Mollijns senior. It is a letter which we have already encountered in *t Boecken va[n] de drye Pausen*. The report, which appeared as a loose leaf, has as a heading: *Warachtighe declaratie ende bescheet van die gheschiedenisse die tot Brusselen gheschiet is [...] 1579 den 4. Junius* (BT 4848, Kn 450) and recounts the story of the unsuccessful attack on Brussels by the Count of Egmont.

Two other publications can be recognized by the initial M from the same alphabet. One of them also refers to Brussels. It is entitled *Een goede vermaninge aen de goede borghers van Bruessele* (BT 1285, Kn 479) and warns the citizens against plans by the central authorities to reintroduce the Inquisition. It also contains an interpretation of the Pacification of Ghent which makes it correspond to the Religious Peace. The imprint runs: 'Ghedruct tot Ghent, Anno 1579', but, as so often occurs in the case of Mollijns, this is a fake address. Nevertheless Vanderhaeghen⁴³ and Knuttel saw it as a reason for attributing the work to Gautier Manilius, to whom other

⁴² For the French edition, see *BB*, vol. 3, pp. 421-2, no. H 229. The anonymous printer, as I hope to show [cf. n. 56], was Christiaen Houweel in Antwerp. The Dutch version, with an uncertain attribution to Lucas d'Heere, is described in *BB*, vol. 3, p. 422, no. H 230.

⁴³ Vanderhaeghen, *op. cit.* (n. 35), vol. 1, p. 301, no. 543.

anonymous works by Mollijns have also been ascribed.

The other pamphlet has no year but must date from about the same time. The title runs: *Sommiere verclaringhe van de sware perikelen ende miserien die [...] dese Nederlanden te verwachten soudén hebben ...* (Petit 292), and gives: 'Eerst ghedruckt tot Leyden'.⁴⁴ This time the report is correct: it is an unauthorized edition of Kn 490, which was produced in Leiden by the press of Willem Silvius in 1579 on the orders of the States of Holland. There was also an Utrecht edition of this warning against the Cologne peace proposals, and the work was thus widely circulated.⁴⁵

The aforesaid damaged H can be found again in a collection of *Predicatie[n] over den lofsanck des coninckx Ezechie* by Calvin (BT 5361), which Mollijns printed in 1581 without giving his name – once more for the Protestant publisher Jasper Troyens, who, as we saw, regularly gave him commissions. For him, too, Mollijns produced a reprint of *Requeste by die welcke men die Wederdooperen ofte Mennoniten noemt, overghegeven [...]*.⁴⁶ This Mennonite tract about the question, so fundamental to the brotherhood, of whether the bearing of weapons was contrary to the Word of God was here published again, but expanded with a confutation of this article of faith by certain Calvinist ministers. An earlier edition with the same commentary had been published in 1580 by Richard Schilders in Middelburg, with a foreword which shows that it was the first book printed by his press since his arrival from London. The reprint in question is undated, but must have appeared some years later. The date 17 October 1580, written in a contemporary hand on the title-page of the (unique?) Amsterdam copy, provides no solution, since it is taken from the dedicatory epistle of the ministers which is reproduced unaltered. The attribution to Mollijns rests on the presence of both the damaged calligraphic A and one of the letters from his father's Biblical alphabet, the N with the figure of Noah.

We find this initial once more at the beginning of Kn 481 (Mach P 659): *Des Conincklijcke Mai[esteyt] van Spaengnien &c. alderghenadichste verclaringhe vanden goeden wille en[de] vaderlijcke gheneghenthey[t] tot zijne Nederlantsche vassalen ...*,⁴⁷ with the copy-imprint 'Eerst ghedruckt tot Ceulen [...] by Godefroy van Kempen, Anno 1579'. This indication could refer either to the Latin text (Kn 480) or to a translation in

⁴⁴ L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), hereafter cited as Petit. Another copy, in Utrecht UL, has the same misprint 'Eest', cf. J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht niet voorkomend in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22), hereafter cited as vSo, no. 77.

⁴⁵ Geurts, op. cit. (n. 20), pp. 88-9.

⁴⁶ The only copy I know of is in Amsterdam UL (Mennonite Library), shelf-mark OK 65-314.

⁴⁷ Geurts, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 87: 'The Spanish side produced a pamphlet recommending the good will of the king, a letter of Philip II about the peace proposals of the States General on 1 June'.

German-flavoured Dutch,⁴⁸ both of which were produced by this publisher. On the title-page of the Cologne editions we see a medallion portrait of Philip II. Instead of that, we here have the head of an unknown man, probably a fragment from a larger woodcut. What is striking, moreover, is that the character of this publication hardly fits in with the rest of Mollijs' production – writings which give no sign of the slightest sympathy with the Spanish authorities. Were commercial considerations, one wonders, decisive in this case?

Yet another initial yields an attribution, this time a Gothic A which also appears in Franck's *Wereltboeck*. This ornamental letter, which was already very dated, opens the text of *Een warachtige nieuwe tydinge van dat groot wonder datter is geschiet binnen onser stat van Breedae* [...] 'Eerst gedruckt binnen Breda Anno 1580'.⁴⁹ In view of the fact that nothing was printed in this town before the seventeenth century, this imprint must be make-believe, and the same probably applies to the report as well. The work is about three wooden statues in the convent of the Black Sisters in Breda which were discovered one day to be covered with blood. The startled churchgoers thought this was a heavenly miracle – until it emerged that the nuns themselves had performed it, a fact which again led to considerable consternation.

A large 'black' V, in a double frame with a surface decoration of crooked lines,⁵⁰ allows us to ascribe a further surprising publication to Niclaes Mollijs. It is a loose leaf with the heading *Een warachtich ende wonderlijck teecken van twee kinderen, die gheboren zijn binnen* [...] *Lutssollof in Duytschlandt* [...] . An. 1579 (BT 7157). The story is of a double misbirth. One foetus, according to the account, was born pitch black with a bishop's mitre on its head and a sword and birch-rod instead of hands. The other child, which was otherwise normal, had two heads. A large woodcut above the text shows these remarkable twins (illus. 5). Even stranger is the report that the black child addressed those present in an appeal for peace and, if that were to fail, announced the arrival of God, who would punish the population with sword and birch-rod – that was the significance of the deformed hands. According to the description two thousand inhabitants, old and young, died in Lutssollof within nine days after the death of the children. This was seen as a warning against worse disasters which might visit mankind in the future. The text is probably a translation from the German, and beneath it we read 'Dit is eerst gedruckt gheweest binnen Straesburch' ('This was first printed in Strasburg').

⁴⁸ *Coninglicker Maiestaet tho Hispanien, &c. Allergenaedichste Erclarung, des goeden wills unde vaderlijcke thoeneigung tot synen Nederlandischen vasallen ...* – PMM, shelf-mark R 16.27-27.

⁴⁹ This hitherto undescribed work is in a composite volume in the PMM, shelf-mark R 1.12¹⁵.

⁵⁰ This letter already appears in work by Jan Mollijs, for example on A2 of Hervet's *Twee missiven* ([1561]), mentioned in n. 36.

FURTHER EDITIONS UP TO 1587

Another probably unique broadside, kept, like the one we have just discussed, in the collection of the Plantin-Moretus Museum, is BT 7184, which appeared in 1580: *Een wonderlicke nieu tydinghe van het innemen der stadt Nijmegen, ende die ghevanckenisse vanden Grave van Egmont*. This, too, is a report, an edition of which was also produced by the aforesaid Gevaerts press in Homberg (Petit 305). We again see the large Roman initial A and, below, a woodcut where, within a square frame, two clasped hands come out of the clouds and hold a heart from which grows a little orange tree. This symbolic representation of support for the Orange party was probably originally made for another publication, *Ordonantie en[de] rechte middelen aen allen liefhebbers des vaderlands ende aen alle vrome soldaten die om victorie vechten [...]* Per J.V.D. (BT 2264, Kn 446), also produced by our printer.⁵¹ The woodcut is on the last page, flanked by the words 'Met ghetrouwer herten bemindt Oraengien, Contra het speck en hannen van Spaengien' ('With true hearts love Orange, Against the pork and cocks of Spain'). A larger version, with the same exhortation, but now all around it, is printed on the title-page (illus. 6). A mutilated Q from Jan Mollijs' Biblical alphabet serves as an O at the beginning of the text.

The smallest of these woodcuts also appears on the last page of *Een warachtighe geschiedenis van de belegheringhe van Steenwijck [...]* 'ghedruckt int jaer 1581' (Mach S 542), from which we can conclude that this, too, was printed by Mollijs.⁵² In the foreground we see, as decoration, a group of lansquenets, possibly another fragment of a larger woodcut. This representation can be found on the title-page of another report about the war in the north, *Een nieu tijdinghe van Grueninghen*, published in connection with the betrayal by Count Rennenberg, who went over to the Spanish side, and the ensuing siege of the city in 1580. The pamphlet, which presumably appeared soon afterwards,⁵³ is written in the form of a dialogue in verse between a 'maiden of Groningen' ('maecht van Grueninghen') and a 'maiden of Leeuwarden' ('maecht van Leeuwaerden'). As a tailpiece we have a view of Deventer with the river 'Die Isell' (IJssel), a copy of the original in Magirus' *Cronijck Almanach* for

⁵¹ Dated 1579 on the title-page. Mach N 230 describes a copy printed from the same type matter but without the date. We do not know who is concealed behind the initials J.V.D.

⁵² And so not by the 'weduwe Verwithagen', as given in BB, vol. 3, p. 185, no. G 190. Moreover, she only became a widow in 1587. It is surprising that this description should have been published in Antwerp. We know of no edition published in the northern Netherlands. The report was probably written shortly after the relief of the city. *Index Aureliensis: catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum*, vol. 1D (Aureliae Aquensis 1964D), vol. 125, p. 441, gives 'P. Brouwer' as the name of the author. This does not correspond to the initials N.M. at the end.

⁵³ For this pamphlet, see P.J. Blok in the *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1903, pp. 55-69, with a full reprint of the text. The only known copy is in Amsterdam UL, shelf-mark 1179 F 31².

1580, published in that city. This woodcut in this particular text seems an odd combination, but Mollijns may well once have reprinted, or wanted to reprint, the renowned Deventer almanac, and still had the block in his possession.

Because of this view of a town in the northern Netherlands, and the interest in these reports which might be expected in that area, it is understandable that historians should have searched there for the printer and hitherto have settled for the name of Pieter Hendricksz van Campen, printer in Leeuwarden for the Court of Friesland. Besides the geographical argument there was also another special reason for this attribution: in some of that printer's publications we find an almost identical woodcut of the little orange tree. He obviously encountered the vignette in the news report about Steenwijk and had a copy made, which he then used for some of the political publications by his own press.⁵⁴

There are also certain ephemeral editions which can be ascribed to Niclaes, such as two poems on the death in 1579 of a burgomaster of Antwerp: *Elegie sur le trespas de M. Guillem de Vos* (BT 5700) and *Beclach over de doot met grooten rouwe ...* (BT 5175, Kn 509a). The French poem has the oblong arabesque vignette at the end, while the Dutch one only has a 'Memento mori' representation on the title-page. I have not seen that woodcut elsewhere in Mollijns' work, but since the typefaces correspond it seems to me most likely that he printed this poem too.

Then there is a *Cort verhael van den aenslach gheschiedt in Irelandt, door sommighe wederspanninghe teghen Engelandt [...]* int Jaer M.D.LXXIX (Kn 400, STC A3, 14258.3),⁵⁵ probably printed in the same year or shortly thereafter. The piece has no title-page but a caption title, under which we see a bar of typographical flowers identical in the smallest detail to an ornament that appears in the *Sommiere verclaringhe* discussed above (Petit 292, vSo 77). The initial which it contains is the E of the calligraphic alphabet.

There is also a publication without any decorative element, a *Prophetie uut de Latijnsche sprake ghetranslatiert in Duytsche, beghinnende Anno 1578 [...]* ghevonden int cabinet van Maria [...] van Hongarie, ende int openbaer ghebrocht deur Johannem Goropium Becanum (Petit

⁵⁴ This copy is used on the title-page of Kn 410, an undated Frisian edition of the Union of Utrecht with the acts of admission until 1 Febr. 1580. The woodcut also appears in an equally undated reprint of *Sommiere verclaringe* (about the Cologne peace proposals), published 'with the consent of the honourable Council of the city of Leeuwarden' ('met consent van den eersamen Raet der stadt Leeuwarden'). See R. Visscher, *Catalogus der Stedelijke Bibliotheek van Leeuwarden* (s-Gravenhage 1932), pp. 156-7, no. B 3. A (reduced) reproduction of the title-page appears in C.P. Hoekema et al., *Eekhoff en zijn werk; leven en werken van Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880), stadsarchivaris en boekhandelaar te Leeuwarden* (Leeuwarden 1980), p. 177.

⁵⁵ Not to be confused with Kn 401 (= *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish Books printed in Other Countries, from 1470 to 1600, now in the British Museum* (London 1965), hereafter cited as STC, no. 14258), which strongly resembles it but has 'Irlande' and 'Engelandt'. The printer of that edition must probably also be sought in Antwerp.

272), likewise a bifolium with a caption title. The typefaces used are too common for it to be possible to identify a printer without any further investigation, but they are not in conflict with an attribution to Mollijs and the piece fits perfectly in his list.

He also appears, finally, to have printed the largest part of Flavius Josephus' *Twintich boecken vanden ouden geschiedenissen der Joden* (Antwerpen, Jasper Troyens, 1580), BT 1648. The publisher had come into possession of the remaining copies of *Seven boecken van die Joetsche oorloghe ende destructie van Jeruzalem*, printed in 1564 by Claes vanden Wouwere, and decided to expand this text into a new edition of the author's complete work. Mollijs printed by far the largest part of the first *Twintich boecken*. Only the gatherings Ff-Ll⁶ went to his colleague Christiaen Houweel. The privilege for ten years is in the name of Guiliaem van Parijs.⁵⁶

This list of titles, which the reader may have found somewhat tedious, gives a survey of what we now know about the first phase of Mollijs' career. Contrary to what has hitherto been thought, he turns out to have printed a great deal in Antwerp. At least a part of this is now known to us. The nature of his list, mainly popular editions including single leaves, suggests that a considerable amount may have disappeared. Mollijs, moreover, probably printed more for others than is now known. We can assume that most of his work consisted of commissions from colleagues, particularly in the years after 1580, when the supervision of the book trade was again intensified and his own publishing firm virtually came to a standstill. With the exception of a few signed editions, that part of his production has not here been treated.⁵⁷ Further investigation will be needed to complete our picture of his Antwerp activities in this domain, but it is obvious that the material to be examined must be sought primarily in his country of origin.

By far the greatest part of Mollijs' career was to take place in Riga. A Protestant emigrant after the fall of Antwerp, he was invited to Latvia in 1588 after living briefly in the liberated northern Netherlands, where he even printed. In April 1587 there appeared 'Te Dordrecht, Gheprint bij Niclaes Mollijs', *Het verschil tusschen den Mennonitischen Weder-dooperen ende den Christelijcken leeraers, aengaende der Godheyt Jesu Christi ende sijner Heyligher Mensch-werdinghe*, by Gasper H[eidanus] (van

⁵⁶ See my article announced in n. 42 [Willem Silvius, Christiaen Houweel and anti-Spanish propaganda, 1577 to 1579, *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 3-29. *Eds.*]. The edition, with a reproduction of the title-page, is listed as the work of Troyens in W.C. Poortman, *Bijbel en prent*, 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1983-6), vol. 2b: *Boekzaal van de werken van Flavius Josephus in de Nederlandse taal*, pp. 209 f.

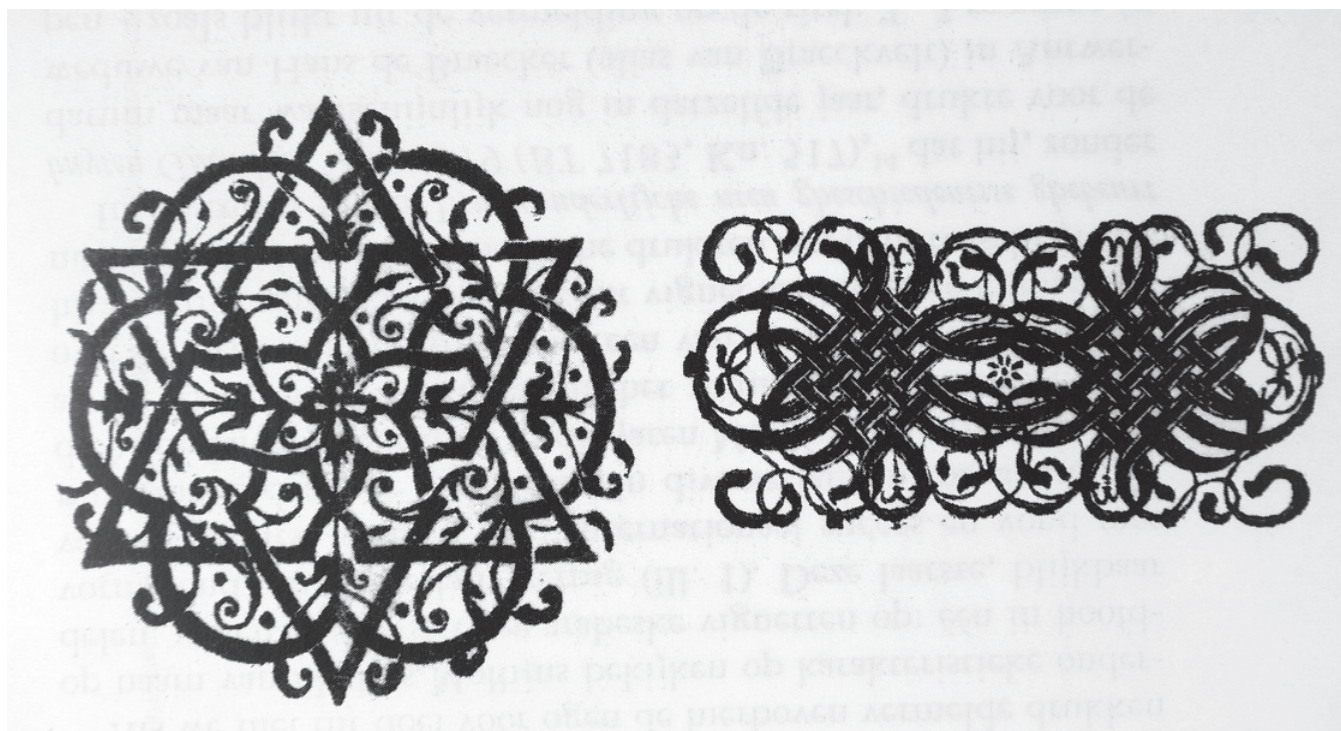
⁵⁷ These conclusions are the result of a far broader investigation which was primarily intended to establish the origin of all sorts of printed work which appeared without an imprint. Was it produced in the northern or the southern Netherlands? The plan basically excluded publications which bore the name of a publisher in the southern Netherlands – unless it was suspected that the address was fake.

der Heyden).⁵⁸ Mollijns probably printed this brief tract for his fellow townsman Jasper Troyens, who had also emigrated and had settled in Dordrecht in order to pursue his activities as a Calvinist book dealer and publisher. In this edition there is no mention of the man who commissioned it, but there is in the reprint of the book he published two years later.⁵⁹

Mollijns' decision to settle in Riga entailed a major change in the nature of his firm. If his Antwerp publications were mainly of a topical nature and intended for a broad public, in Riga he worked for the secular and ecclesiastical authorities and for the better educated section of the population. This gained him many commissions for the printing of elegies and nuptial poetry. He also published a large, and undoubtedly expensive, engraved view of Riga. In the course of his career he was the only officially recognized book dealer in the town. His work evidently satisfied expectations and guaranteed him a protected position where possible competitors were concerned. The man who had started as such a bold and adventurous publisher had managed to secure himself a position in the cultural life of his country of adoption.

⁵⁸ The only copy mentioned in the literature is (or was?) in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek Berlin (shelf-mark Cy 30, 2005). It is described by A.A. van Schelven in his article 'Zeldzame Nederlandsche theologica van omstreeks 1585', *Het Boek*, 10 (1921), pp. 115-20 (pp. 119-20). As the colophon informs us, the book is a reprint of an edition published [in Ghent] by Cornelis de Rekenare.

⁵⁹ 'Tot Dordrecht, voor Jasper Troyen, woonende in de Wyn-strate, 1589'. The anonymous printer was again a former colleague from Antwerp, this time Peter Verhaghen. – Copy: Amsterdam, UL.



1a-b

Arabesques used by Niclaes Mollijns, 1579-86

(Scan from the original publication)



2

Een wonderlijcke nieu geschiedenis (Antwerp, Widow Hans de Braecker, 1579 [printed by
 Niclaes Mollijs]), Petit 294
 (Scan from the original publication)

3a

Niclaes Mollijs' device of the city of Ghent, in Petit 294
 (Scan from the original publication)



3b

Woodcut in [Fr. Alaers], *Een cort vervat* (Antwerpen, Jasper Troyens, 1580)

(Scan from the original publication)



4

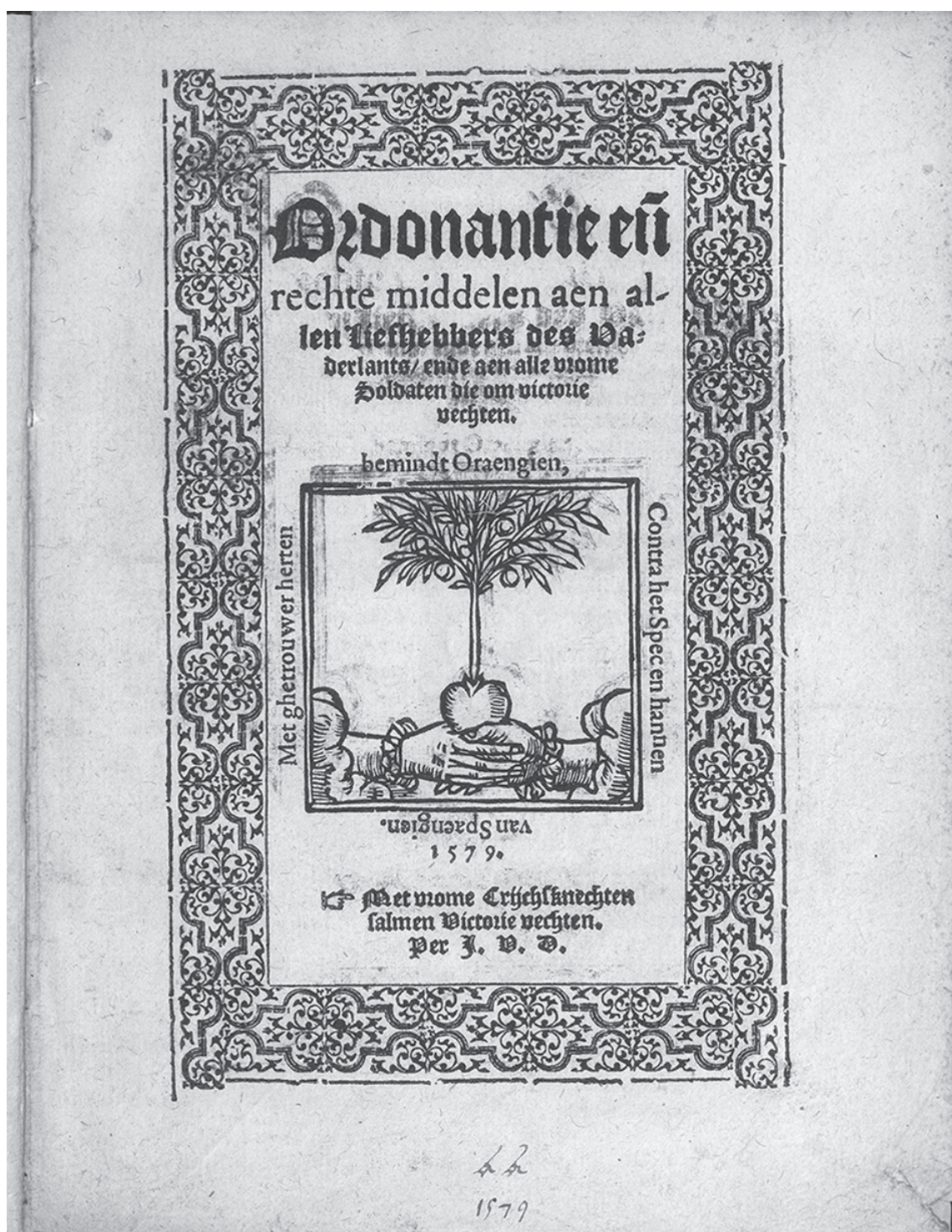
Placcaet ('Delft 1579' [= Antwerp, Niclaes Mollijns, before 1579])

5

Een warachtich vvonderlijck teecken ([Antwerp, Niclaes Mollijns, 1579], BT 7157.

(Scans from the original publication)





6

Ordonnantie ([Antwerp, Niclaes Mollijns], 1579), Knuttel 446
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. C 5b)

THE PRINTER OF MENNO'S

FIRST 'BAN BOOK'



A previous article of mine appeared in the *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* on the early printing history of the works of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips.¹ In it I also discussed Menno's first 'Ban book', *Een lieffelijcke vermaninghe [...] hoe dat een Christen sal gheschickt zijn, ende van dat schouwen ofte afsnijden der valscher broederen*, in which the author expounded his original views about church discipline, a contentious matter from the start. At the foot of the title-page of what Horst² gives as the earliest edition under no. 73, we read: 'Int Jaer onses Heeren duysent vijf hondert ende XLI' (In the Year of Our Lord one thousand five hundred and 41). It has been accepted that this date refers to the compilation of the text. The edition is certainly from a later date, since the book also includes two letters which Menno wrote to the brethren in Franeker ('Franikar') and Emden in 1555 and 1556 respectively. So it cannot have appeared in print before the second of these dates.

This led Horst to suggest a date of c.1558, whereby he regarded the edition as being slightly earlier than Menno Simons' biographer Karel Vos did.³ For Vos agreed with the year of 1562 given by G. Nicolai in his additions to Bullinger's *Teghens de Wederdoopers* (Emden 1569).⁴ Horst, too, was prepared to accept that this date was correct, but for the publication of the second printing (Horst 74), of which, incidentally, he was unable to find a copy.

In my article I proposed a different sequence: Horst 74 could have been the original edition, published in 1562, shortly after the death of the author (who had never released the text for publication). Horst 73 was a reprint, as were so many later editions. This assumption, however, entailed a complication: there was not

¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Drukkers voor Menno Simons en Dirk Philips', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 17 (1991), pp. 31-74.

² I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch Reformer. With a Census of Known Copies* (Nieuwkoop 1962), hereafter cited as Horst, pp. 107-8 and illus. 26.

³ K. Vos, *Menno Simons, 1496-1561. Zijn leven en werken en zijne reformatiorische denkbeelden* (Leiden 1914), p. 291.

⁴ Bullinger f. 118d (*Zestiende-eeuwsche schrijvers over de geschiedenis der oudste Doopsgezinden hier te lande*, ed. S. Cramer (Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica. Geschriften uit de tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden, 7; 's-Gravenhage 1910), p. 444); see also B. Becker, 'Nicolai's inlassching over de Franckisten', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 18 (1925), pp. 286-96.

a single printer in the Netherlands who worked with the typeface in which the book is set after about 1560. The type is a Schwabacher, a German face, which had previously only been used in the northern Low Countries by printers in Deventer and Nijmegen. In so far as these remained active, however, they had then all gone over to the Textura used everywhere else in the area. This was a reason for me to look for the printer in Germany. Since the authorities in Emden had prevented any Mennonite books from being printed in the 1570s, I thought that the publisher may have been Nicolaes Gevardus, a mysterious figure from the southern Netherlands who had settled in Wesel in about 1571 and was later active in Homberg near Duisburg. There he printed, anonymously, Dutch books in German typefaces. Since little more was known about Gevardus than his name, my attribution rested almost entirely on elimination. He alone remained after other printers had been excluded on account of their typographical material.

This basis was too uncertain and my reservations about the matter were justified. A search for the publications of this unknown printer and his material⁵ shows that *Een liefelijcke vermaninghe* was not produced by his press. I therefore had to try and find another printer. In doing so it was necessary to give up the idea that we were dealing with a reprint. There is no second edition, Horst 74. We only have Horst 73, and the documented date of 1562 refers to this. We are therefore dealing with the original edition, published some twenty years after the work had been written. My investigation also proved that the work was printed in Emden after all, and that the printer was Gillis van der Erven (Ctematius).

This last fact was particularly unexpected. Already in London, but certainly also in his Emden period, Van der Erven was the regular printer of both the Dutch and the French Reformed communities. In Emden he was even part of the consistory of the Dutch community for some years and his entire list corresponds to their Calvinist-orientated beliefs. His colleagues Jan and Willem Gaillart are known to have had a very liberal attitude in the choice of their publications. They thus published numerous translations of the works of Sebastian Franck, the German spiritualist and reformer, and, in 1562, Willem had to answer for having printed Menno Simons' *Een Fondament*.⁶ That it should now emerge that Van der Erven, too, accepted a commission from this circle at about the same time is surprising, to say the least.

Yet there is no doubt about the attribution. The typeface used, a Schwabacher of 73/4 mm for twenty lines, is in itself too common to indicate a particular press. But Van der Erven's cast type is exceptional and, at least in the combination in which

⁵ I hope to publish elsewhere the information that has now been gathered about his activities and that part of his list which has survived.

⁶ P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 51-2.

he used it in the last years, does indeed provide sufficient evidence for determining the origin of a printed work. For since about 1558 he suffered from a shortage of capitals of certain letters and was obliged to replace what was missing by a slightly smaller Textura.⁷ We consequently see these clearly different capitals being applied for several years beside the Schwabacher ones. In the course of time they increased in number until in the end the A, D, G, H, I, S and V could be found in two forms in his type matter.⁸

By 1562 Van der Erven had probably written off his worn Schwabacher and only used it for a special commission such as this. The typeface no longer appears in his normal production, and that obviously diminished the danger of discovery. And he also took other precautions: the heading of the title-page is set in a 'safe' typeface, in use with many printing-offices. Nor is there any ornamental letter or other decoration which could betray him. The only further features of use to a bibliographer are a Roman capital at the beginning of the text and section-marks of a shape which is unusual in Dutch printed works at the time, but which also appear elsewhere in the production of Van der Erven.

As a result of this investigation we can add a new name to the list of printers who worked for the Mennonites. At the same time we can see the outcome as a confirmation of the year 1562 as the date of publication of the original edition of Menno's first 'Ban book'. Unfortunately we are still left with the question of whether it was commissioned by Lenaert Bouwensz, the leader of the Mennonites in Emden. He might have wanted to derive arguments from the text which he could advance in his debate about church discipline with those Mennonites reluctant to follow his hard line. It was, after all, the voice of the founder of the movement – even if the founder had subsequently revised his views.

⁷ For this typeface, see H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), pp. 158-9, T 41: Parisian Textura on Small Pica. On the title-page of *Een liefelijcke vermaninghe* (Horst, illus. 26), for example, we see two forms of the capital C (line 3 and 14 respectively).

⁸ Dr M.E. Kronenberg found this same peculiarity in an unsigned and undated edition of the *Testament of Anneken Jans* (van Rotterdam); see her description in W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71), vol. 2 (1940), no. 3932. She sought the printer in the north-eastern Netherlands, however, and, with '(c.1540?)', dated it far too early. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to the "arch-heretic" David Joris; Prolegomena to a bibliography of his works', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 163-209 (p. 181). With this booklet by the Anabaptist martyr, Van der Erven again showed he was prepared to accept commissions from that circle.

A FORGOTTEN UNDERGROUND PRINTER,

HERMAN 'T ZANGERS IN STEENWIJK,

1565 to 1580



In one of her many and ever topical articles Dr M.E. Kronenberg gave a series of examples of fake addresses in Dutch books.¹ She listed a good thirty such addresses, a number which testifies as much to the inventiveness of the printers in question as to their fear of having their clandestine activities discovered. Well before the executions in the early 1540s printers were aware of the importance of producing work which could not reveal the identity of its maker.

As a specialist in the field of Dutch post-incunables Dr Kronenberg restricted herself to 'her' period and went no further than 1540. She also observed this border in her *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd*.² Yet in the Dutch-speaking areas the same defensive weapon was just as frequently used after that period and it was above all Dr H.F. Wijnman, the deputy librarian of Amsterdam University Library, who tried to discover the truth behind the appearances in a number of these later cases. In one of his fine studies on the history of the Dutch printers in Emden he stated the supposition that 'Canin was the true printer of the six works which appeared in the name of Nicolaes Biestkens between 1578 and 1583. In any case the Biestkens Testament of 1582/3 [...] was evidently produced by the same press as the editions of the same Biestkens Testament which had appeared in 1579 in the name of Herman 't Zangers, and in 1580 in the name of Peter van Putte [...]. The layout and the typefaces of all these works are identical.'³

Both Herman 't Zangers and Peter van Putte thus appeared to have been mere ghosts – 'bibliographical ghosts' in an even more literal sense than the term usually

¹ In a lecture delivered to the Bibliographical Society in Cambridge on 10 June 1947: 'Forged Addresses in Low Country Books in the Period of the Reformation', *The Library*, 5th S., 2 (1947), pp. 81-94.

² M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), pp. III-26 (chapter 7): 'Het wapen der schijnadressen, schuilnamen en antidateringen'.

³ H.F. Wijnman, 'Grepën uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (2): De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51 (p. 139). For a closer investigation of the Biestkens problem, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 1558-83', *Theatrum Orbis Librorum. Liber Amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31.

implies. Where Peter van Putte is concerned, the assumption is undoubtedly correct, even if it was not Jan Canin, but a printer in Leeuwarden who hid behind the pseudonym.⁴ Herman 't Zangers, on the other hand, did indeed have a physical existence. He appears as 'Harman Sangers tot Stynwyck' in 1575 in a list of debtors in the estate of the deceased Amsterdam publisher Hendrick Aelbertsz.⁵ His historical identity also emerges from what Is(e)brandt ter Steghe (Versteghen), who was planning to settle in Leeuwarden, said to Plantin on 15 April 1572: that he had learnt the printing trade in Steenwijk from 'Herman Zanghers' and that he had been his closest associate for the last two years.⁶ Finally we have the confession of Cornelis Pietersz, a lad of seventeen from Bolsward, who was arrested in Harlingen in the autumn of 1567 for having sung and sold prohibited songs. He said that he had had them printed in Steenwijk by a certain Harmen, the rest of whose name he pretended not to know.⁷ These testimonies would seem to be decisive.

We know nothing about 't Zangers' origin or education. In view of the similarity of the names one might think of a relationship with the printing family de Zang(e)-re or Zangers, three members of which succeeded one another in Louvain from 1559 on.⁸ Yet it is unlikely that a publisher from that university city would settle in a small provincial town in the northern Netherlands such as Steenwijk. A detailed plan dating from about 1580 shows that it hardly contained 250 houses,⁹ so the number of adult inhabitants could barely have amounted to a thousand. Although the town was in a position of strategic importance on the route from the province of Overijssel to Friesland, it was otherwise only significant as a marketplace for

⁴ For this printer, Pieter Hendricksz van Campen, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Van Friese herkomst: de Chronyc Historie, Noordwitz 1579', *Philologia frisia anno 1984. Lezingen en neipetearen fan it tsiende Frysk filologekongres* (Ljouwert 1986), pp. 96-112 (pp. 102-3), and, 'Een onbekende doperse drukkerij in Friesland', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 37-63 (pp. 61-2).

⁵ E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/'s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), hereafter cited as MB, vol. 1, p. 236.

⁶ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), p. 35. In the French text he calls himself the printer's 'compagnon'.

⁷ H.J. van Lummel, *Nieuw Geuzenlied-boek*, [...] *uit alle oude geuzenlied-boeken bijeenverzameld ...* (Utrecht 1874), pp. 546-8; F.K.H. Kossmann, *De Nederlandsche straatzanger en zijn liederen in vroeger eeuwen* (Amsterdam 1941), pp. 17-18; *id.*, 'Geuzen liederen', *Het Boek*, 15 (1926), pp. 190-3.

⁸ A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des xve et xvie siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 251-2.

⁹ For this map, see J.P.J. Postema, *Tussen graaf en maire. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van Steenwijk en omstreken voornamelijk in de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Kampen 1987), pp. 91-112: 'Steenwijk rond 1580. De kaart van Johan van den Corput (1542-1611)', with a reduced reproduction (illus. 5.1). The map was published during, or shortly after, the siege of the town by the Spanish troops in 1580/1, probably by Frans Hogenberg in Cologne.

the surrounding area, while there was also a trade in peat, which was conveyed to Holland over the river Aa. That was where its economic importance ended, and it never played a part of any prominence as a cultural centre either. We thus have no reason to expect it to have had a press of more than regional interest, run by a resident or someone from the area. And indeed, the linguistic and orthographical peculiarities of his books show that 't Zangers was probably born in the vicinity, or anyhow in the north-eastern Netherlands.

The only work by 't Zangers known to Wijnman was a New Testament of 1579, and that explains why he never established a link between its publisher and the man who had once printed for the seventeen-year-old singer. Twelve years is a long time for a printer to remain silent, and we could thus be dealing with two different people who happened to have the same Christian name. But this does not appear to have been the case, since printed work with the name of Herman 't Zangers also appeared in the intervening period. Wijnman, however, was unaware of these publications for, with a single exception, they all remained hidden in archives – ever since the day when the authorities received them as official documents. They are mainly publications for the Court in Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland, where no printer had been at work since Jan Peters closed down his press and orders had to be placed elsewhere.¹⁰

So far I have discovered seven of these ordinances printed by 't Zangers.¹¹ Judging from their continuous quire signatures, the two earliest, with different dates, were probably published together. Two of the seven have 't Zangers' imprint; one only gives the name of Steenwijk; and the other four (three of which have no title-page and are provided with nothing but a caption title) give no indication of their origin. External aspects, however, show that they, too, came from the same press. The dates of issue run from 19 May 1570 to 9 June 1572.¹² That means that no

¹⁰ In 1565 the lack of printing facilities of its own induced the Court to use the Amsterdam edition (MB 177) of an edict of King Philip II about the corn trade, with handwritten adaptations, for circulation in Friesland (Gemeente Archief Leeuwarden (Municipal Archives), hereafter GA Leeuw., *Plakkaatboek* I, no. 160).

¹¹ There was probably an eighth one too. The *Groot Placaat- en Charterboek van Vriesland* [...], collected by G.F. thoe Schwartzenberg en Hohenlansberg, 5 vols. (Leeuwarden 1768-93), hereafter cited as tSchw, vol. 3, pp. 842-4, gives the text of a 'Placaat tegen de geweldnarijen, aan geestelijke personen gedaan wordende' ('Edict against the acts of violence committed against members of the clergy') of 19 April 1571, an 'old printed edict from the Sneek Town Clerk's Office'. There is no trace of the piece in the Municipal Archives, however.

¹² The seven publications are dated: (a) 19.V.1570; tSchw III, pp. 786-92 (GA Leeuw., *Placaatboek* I, no. 195) – (b) 3.VI.1570; tSchw III, p. 792 n. (GA Leeuw., *ibid.*, no. 196) – (c) 31.VII.1571; tSchw III, pp. 861-3 (GA Deventer, in MA 10) – (d) 29.XI.1571; not in tSchw (GA Deventer, in MA 10) – (e) 30.XI.1571; tSchw III, pp. 872-6 (GA Sneek, in OA 21) – (f) 5.III.1571/2 (NS), tSchw III, pp. 838-41 (GA Leeuw., *Placaatboek* I, no. 201) – (g) 9.VI.1572; tSchw. III, pp. 887-9 (*ibid.* no. 213). – The

more than three years had elapsed between the confiscation of the songs, printed by the otherwise unspecified Herman in Steenwijk, and the beginning of Herman 't Zangers' work for the Frisian authorities. We can thus safely assume that we are dealing with the same man here. This makes one wonder what else he might have printed in those early years.

Since we do not know of any records of judicial proceedings against him and since the old archive of Steenwijk is most incomplete, we do not have any historical sources for his life and work. In the absence of documentary information bibliographical analysis alone can be of assistance: an investigation based on the typographical material that appears in work signed by the man in question. Characteristic typographical elements in these books can then put us on the trail of anonymous publications which might fill in the picture of his activities. It is a method which has now become so familiar that any further explanation seems superfluous.

Where printed work which unquestionably came from this press is concerned, we now have the publications for the Frisian Court described above. To these can be added the *Nieuwe Testament* of 1579/80¹³ and an only recently discovered edition of 1580 of *De Fonteyne des levens* with his imprint.¹⁴ This last work is the only book with an illustration on the title-page: Christ as the fountain of life – an oval woodcut with the legend 'Comt ende drinckt wt die fonteyne des levenden waters. Io. VII' ('Come and drink of the living water. John VII'). This representation was probably chosen because of its suitability. A true function as a printer's or publisher's device, which it had had earlier in Emden, seems less likely here.¹⁵

edict concerning the mint of 2.III.1570/1 (NS), tSchw III, pp. 776-80, is not printed by 't Zangers.

¹³ *Dat Nieuwe Testament onses lieffs Heeren Jesu Christi [...]. Nu opt new de aenwijsinghen oversien ...* ([Steenwijk], Herman 't Zangers, 1579). – The copies in Leiden UL and in the library of the Amsterdam Free University (FrUL) only have the publisher's address in the colophon, while the one in Amsterdam UL also has the address on the title-page. In the copy in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek (WLB), Stuttgart, the year of publication is changed to 1580.

¹⁴ Copy: Ghent, UL. See J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter cited as Mach, no. F 174.

¹⁵ Except for the legend, the representation is a copy in mirror image of a printer's device used in Tauler's *Christelijcke predicatien* of 1565, which appeared with the imprint 'Franckfort, Peter van Dueren'. The man behind the pseudonym was Willem Gailliart in Emden. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (pp. 115-17). In the same year Gailliart used the printer's device in a Bible with, as sole address, 'Embden'. It is quite possible that he was not working on his own account, but for one or more patrons who subsidized the publication of these books.

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

These publications by 't Zangers now give the following picture of the typographical material owned by his press. He had five Textura typefaces on various bodies, from Double Pica to Brevier. According to the classification of Vervliet's *Printing Types* they are VPT T 3, T 20, T 30, T 43 and T 47,¹⁶ all five without any special feature. The only peculiarity that could be noted is the fact that the Lettersnijder Pica Textura T 30 has a long-tailed f, and a long s extending below the line and a slender 'French' y as it is found above all in the southern Netherlands. These typefaces were used everywhere at the time and, even in combination, cannot serve to indicate any one particular printer. Then there are some words which are set in an unidentified Roman typeface, while a date contains some Italic figures. But these types cannot serve as an indication of origin either.

The same works, however, also display certain initials which are indeed of value for establishing identification. Some of them are unmistakably printed from the same blocks which we find in the signed work of another printer, namely the printer-publisher Antonis Ketel. These include an A and a D from an alphabet of arabesque letters (illus. 1), which are both reproduced as his property in the well-known work of H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk on Haarlem printers and booksellers.¹⁷ Ketel, who came from Steenwijk, had moved to Haarlem¹⁸ and his products show that he worked there with the material of our Herman 't Zangers, and had thus come into possession of the inventory of the latter's press. As far as we know he only published a single pamphlet in Steenwijk as his successor – a reprint of the text of the Satisfaction of Amsterdam.¹⁹

Ketel had evidently left Steenwijk in the winter of 1580/1, shortly after the months-long siege of the town by the Spaniards and just in time to avoid the plague epidemic which broke out shortly afterwards. For his removal he obtained financial assistance from the Haarlem magistrates, who also supplied him with premises for his press.²⁰ The town had not had a printing-house of its own for fifteen years, ever since the closure and departure of the press of Jan van Zuren in

¹⁶ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT, pp. 89-90, 120-1, 140-2, 162-3 and 167.

¹⁷ H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* ('s-Gravenhage 1951), hereafter cited as Laceulle, illus. 39 (and see p. 158).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-86. Ketel's career was brief: he died in 1583. The press then came into the hands of Gillis Rooman, with whom Ketel's widow remarried. Laceulle has also reproduced the initial A in question as used by him; see illus. 100 in her book.

¹⁹ *Poincten ende articulen vanden satisfactie die van Amstelredamme ghegheven ende gheaccordeert, ett.* [sic] Anno 1578 (Steenwijk, Antonis Ketel, s.a. [1580 or early 1581]. 4to). Copy: London, British Library (BL).

²⁰ Laceulle, Appendices 204-14 (pp. 342-4).

1564/5. Consequently official publications had to be printed in Leiden. For such an important town as Haarlem this was an almost humiliating situation. Besides, we know that one eminent citizen had personal reasons to give full support to the arrival of a press: the Haarlem humanist Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert. Apart from a few ordinances and other ephemeral publications, its list shows that the new firm worked almost exclusively for him. We can thus assume that, with his strong influence among the magistrates, Coornhert played an important part in Ketel's move, and may even have prompted it.

This course of events now enables us to use Laceulle's reproductions of the initials and ornaments in Ketel's press as a means of recognizing publications by 't Zangers. Apart from the two arabesque initials, she found a number of other letters from the set, which may well have been a complete alphabet, in the work of Ketel's successors, Rooman, father and son.²¹ The press also owned certain differently-shaped ornamental letters as well as two decorative vignettes (illus. 1).²² With the help of these elements it is possible to attribute several books to Herman 't Zangers and thus to obtain an idea of the composition of his list. The printed work also allows us to form an impression of his way of composing. This, too, is important: in the absence of initials or other ornaments certain habits of the printer, such as details in his typographical layout, make an attribution possible.

THE CLANDESTINE PUBLICATIONS

As far as we now know, 't Zangers started to print in 1565. In that year he published various 16mo booklets which immediately reveal his firm's policy. *Van gheboden offte insettinge ende leeringe der minschen ...*²³ is a violent attack on the papacy. The only surviving copy is preceded by an equally rare edition, unfortunately without a title-page, of *Een schoone bekentenisse eens vromen [...] Christen [...] Met etlijcke sendtbrieven ...*, by Thomas von Imbroich, a young printer who was executed as an Anabaptist in Cologne in 1558.²⁴

²¹ I have also found the letters B, H, I, M, O, T and W in various books by Ketel and his successor Rooman; for Rooman, see Laceulle, illus. 100. The G is used in 't Zangers' edition of *De fonteyne des levens* (1580).

²² Laceulle, illus. 36, 38, 40 and 42. I have not encountered all these initials in work by 't Zangers, although he probably owned them.

²³ *Van gheboden offte insettinge ende leeringe der minschen, wat een jehelick bisschop ende paws heeft opgebracht offte inghesedt. Met een spoecke Christi ende Antichristi, daerinne [...] dese tegenwoordige nieuwe valsche leeringhe* (s.l.e.n. [= Steenwijk, Herman 't Zangers], 1565). Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB), shelf-mark 1704 F 202.

²⁴ The title is taken from the reprint expanded by various tracts: *Confessio ofte bekentenisse ...*, published [by Pieter Hendricksz van Campen in Leeuwarden] in 1579; cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as *BB*, vol. 3, pp. 579-81, no. 13. For the content of the original

A further work bound together with the other two, *Een nieuw liet van eene[n] drucker geselle, Thomas Imbroeck genaemt ...*, is also without an imprint but has as its first letter a W identical to a German capital used by Ketel (Laceulle illus. 36).

The two existing title-pages of these booklets are striking because of their frame consisting of single lines which, placed horizontally, also divide the text of the title. This single decoration is characteristic of many of 't Zangers' publications. In books of a larger format he applied double lines and sometimes filled in the space between the lines with fleurons (illus. 2). Although he was not the only printer to use such a decoration – we also find examples of it in work printed in Kampen – the frame formed by a few lines provides an easy means of recognizing his work. What is also striking is his habit of centring the last lines of a title-page or a page of text, making them gradually shorter until they end with a triangle of asterisks. A third characteristic feature, finally, is the application of the fleurons, small blocks of two rarely used sorts, which he joined together in various ways in order to make up ornaments. Neither these features nor the typefaces he used are altogether decisive, but, in the limited group of printers who can be taken into consideration, they provide strong evidence for attributions.

Another product of 't Zangers' press is *Een verschrickelicke historie van Francesco Spira, hoe dat hy in grouwelicker vertwyvelinghe gevallen is ...* (s.l. 1565).²⁵ In this case, too, the only known copy²⁶ lacks the first (and the last) leaf, so that we have to rely on an old description of the book in order to have the correct title.²⁷ A second, equally anonymous edition appeared in 1580 in Rees, produced by Dirck Wylicksz van Santen.²⁸ The work was a success and was reprinted well into the seventeenth century.

A further popular publication which we can ascribe to 't Zangers, even if it lacks

edition, which differs from the reprint, see G.D.J. Schotel, *Vaderlandsche volksboeken en volkssprookjes*, 2 vols. (Haarlem 1874), vol. 2, p. 230, n. 1.

²⁵ A popular adaptation of a Latin text by Matteo Gribaldi, jurist and professor in Padua.

²⁶ Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle a/S., shelf-mark 61 J 15. Judging from the title it is a translation of the Low German edition [Lübeck], Johan Balhorn, 1561; see *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts ...*, ed. I. Bezzel, 25 vols. (Stuttgart 1983-2000), hereafter cited as VD 16, vol. 8, p. 163, no. G 3305. It is preceded by three admonitions by Matthias Flaccius Illyricus, Philip Melanchthon and an unknown author respectively.

²⁷ This undescribed edition was pointed out to me by Dr H. Koehn in Halle a/S., who provided me with some photocopies. The title is taken from a complete copy described in various *Theologie* catalogues by the antiquarian book dealer, auctioneer and publisher Frederik Muller: 1857, no. 1027; 1865, no. 4667; and the auction of May 1869, no. 485. This was evidently always the same copy, possibly once owned by I. Le Long (*Bibliotheca selectissima* (Amsterdam 1744), Oct. 1463). Its present location is unknown.

²⁸ *Die verschrickelicke historie van Francisco Spira, hoe dat hy in grouwelicker vertwyvelinghe ghevalen is, nae dat hy [...] die [...] waerheyt des Heyligen Evangelii [...] verloechent heeft ...* (s.l.e.n. [Rees, Dirck Wylicksz van Santen], 1580). Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

any ornament which can confirm the attribution, is *Een schoone vraaghe van eenen Bwr* [read Boer], *hoe dat hy eenen Pape gevraecht heeft, van wegghen sommigher Articulen [...]*. This is a translation of a German dialogue in verse which appeared in 1524 under the name of a certain Utz Rychysner, allegedly a weaver. This satire, too, displays little respect for the old faith and it comes as no surprise to find that the Dutch edition was placed on the *Index d' Anvers* in 1570.²⁹

In this first year of 't Zangers' press, there also appeared a booklet which again proved that he was in contact with the Anabaptists. For he then printed the *Broederlicke vereeninge van sommighe kinderen Godts*, a text described as 'a provisional point of consolidation of the brotherhood'.³⁰ This important work, in which the Swiss Anabaptists set down for the first time seven central principles of their faith, originated in 1527 at a meeting in the Swiss village of Schleithem. The earliest edition of the German original dates from 1533. What is still considered to be the first Dutch translation appeared in 1560, together with a *Sendbrief* by Michael Sattler and a few other short writings, and was probably produced in Emden by Willem Gailliart.³¹ 't Zangers' edition is a reprint.³²

This is what we know of 't Zangers' earliest production. In the following year he printed *Kerckenordeninge, gelijk als die leere, heylige sacramenten ende ceremonien in des [...] chuervorstendooms byden Rijn ghehouden wort [...]*.³³ It is a translation of the church order introduced by Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate when his territories went over to Protestantism. Part of it was the Heidelberg catechism, given here in the so-called 'mixed recension', as it had been published a little earlier by

²⁹ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, no. 134; J.M. de Bujanda, *Index d' Anvers, 1569, 1570, 1571* (Index des livres interdits, 7; Sherbrooke/Genève 1988), no. 655 (p. 401), does not give a location. The German original of 1524 gives as the author 'Utz Rychsner Weber', undoubtedly a pseudonym.

³⁰ The term is J.A. Oosterbaan's, in a recent reprint: *Broederlijke Vereniging*, trans. and introd. H.W. Meihuizen, expl. J.A. Oosterbaan & H.B. Kossen (Doperse stemmen, 1; Amsterdam 1974), p. 23.

³¹ W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), vol. 1, pp. 294-5 and vol. 2, p. 327, no. C 1.1; BB, vol. 5, pp. 70-1, no. S 235, with an extensive description of the content; De Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 29), no. 502 (pp. 325-6). The text is also reprinted in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. 5, ed. S. Cramer ('s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 585-650. The booklet lacks any initial or other means of recognition. The typefaces are too general to enable identification of the printer with any certainty.

³² Heijting, op. cit. (n. 31), vol. 1, pp. 295-6, vol. 2, pp. 328-9, no. C 1.2. For a full description of the title of this unique copy, see also BB, vol. 5, p. 72, no. S 274.

³³ Heijting, op. cit. (n. 31), vol. 1, pp. 240-1 and vol. 2, pp. 197-8, no. B 12.11. The book contains the vignette as reproduced in Laceulle, illus. 42 and the initial S as reproduced in illus. 40. My thanks are due to Dr Heijting for providing me with reproductions of this long lost publication.

Gillis van der Erven in Emden.³⁴

In the same year, 1566, 't Zangers produced a reprint of *Het Offer des Heeren*, the earliest martyrology of the followers of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips – a particularly popular work in that circle, which went through numerous editions until it was replaced by Thieleman Jansz van Bracht's *Martelaerspiegel*. The original edition was printed in Franeker in 1562/3, needless to say anonymously, by the regular printer of the Frisian Mennonites, Jan Hendricksz van Schoonrewoerd.³⁵ Like this edition, the new reprint³⁶ includes the *Liedt-boecxken* that goes with it, and is also enlarged with a *Testament van Jan Gheertszen*, which forms a separate supplement together with letters from the martyr Mayken Bo(o)sers.³⁷ In later editions these supplements were included in the work itself.

We cannot determine whether these books were actually published by 't Zangers or whether he produced them on commission. The Mennonite press I have just mentioned, which probably remained in Franeker after the death of the owner in 1564, would, in its own turn, issue a reprint of *Het Offer des Heeren* shortly afterwards, in 1567. So it looks as though we are dealing with rival enterprises. This is also suggested by another publication by 't Zangers in this same year: the ('new') *Fondamentboeck* by Menno Simons.³⁸ This dogmatic manual by the Mennonite leader had already been reissued in Franeker in 1565.³⁹ Only two years later, another reprint appeared in Steenwijk, based this time on the 1562 edition printed by Willem Gailliart in Emden. Gailliart had been called to order on that account by the Dutch consistory, which meant the end of his activities in

³⁴ *Catechismus ofte onderwysinghe in de christelike leere* ... (Emden, s.n., 1565). – Heijting, op. cit. (n. 31), vol. 1, pp. 234-5, vol. 2, pp. 182-3, no. B 12.3.

³⁵ For this press and its publications, see P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 4: 'Een onbekende doperse drukkerij'), *passim*.

³⁶ The only known copy is in Ghent UL, see Mach no. L 245; F.C. Wieder, *De schriftuurlijke liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche Hervormden tot op het jaar 1566. Inhoudsbeschrijving en bibliographie* (s-Gravenhage 1900; repr. Utrecht 1977), no. LXXIII. For a more extensive description, see BB, vol. 4, pp. 493-4, no. O 18.

³⁷ BB, vol. 3, pp. 200-1, no. G. 181.

³⁸ [Menno Simons], *Fondamentum. Een fundament ende clare aenwijzinge van de salichmake[n]de leere Jesu Christi* ... (s.l.e.n. 1567). – I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, ca. 1496-1561, Dutch reformer. With a Census of Known Copies* (Nieuwkoop 1962), p. 61, no. 14; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Drukkers voor Menno Simons en Dirk Philips', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 17 (1991), pp. 31-74 (pp. 57-9). Besides the Mennonite Library (Doopsgezinde Bibliotheek), on loan to Amsterdam UL, the Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst in Emden also owns a copy.

³⁹ Horst, op. cit. (n. 38), p. 60, no. 13; P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 38: 'Drukkers'), p. 57.

this domain.⁴⁰ It seems quite possible that 't Zangers replaced him for a while.

Presumably at about the same time, 't Zangers produced a work for another Protestant denomination – a reprint of Heinrich Bullinger's *Somma des Christelicken religions*, translated by Wilhelmus Gnapheus. The hitherto unrecovered original edition of this book had been 'printed in a small typeface' ('met een kleen letterken gedruckt') in 1562, most probably in Emden.⁴¹ 't Zangers had been 'moved by certain lovers of the truth to print the work in a larger typeface' ('door bede van sommige liefhebbers der waerheyt [...] beweecht geworden dit selve mit grover letter te drucken').⁴² The book does not contain any initials or other decorations which can prove his involvement, but the title-page, with its frame of single lines, is in the style we know to be his.

Also in 1567 't Zangers was the anonymous publisher of a translation of *Twee boecken* by the French reformer Pierre Viret, whose work seems to have had a wider circulation in the Netherlands in those years, at least in Dutch, than that of Calvin. The translator hid behind the designation 'a lover of the pure faith' ('een Liefhebber der reyner Leere').⁴³ An early source also mentions a New Testament produced by 't Zangers in that year, a copy of which was sold at auction in the nineteenth century. It has disappeared without trace.⁴⁴

And then, as we saw, at about this time Herman produced songs for the itinerant singer Cornelis Pietersz. The existing copies, which have survived, quite exceptionally, in the file of the legal proceedings, show that there were three of them, printed next to each other on a broadside so that they could eventually be cut apart and sold separately.⁴⁵ According to the testimony of the young man he

⁴⁰ P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 38: 'Drukkers'), pp. 51-3.

⁴¹ I have been unable to find a single copy. The 1562 edition 'Wt den Ouerlantschen overgheset' was owned by I. Le Long (*Bibliotheca selectissima sive Catalogus librorum ...* (Amsterdam 1744), Oct. 845) and, as far as I can make out, was last seen in the first Van de Velde auction (Ghent 1831), no. 5701 (4). The copy was bound together with Gnapheus' *Tobias ende Lazarus ...* (Emden, Gillis van der Erven, 1557), which is why it has been assumed that Bullinger's work, too, was printed in that town. See Heijting, op. cit. (n. 31), no. E 22 (vol. 1, p. 360).

⁴² For this edition, see J. Staedtke, *Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie* (Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Heinrich Bullinger, 1; Zürich 1972), no. 311. Copies: Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL; Nijmegen, Berchmannianum.

⁴³ Petrus Viret, *Twee Boecken. Vanden waren dienst des Godtlicken woordts, der sacramenten ende der kercken [...]* Nu niens wt dat Latijn ... (s.l.e.n. 1567). Copy: London, BL. See *British Museum. General catalogue of printed books. Photolithographic edition to 1955. With supplement 1956-65. 263 vols.* (London 1959-66), vol. 249, p. 449.

⁴⁴ *Dat Nieuwe Testament [...] na de copie van Nic. Biestkens ...* (s.l., 'ghedruct dorch Herman 't Zangers', 1567). – J.D. Hesselink Catalogue (Groningen 1878), no. 403. Also mentioned (but not seen) by J.I. Doedes in *Bibliografische Adversaria*, 5 (1883-6), p. 17.

⁴⁵ Municipal Archives (GA) Kampen (OA inv. 2259): *Een nieu liedeken op die wijze van duyren* [Beginning:

had a thousand copies printed for the price of one Carolus guilder.

We know of no publications in the months that followed, but in 1569 two more books came off the press. One is a reprint of *Veelderhande liedekens, ghemaect wt den Ouden en(de) Nieuwen Testamente*, an expanded collection of spiritual songs which was extremely popular for many decades.⁴⁶ The collection had gone through at least eight (in some cases enlarged) editions since 1542 and would go through many more. The book was again published by the Franeker press in the same year, in an arrangement especially intended for purchasers in Mennonite circles.⁴⁷ Here, too, we see signs of a certain rivalry.

The second book produced by 't Zangers in that year, *Proba fidei, oft de Proeve des gheloofs* ... (s.l. 1569), had not appeared before. V[alerius] S[chool] M[eester], as the author is designated on the title-page, did indeed practise that profession, in Vlissingen and later in Hoorn, but he also acted as a strolling street- and hedge-preacher testifying to his Mennonite faith. For this reason he was arrested and executed in Brouwershaven in 1568. This book, too, like so many other publications of 't Zangers, was placed on the *Index d' Anvers* in 1570.⁴⁸

Although there is no evidence that 't Zangers himself was ever in trouble, these publications mark the end of his clandestine activities. Nor was he alone in ending his work in that domain at about this time. In Deventer, Franeker and Kampen, too, the printers drew back. The supervision of the authorities seems to have become so much stricter under the Duke of Alba's government, from 1567 to 1573, that the risks were too great even in the north-eastern Netherlands. Even in Emden, on the other side of the border, the magistrates gave way to Spanish pressure and took drastic measures against the publication of subversive writings.⁴⁹

O Godt van Hemelrijcke [...] – *Een nieu liet op de wijze vanden antechrist* [Beginning: Wie wil hooren een nieuw liet [...] – *Een nieu liedeken op die wijze: Vader onse in Hemelrijck* [Beginning: Hoort toe ghy minschen groot en cleyne [...]. – The texts are reprinted in the *Kamper Almanak* 1951/2, pp. 167-73. The three originals were displayed at the Rijksmuseum exhibition *Willem van Oranje. Om vrijheid van geweten* (Amsterdam 1984), catalogue no. B 41.

⁴⁶ KB, The Hague, shelf-mark 1708 G 23; copy A. Willems. Wieder, op. cit. (n. 36), no. LXXVI; P. Wackernagel, *Lieder der niederländischen Reformierten aus der Zeit der Verfolgung im 16. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a/M. 1867), no. XXXIV*; De Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 29), no. 648 (pp. 396-7).

⁴⁷ Wieder, op. cit. (n. 36), no. LXXVII; Wackernagel, op. cit. (n. 46), no. XXXV*.

⁴⁸ De Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 29) no. 555 (p. 351). For the booklet and what little is known about the author, see BB, vol. 5, pp. 420-3, no. V 138. This edition has a peculiarity: the title is repeated identically on f. 9, preceding the main text. Between the two title-pages ff. 2-8 contain a brief address to the reader and an extensive foreword by the author. These additions *après coup* made it necessary to add a new title-page for which it was evidently possible to use the still available standing type.

⁴⁹ A prohibition on 'pain of death' ('bij halsstraffe') to print a book without the prior visitation and consent of the burgomasters was already issued in Emden on 27 October 1567; see Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 3), p. 138.

HIS LATER ACTIVITIES

We now reach a period in which 't Zangers' name only appears on the official publications described above from the years 1570-2. These orders came to an end when the Court in Friesland could once more dispose of a printer of its own. As we saw, Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, Herman's first 'compagnon' (partner), asked Plantin for a certificate to be able to set up as an independent printer in Leeuwarden. After he had also managed to acquire the inventory of the recently deceased Emden printer-publisher Jean Malet,⁵⁰ he embarked on his career as Court printer in 1573.⁵¹ His activities did not last long, however. Already in 1579 he was succeeded by a fellow-townsmen and former associate, Pieter Hendricksz van Campen, who took over the press and continued to work for the Frisian authorities.

But in the meantime 't Zangers had still obtained some further commissions: in 1579 he produced, anonymously, a new edition of the *Religioensvrede* of 12 July 1578, which, as we know from a slightly earlier edition printed by Ter Steghe, was officially circulated in Friesland.⁵² And in the same year of 1579, finally, there also appeared a book printed by 't Zangers with his name in the colophon, the New Testament we have already discussed⁵³ – in one copy his imprint occurs on the title-page and another is dated 1580. We find that date, too, in *Die Fonteyne des Levens*, apparently his last publication. In fact these two books may well have been the work of Ketel after he had entered 't Zangers' service.

Between the orders of the Court in Friesland and these books there is an interval of six or seven years in which we do not know of any dated publications by 't Zangers. We are thus entitled to wonder what he did in this period. It is, of course, quite possible that most of what his press produced was lost. The print runs were probably not very large and it was quite common for books 'from the provinces' to

⁵⁰ Originally the press of Jan van Zuren in Haarlem. For this acquisition, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden (1561-9)', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50, 253-98 (pp. 280-1).

⁵¹ The first official publication produced by his press is dated 29 January 1572 (1573 NS).

⁵² We do not know when Is(e)brandt ter Steghe died. Presumably it was in the first half of 1579. The last official publication with his address is, as far as I know, an edition of the Union of Utrecht of 29 January 1579. See H.J.A. Ruys in L.D. Petit's *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten ...*, vol. 4 ('s-Gravenhage 1934), no. 38. Before that he had already printed the *Religioensvrede* (beginning: 'Elcken is ghenoech kennelyck ...'). See L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. 1, no. 274 –, but this text apparently had to be replaced. 't Zangers' edition (Kn 368) begins: 'Inden Eersten is elc kenlic ...'. This was followed chronologically by the first publication of the new Court printer, Pieter Hendricksz: an ordinance about hunting issued on 14 August 1579 (GA Leeuwarden, Plakkaatboek II, no. 55). In 1581 he appears to have been living in his predecessor's house.

⁵³ For details about this edition see n. 13.

be considerably rarer than those produced in larger centres. But it is also possible that, fearing the dangers entailed by the publication of Protestant writings, he gave up any further activity in this domain and restricted himself to neutral popular publications. That we do not have any examples of these means little: hardly any such printed work survives from the sixteenth century.

The last hypothesis would appear to be the most likely, and we can assume that his business in these years consisted largely in the production and sale of almanacs. A fragment which has survived by chance⁵⁴ shows that he had taken over the exploitation of the almanac by the Emden doctor Henricus Westerhuys from the original publisher, Berendt Petersz in Kampen.⁵⁵ This son of Peter Warnersen, who had become the owner of the press of his banished father after his mother's death in 1571, followed his father's example and crossed over the border. He settled in Emmerich, undoubtedly in the hope of enjoying more freedom as a publisher than in the town of his birth.

The fragment in question consists of a half sheet with 16 pages of text, four of which, including the title of the second piece, the *Practica*, have been cut away except for a narrow border. The P of *Practica* and the letters 'huy' of the author's name are still readable. The date is in a superscription: 'Van de Cranckheyden die dit Jaer 75. meest regieren sullen' (Of the illnesses which will prevail in this year 1575), while the name of the publisher emerges from the privilege at the foot of one of the pages.⁵⁶ 't Zangers had thus switched from his religious publications to a far less dangerous existence as the printer of almanacs. We should not underrate this activity, though: it could entail yearly print runs of many thousands of copies. Even then the almanac had already assumed the character of a mass product for which there was fierce competition.

At about this time 't Zangers also printed a book for a colleague – Derick Wylicksz van Santen, then still a book dealer in Deventer. In, or shortly before, 1575 he would establish himself as a printer-publisher in Rees, but he had evidently already embarked on a publishing career in Deventer. The booklet was a reprint of the *Sterffboecxken* by Matthijs Lenaerts, a prohibited text, an early edition of which

⁵⁴ In the Library of the Royal Netherlands Book Trade Association, now on loan to Amsterdam UL.

⁵⁵ See G.H.A. Krans, 'Peter Warnersen, drukker en uitgever te Kampen', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 147-69 (pp. 165-6), which gives a description of Westerhuys' *Almanach Opt jaer M.D.LXVIII*, followed by the *Practica* for that year.

⁵⁶ The privilege is accorded by the magistrates of Emden, where the author was living. It runs: 'Dat geene Boecdruckers unde Boecvercopers deser Stadt, M. Westerhuys Almanacken oft Practicken (tho Steenwijk by Herman t'Zangers gedrukt) sal na Drucken, oft [...] vercopen. Pena 20. golt gulden.' ('That no book printers or booksellers in this town may copy or ... sell M. Westerhuys' Almanacs or Practices (printed in Steenwijk by Herman 't Zangers) on pain of the payment of 20 gold guilders').

is on the *Index d' Anvers* of 1570 with the explicit statement that it was published by Peter Warnersen. We can probably conclude from this that the new edition was printed after that year.⁵⁷

Another publication from this period which can be attributed to 't Zangers is *Carmen elegiacum de horrendo cataclysmo qui Frisiam 1573 Kal. Novemb. afflixit*, a poem by Theodorus Euroteles (van Oosterend) about the disastrous floods which hit Friesland in 1573. Valerius Andreas, from whom the title is taken, does not mention an imprint. Another source, however, Suffridus Petrus, gives as place of publication, 'Excudit Lithocomi'.⁵⁸ This must be a mistake for 'Lithovici', 'in Steenwijk', since it is otherwise incomprehensible – 'lithocomus' means 'stone mason'. It should also be observed that for the author, who was head of the Latin school in Bolsward at the time, 't Zangers was the printer closest at hand until Isbrandt ter Steghe settled in Leeuwarden in 1573. Shortly afterwards Theodorus Euroteles would choose Isbrandt ter Steghe for his latest literary creation.⁵⁹

There is, finally, yet another book printed with 't Zangers' material but of which we do not know for sure whether it was published by him or by his successor Antonis Ketel. We are confronted yet again with a recurrent problem: when printers succeeded each other and worked with the same inventory of typefaces and ornaments, the date of publication alone can tell us who actually published a particular book.⁶⁰ If, as is here the case, we cannot discover when the work in question appeared, the solution can sometimes be found in the text. But that is usually a vain hope – writers and printers of prohibited books were all too well aware of the need for the utmost caution.

⁵⁷ The booklet appeared at the Van Baalen auction of 18 Dec. 1862, no. 61. It found its way into the Arenberg collection via the library of C.P. Serrure. It is now in a private collection in Holland. – For the prohibited edition of Warnersen, see De Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 29), no. 626 and W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 (Den Haag 1923-71), no. 0775.

⁵⁸ V. Andreas, *Bibliotheca belgica; de Belgis vita scriptisque claris. Praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae Inferioris descriptione. Editio renovata et tertia parte auctior* (Louvain 1643; repr. Nieuwkoop 1973), p. 828; Suffridus Petrus, *De scriptoribus Frisiae, decades XVI. & semis [...]* (Köln 1593; reprint Franeker 1699), pp. 107-8 and pp. 182-3 respectively, gives: 'descripsit carmine elegiaco horrendum illum cataclysmum, qui Frisiam afflixit Calendis Nov. 1573 excudit Lithocomi'.

⁵⁹ Theodorus Euroteles, *Judicium Peridis super tribus de aureo malo litigantibus deabus, ex Luciano in modum tragoediae lusum* (Leeuwarden, Isbrandt ter Steghe, 1574). No copy is known of this work either. Suffridus Petrus, op. cit. (n. 58), gives the full address and had evidently seen the book. It is also mentioned by Andreas, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 828.

⁶⁰ For a comparable situation, see P. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 50: 'A Haarlem press'), *passim*. The material of Jan van Zuren's press was used in the same combination in each of the three towns. Where Sedan and Emden are concerned the place of publication was hardly ever mentioned.

CASTELLION'S BOOK ON HERETICS AND COORNHERT

We now come to the Dutch edition of a celebrated work, Sébastien Castellion's *De haereticis an sint persequendi* [...], which appeared under the pseudonym Martinus Bellius, and with the fake address Magdeburg, in Basel in 1554. The book defended the fundamental human right to one's own religious convictions with many quotations from the church fathers and other distinguished theologians, and the author came to what was then the daring conclusion that religious persecution must be rejected on moral and practical grounds. The problem of religious toleration was thus discussed with all its consequences – in a world in which such an idea would still be long and strenuously opposed by both Catholics and Protestants. The translation of the work was made from a German text which had appeared soon after the original.⁶¹ The name Bellius is not on the title-page but at the head of the foreword.

Whether 't Zangers or Ketel published the book seems in itself of little relevance, but knowledge of the year of publication is indeed of importance for the place occupied in this controversy by Coornhert. Together with Castellion he was the great defender of freedom of conscience in the sixteenth century, initially reacting above all against the views of Calvin and Beza. His polemic with Lipsius on the subject is still of fundamental significance.⁶² Although there is no direct evidence, it has always been assumed that Coornhert developed his views before he had come to know Castellion's writings on the matter. Yet there is no certainty about this. As Bruno Becker once put it (and he is quoted with full approval by Coornhert's biographer Bonger): 'Tant qu'il n'est pas prouvé qu'avant 1578 Coornhert ait lu les écrits de Castellion, il nous est impossible d'admettre que les idées de Castellion l'aient influencé.'⁶³

Now, 1578 seems a very late date at which to become aware of a work which had appeared over twenty years earlier and which had acquired such international fame – on a subject, moreover, that was so close to Coornhert's heart. We can also safely assume that, even if he had not seen the text before, he would certainly have acquired the Dutch translation immediately after its publication. That is why we should ask: where (and consequently about when) did the book come off the press? Was it published by 't Zangers in 1580 at the latest, or after that year in Haarlem?

⁶¹ *Von Ketzeren ... (s.l.a.n. [c.1555])*. – VD 16, vol. 4, p. 170, no. C. 2132.

⁶² For Coornhert and the contemporary approach to this question, see G. Güldner, *Das Toleranz-Problem in den Niederlanden im Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck/Hamburg 1968), pp. 71 ff., 99 ff., 159 ff. and *passim*.

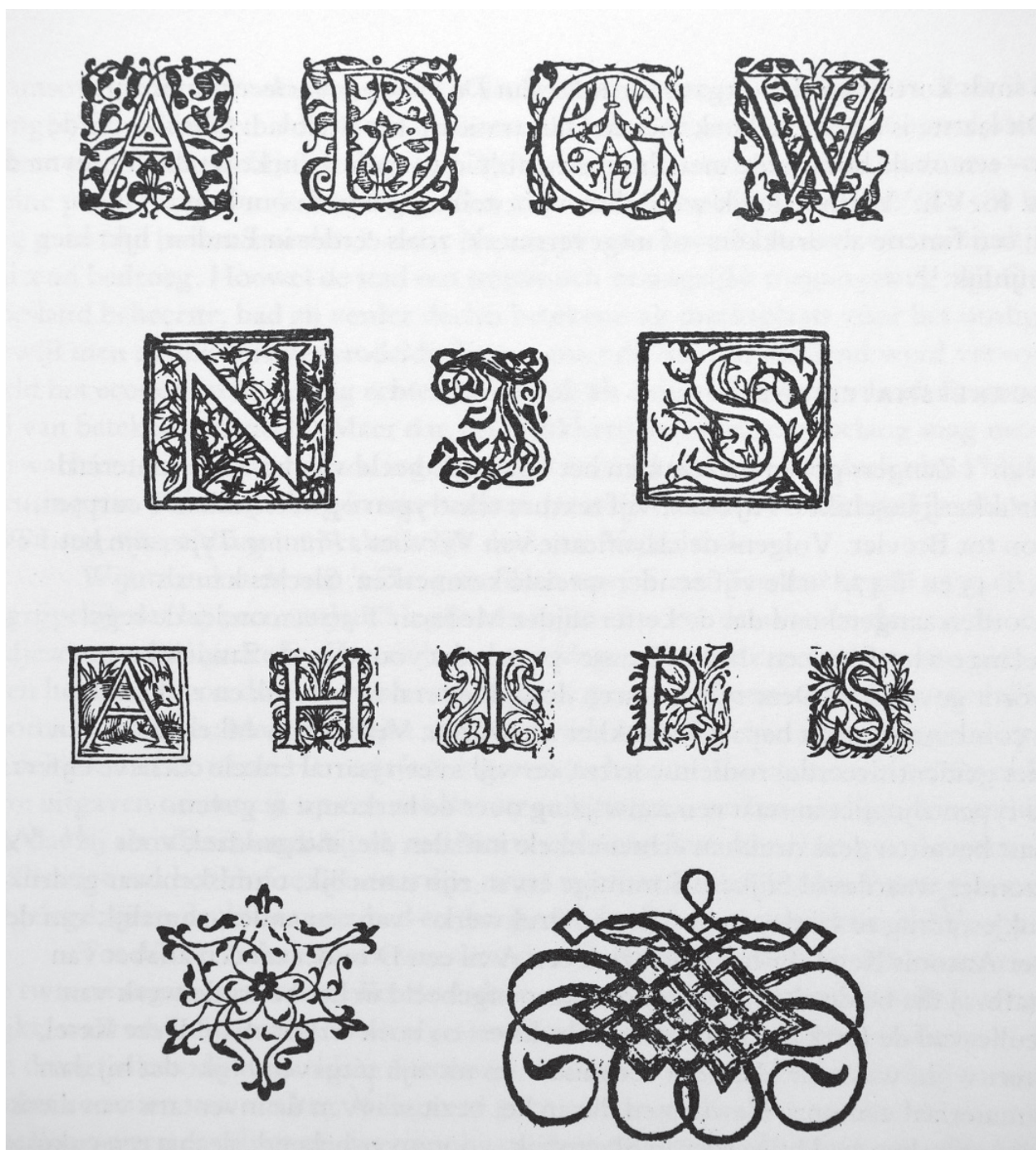
⁶³ B. Becker, 'Sébastien Castellion et Thierry Coornhert', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [= 1968]), pp. 11–25; H. Bonger, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 225–6.

If Ketel was the publisher, we can expect him to have consulted Coornhert, his most important author and patron, as he was preparing the edition. But he does not appear to have done so, since it seems most unlikely that Coornhert would have agreed to a translation of a translation – the anonymous translator says ‘that in this translation I followed the High German copy’ (‘dat ick in dese oversettinge gevolgt hebbe dat Hoochduytsche exempelaer’). This choice thus argues against Ketel as the publisher. Such a translation of an originally Latin work from the German is far more likely to have appeared in the north-eastern Netherlands than in the west. And the external appearance too, with the frame of double lines on the title-page, so characteristic of 't Zangers (illus. 3), points to the press in Steenwijk. An even more important indication is the occurrence of all sorts of eastern (‘Oosterse’) spelling and style taken from Low German, such as, in the title alone, *off*, *olden*, *onsere*, *gants notelick*, and *inholt*. It seems out of the question that such forms could be the work of a translator or a compositor in Haarlem, and we would never encounter them in any of Ketel’s publications.

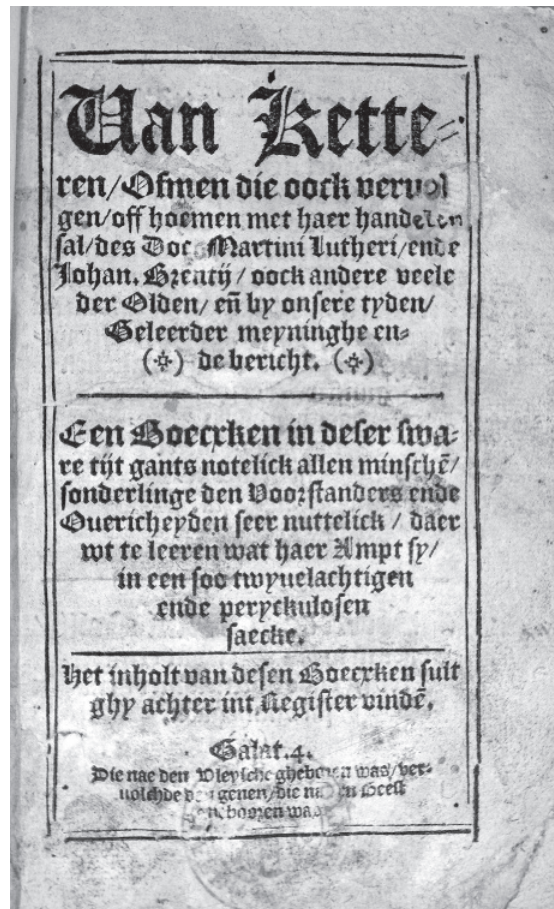
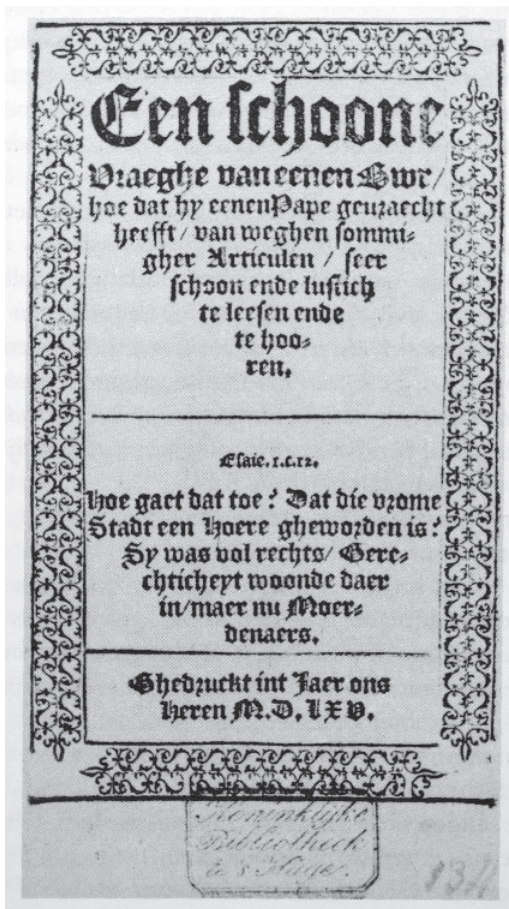
On the basis of these considerations publication by 't Zangers’ press appears to be the most obvious conclusion, probably between 1565 and 1569, when he was engaged in printing prohibited books. A closer dating seems to be impossible. The only external indication consists of a sort of tailpiece made up of two large fleurons placed opposite each other. Together they form an ornament identical to the one we find at the end of Valerius’ booklet. This could suggest publication around 1568/9, towards the end of his clandestine production. But we cannot exclude an earlier date, even if ‘about 1563’ (as Herman de la Fontaine Verwey proposed) is almost certainly too early. As far as we know, the press was not yet in action in that year.⁶⁴

With the help of a bibliographical analysis it has thus proved possible to give a picture of what a subsequently forgotten printer dared to publish at the beginning of the Dutch Revolt – one of the most intriguing periods in the history of the Dutch book. Seldom has the printing and publishing of books been so dangerous and seldom had work to be done so secretly. From now on the name of Herman 't Zangers must be added to the short list of those men who, within the Dutch borders, had the courage to defy the Inquisition. This is a territory by no means unknown to the recipient of this collection [Bob de Graaf. *Eds.*], who, as bibliographer, antiquarian book dealer and publisher (the sequence is arbitrary), has also concentrated so intensively and successfully on the sixteenth century.

⁶⁴ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, ‘Reinier Telle traducteur de Castellion et de Servet’, *Autour de Michel Servet et de Sébastien Castellion. Recueil publié sous la direction de B. Becker* (Haarlem 1953), pp. 142–57 (pp. 148–9). No argument for the dating is given.



I
Initials and ornaments, used by Herman 't Zangers
(Scan from the original publication)



2

Een schoone vraeghe ([Steenwijk, Herman 't Zangers], 1565)
 (Scan from the original publication)

3

Martinus Bellius [S. Castellion], *Van Ketteren* ([Steenwijk, Herman 't Zangers, ca 1565-69])
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 63-839)

THE VAN OLDENBORCH AND VANDEN MERBERGHE
PSEUDONYMS, OR
WHY FRANS FRAET HAD TO DIE



Two shadowy figures from the early years of the history of Protestant printing in the Low Countries have long waited for their true identity to be revealed: Niclaes van Oldenborch and Magnus vanden Merberghe van O(e)sterhout. Despite various attempts to discover their secrets, we are still not really sure that they ever existed, or, if they did not, of who was, or were, hiding behind the masks. What has indeed emerged is that there must be some connection between the names, or at least between some of the publications which appeared under the names. Van Oldenborch is given as a printer or publisher in the imprint of at least twelve books and tracts in Dutch, mainly translations and all expressions of the 'new faith'. The dates run from 1531 to 1538, with a single exception of 1555. The contents show that some have been antedated, but where they came from – Antwerp? – is a problem which has not yet found a satisfactory solution. Mystery of provenance also applies to some ten publications of Magnus vanden Merberghe with which they have various affinities. These appeared between 1555 and 1557 and correspond to the last Van Oldenborch publication, both in appearance and in character. It has so far been assumed that the spectacular name of this printer concealed a typographer from the southern Netherlands who was working in Emden.¹

Originally Niclaes van Oldenborch, too, was sought in that town. In 1873 the church historian J.G. de Hoop Scheffer still accepted Emden as his place of residence. Did not nearly all the Protestant publications of those years come from that centre of 'heretical' book production?² At the time such a view was common-

¹ The following studies on the subject have appeared: M.E. Kronenberg, 'Is Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout een schuilnaam van Niclaes van Oldenborch?', *Het Boek*, 31 (1952-4), pp. 105-12, with 3 plates; additions to this article are contained in *eadem*, 'Meer drukken van Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout (Niclaes van Oldenborch)', *ibid.*, pp. 311-12; H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [= 1968]), pp. 448-78, with 4 plates. I refer to Wijnman's checklist of publications with the imprints of Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe (*ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 476 ff.) with the sigla W 1, W 2 ... etc. As is customary the abbreviation NK refers to W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71).

² J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531* (Amsterdam 1873), in which Niclaes van Oldenborch is mentioned on pp. 118 (n. 1), 360 ff. (n. 3), 403, 410 and 426.

ly shared.³ At the beginning of this century, however, two German scholars, first Conrad Borchling⁴ and then Louis Hahn,⁵ distanced themselves from this opinion. They were followed in Holland by J.W. Pont, also a church historian, who admitted to basing himself on information provided by the Utrecht librarian J.F. van Someren.⁶ The main reason for the scepticism of these scholars was the absence of Nicolaes van Oldenborch in the Emden register of citizens. The same argument was later regarded as decisive by J.M. Reu, who, in his extensive discussion of the matter, referred to information provided by the well-known Emden historian Dr Franz Ritter, who professed not to have encountered the name in any of the municipal records either.⁷ Further research confirmed this absence. In view of the fact that it would have been impossible for a printing-office to function in Emden at the time on the responsibility of a non-resident, this meant the end of the traditional attribution.

In the meantime the question was broached from another angle. De Hoop Scheffer had already referred to 'the small, particularly elegant and easily recognizable Gothic type' used by the printer and had taken the fount as evidence for attributing various other publications to him.⁸ After being put on the track by an experienced bibliographer, T.J.I. Arnold,⁹ the philologist Willem de Vreese went still further.

³ For similar opinions by the antiquarian bookseller Martinus Nijhoff and the Leiden librarian L.D. Petit, see Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 451 f., with supplementary details on the history of the investigation.

⁴ C. Borchling, 'Die niederdeutsche Literatur Ostfrieslands', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, 28 (1902), pp. 1-24 (p. 23).

⁵ L. Hahn, *Die Ausbreitung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache in Ostfriesland* (Leipzig 1912), p. 119, n. 1.

⁶ J.W. Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618* (Haarlem 1911), pp. 264 f.

⁷ J.M. Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600, erster Teil: Quellen zur Geschichte des Katechismus-Unterrichts*, vol. 3: *Ost-, Nord- und Westdeutsche Katechismen*, pt. 1: *Historisch-bibliographische Einleitung* (Gütersloh 1935), pp. 689*, 691* ff.

⁸ De Hoop Scheffer, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 118, n. 1. The author says that requests addressed to the librarians Holtrop and Campbell and the bookseller and bibliographer Frederik Muller produced no results.

⁹ The bibliographer T.J.I. Arnold, assistant librarian in Ghent University Library, was Vander Haeghen's main collaborator, when he compiled his massive Dutch bibliography, the completed part of which has been reprinted with the title *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75); hereafter quoted as BB. In describing *Christelike sermonen* by 'Niclaes Peeters minnebroeder', '1520', Arnold realized that this year could not be correct and that the true date of publication must lie some decades later. He also noted that 'all typefaces and typographical figures' used in the book appear in two books by the Antwerp printer Steven Mierdmans. The author came across the same material in a publication by Mattheus Crom in Antwerp (BB, vol. 4, p. 525, no. O 40): 'Tous les caractères qui s'y rencontrent se retrouvent dans les impressions sorties de l'officine de son con-

On the basis of the typographical material in the books he composed in 1901 a list of publications in which this same combination of typefaces appeared.¹⁰ Drawing mainly on descriptions assembled by Arnold in *Bibliotheca Belgica*, he collected a total of thirteen titles of books which satisfied this criterion. Two of the group (nos. 3 and 4 of his list) have no imprint, one (no. 7) names Niclaes van Oldenborch as the printer, and the rest have the imprint either of the Antwerp publisher Mattheus Crom (no. 8) or of Steven Mierdmans, a colleague who originally worked in that city and later moved to London. The author also recorded two publications by the latter (nos. 18 and 19) which he printed in Emden after fleeing there in 1554. To these he added another sixteen titles of books issued in other types, mostly by Crom or Mierdmans but including one (no. 31) with the Van Oldenborch imprint.

Although it was published in an unusual place and is consequently little known, De Vreese's article is a landmark in the literature on Dutch books in the sixteenth century, owing to the method which he applied. For the first time an attempt was made to reconstruct the production of a printing-office in this period on the basis of typographical characteristics: not with the help of initials or other woodcut ornaments, but by examining the typefaces. With such an approach, derived from the study of incunables, the author inaugurated a new phase of research into the Van Oldenborch question.

Of the group which he assembled a few books state explicitly that they were printed in 1543 by Mierdmans for Crom.¹¹ It would thus appear that a relationship existed between the two men which went further than a possibly chance use of the same types. This fact suggested the following idea to De Vreese: 'Could Mierdmans

frère et partisan de ses idées Étienne Mierdmans.' Before he could complete his investigation into this question, however, the author died; cf. W.L. de Vreese, 'Levensbericht van Theodorus Jacobus Ignatius Arnold', *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor taal- en letterkunde*, 15 (1901), pp. 149-252; see also C.C. de Bruin, 'De Sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', *Kerkhistorische studiën, uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan van het kerkhistorisch gezelschap S.S.S.* (Leiden 1977), pp. 7-49 (pp. 13 f.).

¹⁰ De Vreese, a Professor in Ghent University and later on Director of the Rotterdam Town Library, published his information in a 'Vijfde bijlage' (fifth appendix) to his above-mentioned obituary of Arnold (n. 9), pp. 233-52. He there described a total of 31 publications by the press of Crom and Mierdmans from the years '1536' to 1558. The typefaces which he found in these books are, according to what has now become the standard references in H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter quoted as VPT, the Texturas T 3, T 25 and – to be discussed separately – T 30 and T 35. They correspond to the faces mentioned by De Vreese under 3° (p. 233), 2° (*ibid.*), 4° (pp. 240 f.) and 1° (p. 233) respectively.

¹¹ Three anonymous tracts, nos. 6, 9 and 10 of De Vreese's list: *Der siecken troost*, *Der christen reghel* and *Gheeloove, hope ende liefde*. Each gives Steven Mierdmans as printer in the colophon with the date 1543, while the name 'Matt: Crom' is printed in woodcut on the title-page. Full descriptions of these publications can be found in BB, vol. 5, p. 159 (S 374), vol. 4, p. 881 (R 98) and vol. 3, p. 202 (G 193) respectively.

have made his printing materials over to Matthaeus in the course of 1543? [...]. Perhaps we should imagine a sort of partnership ...'.¹² More important still was what he concluded from a common use of the aforesaid type, a strikingly elegant Textura which is only found in the Netherlands in books giving as the publisher one of the three names mentioned above. Could Niclaes van Oldenborch, the author wondered, perhaps have been a pseudonym with which Mierdmans produced his most daring publications in order to throw his persecutors off the scent?¹³ As we shall see, De Vreese was well on the way to solving the problem with this theory. He made no attempt, however, or possibly never managed, to uncover any further evidence to support his hypothesis, and it was not long before another view prevailed.

At an early stage in her career as a bibliographer a second protagonist in the hunt for Niclaes' identity, Dr M.E. Kronenberg, pointed out the importance of a document in the Antwerp archives which had escaped the attention of her colleagues.¹⁴ It dated from 1570 and our printer was named as being responsible for the publication of 'een boeck geintitulert een medicijne der sielen by claes van oldenborch anno 36 denwelcken claes alhier geexcuteert is' ('a book entitled *Een medicijne der sielen* by Claes van Oldenborch in the year [15]36, which Claes has here been executed'). It was not the title or the imprint of the book which came as a surprise (the existence of this translation of Urbanus Rhegius' *Seelen ärztney* of 1529 was already known), but what the clerk of the Antwerp tribunal had added as further information to the name of the publisher. The relevance of this statement seemed obvious: it proved that Niclaes van Oldenborch had actually existed – nobody goes to the scaffold under a pseudonym.

¹² De Vreese, art. cit. (n. 9), p. 239: 'In welke verhouding stond Mierdmans tot Crom? Zou Mierdmans zijn drukmateriaal in den loop van 1543 aan M. Crom overgedaan hebben? Maar hoe dan te verklaren dat deze ook reeds in 1540 en 1542 drukt met de lettersoorten nr. 2 en 3 [...]? Leende Mierdmans die lettersoorten van M. Crom? Wellicht mag men denken aan een soort van vennootschap ...' (What was Mierdmans' relationship with Crom? Did Mierdmans make over his inventory to M. Crom in the course of 1543? But how are we then to account for the fact that the latter already printed with types nos. 2 and 3 in 1540 and 1542 ...? Did Mierdmans borrow M. Crom's types? Perhaps we should imagine a sort of partnership ...).

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 238, on *Der waerheyt onderwijs ...* (s.l.a.n.; colophon: 'Gheprint by Niclaes van Oldenborch An. 1536'); NK 2193, W. 6: 'Waarschijnlijk is het [...] geantidateerd, en is Niclaes van Oldenborch een pseudoniem van Mierdmans.' (It is probably [...] predated, and Niclaes van Oldenborch is a pseudonym for Mierdmans). *Ibidem*, p. 252: 'Een nauwkeurige vergelijking der drukwerken die op naam van Niclaes van Oldenborch gaan, zou zekerheid geven omtrent het geuite vermoeden, dat deze Van Oldenborch en Mierdmans één en dezelfde persoon zijn.' (A careful comparison of works published under the name of Niclaes van Oldenborch would provide certainty about the hypothesis suggested: that Van Oldenborch and Mierdmans are one and the same person).

¹⁴ M.E. Kronenberg, 'Executie te Antwerpen van Niclaes van Oldenborch, drukker', *Het Boek*, 10 (1921), pp. 71-2.

The document had already been published many years earlier by the Antwerp archivist P. Gérard¹⁵ in a large series of archival material on the disturbances of the period. It had not gone entirely unobserved, for, after G. Sepp had quoted the report in 1889 (but had obviously regarded Niclaes as the translator, not the publisher, of the book),¹⁶ J.W. Pont mentioned it again ten years before Dr Kronenberg.¹⁷ Only through the latter's article, however, did the content become more widely known in bibliographical circles and she was the first person to draw conclusions from it. In *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, begun by Wouter Nijhoff (and Bonaventura Kruitwagen) and continued and edited by Maria Elisabeth Kronenberg, De Vreese's hypothesis is overlooked, but the editions which appeared under the name of Niclaes van Oldenborch are described as the work of a printer who was indeed so called. She also attributed a number of books without an imprint to him. In the printers' register of the third volume of her great work we thus find a list of Niclaes' publications containing no less than 38 titles of books extant, 24 of which are given as certain, and the remainder as probable, attributions.¹⁸

By ascribing such an output to the man, Dr Kronenberg presents him as one of the most important publishers of heterodox literature in 'her' period (a term which she herself liked to use) – a printer who differentiated himself from all his colleagues by publishing exclusively Protestant works. The books which he produced, many of them translations, were either listed in the *Index* of prohibited books drawn up by the professors of Louvain or most certainly would have been had the authorities been able to lay hands on them. It is therefore hardly surprising that Dr Kronenberg should have projected her admiration for the courage and idealism of clandestine printers primarily onto this man; he, more than anyone else, was regarded by her as the prototype, in the world of the book, of the undaunted fighter for spiritual freedom and religious liberty.¹⁹

One can well imagine what a black day it was for her when she was confronted with a report which eliminated the basis of the printer's historicity. The culprit was

¹⁵ *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 12 (1876), p. 452. Also printed in an English translation in Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 453 f.

¹⁶ C. Sepp, *Verboden lectuur. Een drietal Indices librorum prohibitorum toegelicht* (Leiden 1889), p. 85: 'Claes van Oldenborch werd wegens deze overzetting geëxecuteerd' (Claes van Oldenborch was executed because of this translation).

¹⁷ Pont, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 265, n. 1.

¹⁸ NK, op. cit. (n. 1), vol. 3, pt. 3, pp. 201 ff. Attributions of which Dr Kronenberg was not entirely sure are marked in this list with an asterisk.

¹⁹ For her evaluation of Niclaes' activities and publications, thirty years after she had begun to study him, see M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), pp. 123 ff.

the bibliographer and historian Dr H.F. Wijnman, whose article appeared, after some delay, in 1968. In the meantime, as he recalled in a letter to her, he had already 'obtained absolution' for his attack on her idol.²⁰ Some years earlier he had written about Mattheus Crom and his circle and had shown, on the basis of archival documentation, that Crom and Mierdmans were brothers-in-law.²¹ Subsequently, in his valuable study on Mierdmans as the printer of a considerable number of books in English, Colin Clair convincingly proved that Mierdmans had used the printing materials that had formerly been Crom's.²² Both historical and typographical data thus clearly showed that it was not Crom who had taken over Mierdmans' press in 1543, as De Vreese had supposed, but that it was Mierdmans who had carried on his predecessor's business in that year. At this point Wijnman appeared with the important news that Niclaes van Oldenborch, the third member of the trio, had never existed and was no more than a phantom, a 'bibliographical ghost' in the most substantial sense of the term. Together with H.D.L. Vervliet, Wijnman had discovered that 'geexcuted' (executed) was an incorrect reading of a word recorded in the proceedings of the trial as 'geexulert' (emigrated).²³ This difference

²⁰ In a letter dated 7 July 1968 accompanying an offprint of his newly published article 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch' (cf. n. 1). The letter is in Dr Kronenberg's correspondence now in the Royal Library (KB), The Hague, shelf-mark 135 H 43, Wijnman II. I should like to thank Mr Gerard van Thienen (KB, The Hague) for providing a photocopy of this letter. In her reply of 9 July (Amsterdam, UL, MS XXV D 1, k 76) she said that she was 'geenszins overtuigd' (by no means convinced) by Wijnman's arguments. She stuck to the reading 'geexcuted' and demanded 'een aannemelijke verklaring [...] van het feit dat (Crom-) Mierdmans niet onder zijn eigen naam wordt geëxecuteerd (of geëxculeerd!) maar onder een pseudoniem' (an acceptable explanation of the fact that (Crom-) Mierdmans was not executed (or 'geëxculeerd!') under his own name but under a pseudonym). She ended her letter, written a few days before her eighty-seventh birthday, with the perfectly justifiable comment: 'En dan ontbreekt nog altijd aan Uw conclusies de basis van een nauwkeurig typenonderzoek [...]'. Was ik 20 jaar jonger, ik ondernam die taak ...' (Your conclusions also lack the basis of a close typographical investigation [...]. Were I twenty years younger I would undertake it myself ...).

²¹ H.F. Wijnman, 'De Antwerpse hervormings-gezinde drukker Mattheus Crom en zijn naaste omgeving', *De Gulden Passer*, 40 (1962), pp. 105-24; pp. 113 ff. contain a survey of the studies of De Vreese and Dr Kronenberg. For biographical and bibliographical information, see also A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 50 f. (Crom), 149 f. (Mierdmans).

²² C. Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books', *The Library*, 5th S., 18 (1963), pp. 275-87. The author encountered all sorts of initials belonging to Crom in books issued by various English publishers after 1546 and used them to prove that Mierdmans printed the works. See also *idem*, 'A misdated Testament printed by Crom', *ibid.*, 5th S., 17 (1962), pp. 155-6. For a survey of Mierdmans' activities in the various towns in which he lived, see also Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 463 ff.

²³ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 455 f. The article contains two reproductions of the passage concerned in the register of the Antwerp tribunal. One of them is a real-size reproduction, while the

of a single letter gives the passage an entirely different meaning: there is now no question of a printer who met his death on the scaffold but of one who had just managed to escape from the Netherlands in time.

This revised reading made it necessary to reconsider the matter and Wijnman realized that the report of the emigration of the man in question could perfectly well refer to the flight of Mierdmans. After an edict of Charles v had been issued in 1544, forbidding, among other things, printing in English in the Netherlands,²⁴ Mierdmans had taken his entire printing-office to London in the course of 1546, or the next year, in order to continue his career beyond reach of the Inquisition. Wijnman could also refer to a document in the so-called 'Louvain heresy trial' in which one of the accused admitted that he had bought two prohibited books from Mattheus Crom in the summer of 1542. Judging from the highly summary descriptions of the titles in the document, these were a publication by Crom himself and a book which had appeared with the imprint of Niclaes van Oldenborch.²⁵ This fact, together with the use of similar typefaces which had already been pointed out by his predecessors, led Wijnman to write as follows: 'These two pieces of evidence and the silence of the archives at Antwerp about Van Oldenborch at the material time are enough to convince us that the books giving his name as printer [...] came from the press of Mattheus Crom at Antwerp in the years 1539 to 1543 [...]. It is very likely [...] that Crom's partner, brother-in-law, and successor, Steven Mierdmans, made use of the pseudonym Niclaes van Oldenborch in the period 1543-6.'²⁶ For a part of the production this conclusion is undoubtedly correct, although later reactions show that the au-

other (Plate 1b) gives an enlargement of part of the text. Surprisingly enough it is not the word 'geexculert' which occupies a central position in this latter plate, but another one, 'geintitulert' (entitled) which looks very like it but plays no part in the matter. The first three letters of 'geexculert' have been cut off in the enlargement, although that does not prevent us from establishing that Wijnman's reading (l and not t) seems correct.

²⁴ An edict dated 17 December 1544 and issued by Charles V in Brussels made the publication of books in Spanish, English and Italian a punishable offence. This prohibition was confirmed in the ominous edict of 30 June 1546 in which all printing activity was effectively gagged and the death penalty was instituted for any infringement of the laws, including the publication of books without previous visitation and approval. From then on the risks of the book trade were greater than ever; see J.F. Bodel Nyenhuis, *De wetgeving op drukpers en boekhandel in de Nederlanden, tot in het begin der XIXe eeuw* (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel, 4; Amsterdam 1892), pp. 78 ff.

²⁵ C.-A. Campan, *Mémoires de Francesco d'Enzinas [...]* (1543-1545), 3 parts in 2 vols. (Bruxelles/La Haye 1862/3), vol. 1, pp. 362 ff. and vol. 2, p. 594. Cf. Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 456 f.; De Bruin, art. cit. (n. 9), pp. 27 f.

²⁶ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 458.

thor's still somewhat meagre argumentation could not convince all his readers.²⁷

THE VAN OLDENBORCH-VANDEN MERBERGHE LINK

Besides his research on Van Oldenborch, Wijnman also tackled a kindred problem: who was concealed behind the imprint Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout (illus. 1) with which, it was then thought, ten editions of Protestant works appeared between 1555 and 1557? Shortly before, in an investigation in which she ventured outside her particular period, Dr Kronenberg had indicated Nicolaes van Oldenborch as the printer of these books on the basis of the types and initials used.²⁸ As a result of Wijnman's discovery this attribution had to be dismissed and he was thus confronted with the question of which real printer should take the place of the fictitious colleague. Because of the identification of the typographical material, the solution seemed obvious: Crom's press had gone over to Mierdmans and, Wijnman thought, if types and initials used in the Oldenborch editions (ascribable to Crom and Mierdmans) could be found in the Merberghe publications, this could only mean, in view of the date of issue, that the younger of the two men had produced them. When Mierdmans, a fugitive for the second time, started again to print books in Dutch in Emden, he obviously felt it necessary to adopt an alias. In 1555 he first chose the pseudonym of Oldenborch which had already done him good service in Antwerp, but then went over to 'a more high-sounding name' which, we can add to Wijnman's qualification, also had the advantage of not being tainted by previous use. Under this disguise there appeared the aforesaid publications of the years 1555-7; thereafter, until his death in January 1559, Mierdmans only printed two Bibles with the businessman Johan Gailliart as fellow-publisher.

²⁷ On the whole further investigation was considered necessary. The first scholar to express this view was Vervliet, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 149. In his *art. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 15 ff., De Bruin left the historicity of Nicolaes van Oldenborch open and did not express himself on whether or not the reading 'geexculert' was right. Equally cautious is the judgment of C.C.G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen 1969; thesis Amsterdam), pp. 144 f. Other scholars who tackled the matter less explicitly also refrained from taking a clear stand: cf. the account of his life in Rouzet, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 163 f. See also, most recently, A.C. Johnston & J.-F. Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-1570)*, éd. J.-F. Gilmont (Paris 1990), pp. 191-216; p. 206: 'Aucun imprimeur de la période des post-incunables ne cause plus de perplexité que ce mystérieux Nicolas van Oldenborch. Il incarne l'habileté de tous ses confrères évangéliques; après des siècles, les historiens n'ont pas encore déjoué tous ses subterfuges ...'. In his thesis (University of Southampton 1986), A.C. Johnston suggested the possibility that a printer who truly had such a name was active in the 1520s and 1530s and that Crom and Mierdmans subsequently used his name as a disguise under which to issue their forbidden publications.

²⁸ For a description of the types and initials in the Vanden Merberghe production and the conclusions she drew from them, see Kronenberg, *art. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 109 f., 312.

This all forms a chronologically consecutive production and the attribution, as the author noted with satisfaction, provides a logical explanation of the difference between the many publications which Mierdmans printed in England and the small number which he was known to have produced in Emden.²⁹

Wijnman did not actually have any further arguments for his attribution. 'It is true that we find initial letters and ornaments that belonged to Crom and Mierdmans in a number of books printed by Cawood and Jugge after 1553 [...]. On the other hand, [Mierdmans] must have brought some of his typographical material to Emden; for that reason Miss Kronenberg has been able to recognize the type of the books professedly printed by Magnus vanden Merberghe in [...] three books in all probability printed by Mattheus Crom or Steven Mierdmans at Antwerp in 1539-46.'³⁰ Wijnman obviously did not notice that the circular form of reasoning he had employed robbed his argument of all demonstrative force.

A similar objection can also be applied to the importance he seemed to attribute to the circumstance that the 1555 edition of *Der waerheyt onderwijs*, with the imprint of Nicolaes van Oldenborch, is decorated with a woodcut strip copied from a woodblock used by Crom and Mierdmans in Antwerp and later in London (illus. 2).³¹ This use actually provides no evidence of Mierdmans' involvement, since anybody can have a book ornament copied. Nor is it correct to see, as Wijnman did, a proof of Mierdmans' participation in the publication of the book in question in the fact that his successor in Emden, Willem Gailliart, produced a reprint of it in 1556.³² If the publication rights, belonging to the firm, had already been transferred in that year, this might have been an argument, but the Gailliarts only obtained these when they took over the press after the owner's death in 1559.³³

²⁹ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 469. For Mierdmans' London activities, see Clair, art. cit. (n. 22), *passim*. The number of books there ascribed to the printer could be considerably extended in the new STC.

³⁰ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 470. In actual fact nothing is to be found in Emden of the material which Mierdmans used in London and which largely originated from his Antwerp period. As from 1553, the year of his departure from England, we find it all in the publications of John Cawood and Richard Jugge, who had obviously taken over the entire business. See also n. 34.

³¹ Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 458 f. and reproductions of 2 a-c (original) and 2 d (copy).

³² 'That is clearly a sound reason for assigning to Mierdmans the edition of 1555 with the name of Van Oldenborch in it' (*ibid.*, p. 459).

³³ For information about the Emden businessman and publisher Jan Gailliart from Bruges and his son Willem, printer-publisher probably first in Buderich near Wesel and then in Emden, see M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emder Buchdrucks, 1554-1602. Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), pp. 10 ff. and pp. [45]-120: 'Verzeichnis der Emder Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602' (quoted as Tielke). Certain rectifications and additions are contained in P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127, and *idem*,

I have thought it necessary to treat Wijnman's arguments in a little more depth, since his is the most recent, and in some respects the most valuable, contribution on the subject. Despite many merits, however, his article also shows how one can follow a false scent by approaching an essentially bibliographical problem from a purely historical angle. The author thus proves to be a representative of a line of research whose one-sidedness is responsible for many current, but dubious or incorrect, attributions to printers and places of publication. For far too long scholars have been making use of all sorts of subsidiary data, sometimes justified by highly ingenious arguments, but have overlooked the most significant and direct evidence: the typographical elements in the books examined. Without the help of these external features, a mirror, as it were, of the material at the printer's disposal, ascriptions can only be correct fortuitously. This is the case here too: when identifying Vanden Merberghe with Mierdmans Wijnman failed to compare the typefaces and ornaments in the books which he attributed to the printer with what we know to have been his material. Had he done so, he would have noticed that his choice could not be right, for on no essential point is there any resemblance between the typographical features of what Mierdmans published in Emden under his own name and what he is supposed to have printed there under the pseudonym Vanden Merberghe. The initials and most of the faces are so different that the two groups cannot have been produced by the same press.³⁴

Not only does this knowledge oblige us to search again for the Merberghe printer, but the elimination of Mierdmans also has another consequence. Now that we have established that he was not the man behind the pseudonym, his involvement

'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 1558-83', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31, *passim*.

³⁴ For the material which Mierdmans used in London see *English and Scottish Printing Types, 1535-58, 1552-58*, collected and annotated by Frank Isaac (Oxford 1932), figs. 133-6. As far as I can see all the printer's typefaces are described including those he already owned in Antwerp. The 116, 90 and 61 Texturas in Thucydides' *Hystory* do not, however, belong in the list: the book is now attributed to William Tylle; cf. *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926; 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London 1986-91), hereafter quoted as STC, no. 24056. Compared with this his collection of types in Emden was restricted. He worked there with two rare faces. One was Bergaigne's Pica Textura (VPT T 33), named by Vervliet after the printer-publisher of the so-called 'Louvain Bible' of 1553 (a reprint of the 1548 edition which will be discussed hereafter), in a part of which the type has been used. The presence of the face in works other than this Bible has so far been overlooked. A second unusual type which Mierdmans used is an M 35/62 Rotunda of unknown provenance (not in VPT). Besides the very common 'Moyen Canon Flamand' (T 3), he also had Lettersnijder's English Textura (T 20) and, for marginalia, Tavernier's Long Primer Roman (R 32). In 1556 certain types were added for the quarto Bible (Tielke 60) which he published in that year together with Jan Gailliart.

with the Oldenborch production also becomes open to doubt. Dr Kronenberg reached the conclusion that Vanden Merberghe was actually Van Oldenborch because of the typographical similarities she found in some of their books. On the basis of this analysis, which is correct in itself, Wijnman's exposure of Niclaes and his indication of the Crom-Mierdmans press as the origin of that production means that the subsequent Merberghe publications must also be ascribed to the firm, this time during its later activity in Emden. Now that we see that the attribution to Mierdmans is incorrect, however, his (and Crom's) involvement in the Oldenborch editions is also implicitly excluded. When we accept the identification of Merberghe with Oldenborch, the ascertainment that Mierdmans was not Vanden Merberghe implies as a matter of course that neither he nor his predecessor Crom could have been Van Oldenborch. And this entirely contradicts De Vreese's conclusions discussed above.

We are now faced with the question of which of the two antagonists in the Oldenborch problem was right. The answer is as surprising as it is simple: they both were – partly. De Vreese's ascriptions to the Crom-Mierdmans press are correct, but he did not include anything like all the Oldenborch books in his investigation. Dr Kronenberg used for her bibliographical analysis different publications which had appeared under the pseudonym and thus came to a different conclusion. She based her study primarily on two editions signed 'Ghedruct by my (resp. 'by mi') Niclaes van Oldenborch': *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken ...* (1531), NK 1010, no. 1 in Wijnman's list, an anonymously published tract by Willem Gnapheus (de Volder – I shall be returning to this work),³⁵ and the book mentioned in the Antwerp document: a translation of Urbanus Regius, *De medicijne der sielen* (1536), NK 1790, W 4, published under the initials D.V.R. She also found the same material in a book (NK 4239) with the imprint 'Marburch bi my Cornelius Nyenhuys',³⁶ from which she concluded that it must have been a spurious imprint of Niclaes van Oldenborch. Neither the woodcut initials nor the type in which the text of these publications is set appear in works by Crom or Mierdmans. We now know that

³⁵ [Wilhelmus Gnapheus (de Volder)], *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken ende der ghenen die in lyden zijn ...* (s.l.e.n. 1531; colophon: 'Ghedruct by my Niclaes van Oldenborch, intjaer als men schreef M.XXXI [sic]'); NK 1010, W 1. The book was prohibited by the Leuven professors in 1546, see J.M. de Bujanda, *Index de l'université de Louvain 1546, 1550, 1558* (Index des livres interdits, 2; Sherbrooke/Genève 1986), pp. 204 f., no. 158. The text is reprinted in *Polemische geschriften der hervormingsgezinden*, ed. F. Pijper (Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica. Geschriften uit den tijd der Hervorming in de Nederlanden, vol. 1: (s-Gravenhage 1903), quoted as BRN I, pp. 137–249.

³⁶ [Patrick Hamilton], *Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts ...* (s.l.a.n.; colophon: 'Ghedruct tot Marburch bi my Cornelius Nyenhuys'); NK 4239, a translation of the author's *Loci communes*, in English: *Dyvers fruitful gatheryngs of Scripture* ('Patrick's Places', 1527). Concerning him, see J.E. McGoldrick, 'Patrick Hamilton, Luther's Scottish Disciple', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 18 (1987), pp. 81–8. – For further titles of NK numbers see Appendix II.

the face (VPT T 32) did not even exist in their Antwerp period, but was first used in the so-called 'Louvain Bible' of 1548.³⁷ The publisher of that new translation of the Vulgate, Bartholomeus Gravius, was designated by Vervliet as godfather of this imitation of Lettersnijder's classic Pica Textura.³⁸ When the type came onto the market Mierdmans and his entire business had left the Low Countries and had been working for over a year in the English capital. The new face never appears in any of the many works he printed there.³⁹

The late date for T 32 means that we are here dealing with antedated works and that the three aforesaid publications cannot be attributed to Crom or Mierdmans. This conflicts with the established fact that De Vreese found, particularly in the work of these two printers, a typeface used in other books of the Oldenborch group. Vervliet describes this characteristic Textura, which, as we have seen, had already struck De Hoop Scheffer, in two variant forms: Oldenborch's Pica Textura (T 35), used by Crom and Mierdmans in or shortly after 1543, and Mierdmans' Pica Textura (T 36).⁴⁰ The two types have the same lower case and only differ in their capitals, so that T 35 can be regarded as a transition to T 36.⁴¹ That the first

³⁷ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 144. The origin of the type is unknown. Apart from the work of Gravius and the Van Oldenborch group the author, referring to Isaac, op. cit. (n. 34), figs. 110b en 159, only came across the face in books of two English publishers. In the case of one of them, John Marche in London, this only applies to a single publication (STC 16265) which he probably did not print himself. It may have come from Antwerp.

³⁸ L. van Buyten, 'Het kontrakt van Bartholomeus Gravius, Anthonio-Maria Bergaigne en Jan Waen voor het drukken van "Leuvense Bijbels" (1547)', *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en oudheidkundige kring van Leuven en omgeving*, 5 (1965), pp. 83-95. For the production of this expensive publication an agreement was drawn up in which all the details concerning the printing process and the financial side of the enterprise were settled. Unfortunately the document gives no information about the purchase of the types used.

³⁹ Steven Mierdmans emigrated to England in the course of 1546 or the following year. The time cannot be determined with any greater precision. Clair, art. cit. (n. 22), p. 276, assumed it was 1547 because the printer then ceased using spurious imprints – a measure understandable in Antwerp but unnecessary in London. Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 465, dated the departure earlier since Geertruyd Crom, a sister of Mattheus, was admitted as a bookseller in Antwerp on 24 September 1546 and from then on apparently continued the firm's book dealing activities. The assumption of both authors that Mierdmans was fleeing from judicial prosecution finds no documented confirmation and is hardly necessary to explain his emigration. As we see from his later production he was in a position to take all his material with him, types as well as ornaments and other woodcuts. It thus seems more likely that he perceived the consequences of the new legislation (see n. 24) and wished to secure his increasing deliveries to English publishers. He had for some time been successfully exploiting this market and, in view of the circumstances, he could rightly expect a safer future as a printer in England than in his own country.

⁴⁰ Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 148 f. and figs. 98-101.

⁴¹ Because of the lack of further chronological indications it is impossible to establish whether

face should be named after Van Oldenborch shows how tenaciously Dr Kronenberg's statement about his historicity survives. It is used in NK 1431, NK 1434 and NK 2193, respectively nos. 3, 5 and 6 of Wijnman's list. The typeface T 36 does not appear in Oldenborch publications, and with the exception of Mierdmans' production from 1543 on, is not found in the Netherlands but exclusively in the books of two or three of his English colleagues.⁴²

Not even Wouter Nijhoff, a great expert on the Dutch book, doubted Niclaes' existence. In one of the monuments of his bibliographical scholarship, the typographical atlas of post-incunables in the Low Countries, he gives a survey of the material used in his books.⁴³ 'Niclaes van Oldenborch', plate I, gives facsimiles of the Textura founts. Of these we have already encountered two: Oldenborch's Pica Textura (VPT T 35, reproduced from NK 1431; figs. 1 and 3) which I have just discussed, and Gravius' Pica Textura (T 32, in NK 1790; fig. 4) mentioned earlier. But Nijhoff also reproduces a third type for Niclaes: the Pica Textura of Henrick Lettersnijder (T 30, in NK 1789; figs. 2, 5 and 6). This is a slightly narrower, probably southern-Netherlandish, variant of the old typeface still in general use; the fount retains the f and long s which stand on the line, but it has also a 'French' curved y as well as the unusual combination of the w which normally belongs to the face

the new T 35/36 had already been ordered by Crom or whether it was purchased by Mierdmans after he had taken over the management of the press. *Der Christen reghel* (De Vreese, art. cit. (n. 10), no. 9) marks a phase of transition. The book, printed by Mierdmans for Crom in 1543, contains as (secondary) typeface Crom's Lettersnijder Pica T 30, but on the title-page we find, on the same body, five lines in Oldenborch's Textura (T 35). Another book which Mierdmans printed for his brother-in-law in the same year, *Der siecken troost* (De Vreese, no. 6), is set in Mierdmans' Pica Textura (T 36), but contains a few T 35 capitals (VPT fig. 99, letters D, Hⁱ, R and W). The new proprietor of the firm was presumably dissatisfied with the T 36 capitals delivered with the lower case and replaced them one by one by others which were more to his satisfaction. For this purpose he seems to have made a selection from the matrices of two already existing typefaces (or had them copied?): the Small Pica Textura T 41 with its 'French' capitals and the Pica Bastarda B 4; for these types see VPT pp. 158 f. and figs. 109-10, resp. pp. 184 f. and figs. 134-5. — The most likely candidate as the hitherto unknown designer of T 36 is Joos Lambrechts. Although it is not identical to the Pica Textura (not in VPT) which this punchcutter and printer was to use in his later period in Wesel (1553 to c.1556), the two faces have such striking similarities that an attribution to him seems justifiable.

⁴² This had already been observed by Vervliet, see VPT p. 149. For use of the typeface in England by printers other than Mierdmans, cf. Isaac, op. cit. (n. 34), figs. 46a (Richard Jugge), 47b (John Day), 100a (John Cawood), 116-17 (Hugh Singleton) and 126, 128a (Robert Crowley). These probably include one or more works printed by Mierdmans himself, however.

⁴³ W. Nijhoff, *L' Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d' imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. & supplement (La Haye 1926-35), cited as NAT.

with a Bastarda v with an upward extension.⁴⁴ The fount, which is easily recognizable because of this particularity, is also reproduced in Nijhoff's work under Mattheus Crom – where a T deviating somewhat from the normal form shows that the type was cast from the same set of matrices.⁴⁵ This Pica recurs in three of the Oldenborch books described (NK 529 = W 7, NK 915 = W 9 and NK 1789 = W 8), which Crom must thus have printed between 1539 and 1543 when, as his signed work shows, he used the face in this composition.

The fount is also employed in a publication with the 'Oldenborch' imprint which has so far escaped the attention of bibliographers. This is again an edition of Gnapheus' *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken* (1531) – with M.XXXI [*sic*] as date in the colophon.⁴⁶ The book, which preceded the above-mentioned NK 1010 (W 1) in Gravius' Pica Textura displaying the same (deliberate?) misprint, would therefore appear to have been produced by Crom's press (illus. 3). This, in its turn, is a reprint of yet another undescribed edition of the work with the 'Niclaes van Oldenborch' imprint, now with the correct date M.D.XXXI at the end. Dr Kronenberg, who only knew the unique copy from a description in a catalogue, identified the book with NK 1010 and reported it as such. Here, however, we are dealing with another edition of the tract, the earliest surviving one (illus. 4). This is presumably the second impression, which appears to have come from the press of Adriaen van Berghen, an Antwerp printer whom we shall be meeting again.⁴⁷

So seven of the thirteen publications with the Oldenborch imprint came from the Crom-Mierdmans press, while we just established that three others were printed elsewhere. We are left with nos. 2, 10 and 11 of Wijnman's list. Of these, W 2 is again an edition of Gnapheus' tract, this time with 1532 as the date on the title-page (NK 3108). But even this book, identical with Van Berghen's except

⁴⁴ For a survey of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura in the sixteenth century, its development and the variant letter forms which this involved, see VPT pp. 140 ff.

⁴⁵ NAT (n. 43) Mattheus Crom, Planche III, figs. 18-20

⁴⁶ [Wilhelmus Gnapheus (de Volder)], *Een troost ende / Spiegel der siec / ken ende der ghenen die in lijden sijn, wt / die Heylighe scrift by een ghe- / uoecht, ende naerstelick / gecorrigeert / M.D.XXXJ. 2. Timothei 3 / [5 lines] / Een is van noode. / spreek die Heere selue. etc. / [8 lines].* (*s.l.a.n.*; colophon on K8r: 'Ghedruct bi mi Niclaes van Oldenborch, / Int Jaer als men schreef. M.XXXJ [*sic*].' [= Antwerpen, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]). 8vo, 80 leaves, collation A-K⁸. Copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

⁴⁷ [Wilhelmus Gnapheus (de Volder)], *Een troost ende / Spiegel der siec- / ken ende der ghenen die in lijden zijn, wt / die Heylighe scrift by een ghe- / uoecht, ende neerstelick ge- / corrigeert. M.D.Xxxj. / 2 Timothei. 3 / [5 lines] / Een is van noode / spreek die Heere selue etc. / [8 lines].* (*s.l.a.n.*; colophon on K8r: 'Ghedruct by mi Nicolaes Oldenborch, / Int iaer als men screef. M.D.X-XXJ.' [= Antwerpen, Adriaen van Berghen], 1531). 8vo, 80 ff., collation: A-K⁸. Copy: private collection.

for a few differences in spelling, is antedated. It is set in an earlier version of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura, with a normal v and an unusually slender y. The typeface differs in various respects from a fount, also with a normal v, which Crom used in his early years (1537-9).⁴⁸ He cannot therefore have been the printer, as we also see from another typeface in the book, Lettersnijder's English Textura (VPT T 20),⁴⁹ which is nowhere to be found in Crom's work. That type here has an I with three thorns instead of the usual two⁵⁰ – an earlier form which only appears at about this time in the work of printers in Kampen and a single former colleague of theirs who had obviously settled elsewhere in the region. I have not managed to find the two Gothic initials which ornament the book in any other typographical product, but, judging from the typefaces in the book, it could be the work of a printer who published Cornelis Cooltuyn's *Dat Evangeli der armen* in 1559, presumably in Kampen.⁵¹ Wherever it came from, we can exclude Antwerp or Emden.

Here, too, the date of publication is thus far later than has hitherto been supposed. The line can probably be drawn in 1557, the year in which the author published a new version of his text in Emden.⁵² Unfortunately the only known copy of

⁴⁸ Crom's first Pica typeface is reproduced in NAT (n. 43) Mattheus Crom III 15.

⁴⁹ VPT pp. 120 f. and figs. 68-70.

⁵⁰ This detail, so important for various attributions, was already pointed out by Dr Kronenberg in NK 3093 n., and was also mentioned by her in 'Fragmenten van onbekende Nederlandse postincunabelen', *Het Boek*, 29 (1948), pp. 141-8 (p. 146). – At an early stage Henrick Lettersnijder reduced the number of thorns of the capital I of his English Textura from three to two. Besides possible considerations of an aesthetic order there was certainly a practical reason: if the type was inked at all carelessly the tiny spaces between the three thorns easily got filled and resulted in a murky impression of the letter. After the first decades of the century most printers worked with the new two-thorned I; after 1550 it was only in the eastern areas of the northern Netherlands that (one or more) old matrices were still in use.

⁵¹ For Cooltuyn's *Dat Evangeli der armen*, see BRN I, op. cit. (n. 35), vol. 9 ('s-Gravenhage 1912), pp. 189-480. Attributions to an Emden printer are incorrect. The book probably appeared in Kampen or another town in the north-eastern Netherlands. We shall further encounter this unidentified press as the printer of *Van den olden ende nieuwen Godt, gelove ende leere* (NK 1014; with a later ascription to Nicolaes van Oldenborch in vol. 3, pt. 3, p. xiv). For the typeface used see the reproduction in NAT (n. 43), *Supplément: Inconnus* III 7.

⁵² [Wilhelmus Gnapheus (de Volder)], *Tobias ende Lazarus ...* (Emden, Gellius Ctematius (Gillis van der Erven), 1557); Tielke 70. The book contains a foreword dated Emden, 20 September 1557, from which Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 460 f., quotes a passage of interest for the history of its publication. The author of the work states in it that he wrote the tract in its original form (*Een troost ende spiegel der siecken*, cf. n. 35) at the time of the Peasants' War in Germany and that it appeared in print, without his knowledge or collaboration, 'daerna terstondt' (immediately thereafter), in other words in about 1526. He added that it 'menichmael is verdruckt gheweest, ende een van de boeck druckers daerom onthoofdt is' – had been printed many times (and not, as Wijnman translated it 'has been the subject of many persecutions') and one of the printers had been

another booklet belonging to our group, *Een seer schoon Dialogus vander waerheyt* (NK 2778, W 10), which was formerly in Lübeck, has been lost. The colophon 'Ghedruct by my Niclacs [*sic*] van Oldenborg' deviates in the spelling of the name so considerably from the other imprints that it was probably produced by yet another printer. A last book with Van Oldenborch's imprint (W 11), dated far later, in 1555, will be discussed below.

The present position of research now provides the following picture. The first man to use the pseudonym in one of his books, in 1531, was Adriaen van Berghen. After that Crom and Mierdmans were responsible for a part of the Oldenborch production: they published seven of the thirteen known books with that imprint. Four of these (NK 529, NK 915, NK 1789 and not catalogued), despite the dates 1531 and 1538 in two of them, probably appeared between 1539 and 1543, when the press still belonged to Crom. For the other three (NK 1431, NK 1434 and NK 2193), which are also antedated, a typeface was used with which the press had not worked before 1543: they were thus almost certainly produced by Crom's successor, Steven Mierdmans. A still later date must be given to two publications (NK 1010 and NK 1790) set in a typeface which, as far as we know, was first available in 1548 and does not appear in the work of any of the printers here mentioned. For one of the further editions (NK 3108) the pseudonym had obviously been adopted by a printer in Kampen, or one who originated from that town, and whose identity is still unknown. The book dated '1532' will thus have been printed after 1550 and falls outside the chronological limits set by Nijhoff-Kronenberg. Finally, we can assume that NK 2778, which was lost in the Second World War, also appeared after 1540 but was not published by Crom or Mierdmans.

WHO WAS MAGNUS VANDEN MERBERGHE VAN OESTERHOUT?

We can see from what has been said so far that the books with the imprint Niclaes van Oldenborch form a conglomerate of work by various printers. One may well wonder whether this also applies to the output of Vanden Merberghe, which it resembles in a number of respects. The fact that, as we have seen, this puzzling production cannot be attributed to Mierdmans, could even admit the possibility of the name not being a pseudonym at all but a publisher who really existed – although he never gives his place of residence and no document can prove his historicity. For the solution of this riddle we must again endeavour to derive indications from the

beheaded for it. As De Hoop Scheffer, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 421, had already supposed, this probably refers to Adriaen van Berghen, who was executed in The Hague in 1542, after he had had to leave his town of residence, Antwerp, six years earlier for printing forbidden books. Of the surviving editions there is indeed one which came from his press (see n. 47), but the acts of his trial do not give any of the titles of the books on account of which he was condemned.

external appearance of the publications of this group, in other words from their features as a typographical product.

For this purpose we must acquire as complete a picture as possible of the material which the press had at its disposal, in the hope of finding parts of it in other, signed typographical work. Above all, woodcut initials can be helpful, also because their repeated use allows us to assemble a group of publications by the same press which may contain further significant elements. The more material we have for comparison, the greater the chance of identifying the anonymous firm. This also applies to presses which took the precaution of using ornaments in their clandestine publications different from the ones in their regular production. With a little good luck these woodcuts, in combination with the founts used, can betray their owners, even if a press exclusively published books without any imprint.⁵³

In tracing the identity of such an underground printer, a colleague who, earlier or later, owned the same material, can prove to be a vital connecting link. Practice has shown that the inventory of types and ornaments of a press in the various phases of its activity frequently displays a certain continuity where its components are concerned. Despite the mutations which usually occur in the composition of the material, certain characteristic pieces can sometimes be seen to have been in use over a long period of time. The succession of proprietors which can be deduced from those recognizable elements is often of more value for the attribution of typographical work than what emerges from genealogical information. Such an analysis can enable us to establish both the predecessor and the successor of the printer we are seeking. This naturally provides the most favourable starting point for an investigation: the anonymous production is then demarcated chronologically on two sides by the work of typographers whose identity in many cases should be known. This information may serve as a basis for finding the man who ran the firm in the intervening years.

By following particular typographical elements over the years, we thus find out about changes and transfers of property which are appropriate to indicate the origin of a book or of entire groups of publications that appeared without an imprint or with a fictitious one.⁵⁴ Occasionally, as we shall see, an anonymous printer of such a clandestine output can be discovered with the help of no more than a single initial. Typefaces can also play a key role, but we must keep in mind the reserva-

⁵³ For the reconstruction of the stock of a printer who never appears to have signed a single work, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90, and *idem*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

⁵⁴ The remarkable case of the material of a single press being used in three different countries within a period of a few years is described in P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden (1561-9)', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50, 253-98.

tion that in the course of the sixteenth century, and certainly after 1550, they were usually being employed by too many printers for them to serve as an effective indication. As a rule they can only point to the work of a particular printer when combined with other types, and even then the information can be inadequate.⁵⁵ Caution is still advisable for, so long as no general inventory provides a picture of the typographical material of all the printers who can be taken into consideration, the evidence that typefaces can give remains limited. An exception to this rule is formed by the founts, even of commonly used types, which contain variant letter forms. Owing to their specific deviations from the normal composition they usually point straight to the only press which used the type in that particular form.⁵⁶

The number of publications with the imprint Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oosterhout amounts, as far as we know at present, to ten – one of which is presumably a bibliographical ghost.⁵⁷ Most titles have been assembled by Dr Kronenberg,

⁵⁵ The minimum number of typefaces necessary for the identification of the work of a particular press on typographical grounds can vary greatly and depends above all on the appearance of similar combinations elsewhere. Many printers had, for example, all sorts of types by Guyot or Van den Keere in their shops, so that these are only of limited value for attributions. In his first years Plantin used almost exclusively type cast by Tavernier, another of whose clients was Hans de Laet. When the punchcutter started his own printing-office shortly afterwards, all three men were working in 1557 with almost identical material – a situation to which Plantin soon put an end by purchasing French matrices. Even where less common faces are concerned, we find colleagues whose type cases show a great similarity. Thus Augustijn van Hasselt worked both in Vianen and in Wesel almost exclusively with typographical material belonging to his master, cast in his matrices and therefore identical to what was being used at the *Officina Plantiniana* (cf. n. 53). At other times, however, a single character can suffice to betray a printer; see the example mentioned in VPT, pp. 290 f.

⁵⁶ The situation, in brief, is as follows. Letter forms can vary as the result of changes in the faces incurred by the punchcutter himself, who replaced one or more of his punches by others which he preferred or which were better suited to the tastes of his clients. At the same time matrices sometimes have individual distinguishing marks which develop from the quality of the strike or during the process of adjustment, while even the cast letter can display characteristics due to some special feature of the mould or possibly to damage of the matrix. Particularly conspicuous are the differences incurred when the printer equipped a fount with one or more matrices of a different face for aesthetic or other reasons. A printer was sometimes forced to do this by the circumstances and had, for example, to find a replacement for the letters k and w which are often missing in French Roman and Italic typefaces. In the case of the w, this entailed either an improvised solution of joining two v's (loose or cast together) or the purchase of a matrix from a different typeface.

⁵⁷ Unfortunately the copy in Hamburg of *Summa der Godliker scrifturen* [...] ghedruckt by my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oosterhout, 1557 (W 17) has been lost. A full description of the title is to be found, however, in *Het oudste Nederlandsche verboden boek*, 1523. *Oeconomica christiana. Summa der Godliker scrifturen*, ed. J. J. van Toorenenbergen (Monumenta reformationis belgicae, I; Leiden 1882), p. lx. A fortunate discovery has recently brought to light a pirated reprint from the northern Netherlands of this 1557 edition, with the same imprint but with a different spelling: *Summa der Godtlijcker Scriftueren* [etc.]; see n. 95. These two editions make the existence of a 'lost' 1556 issue (W 13) with

partly out of earlier bibliographical references. Wijnman was able to locate copies of nine of the books in her list (one has been lost since then) and a tenth has come to light more recently.⁵⁸ Besides a few indistinct initials they contain a number of decorated letters belonging to three alphabets of different formats: in the publications now accessible these are, apart from repetitions, seven of the largest set (a) 25 x 25 mm, one of the medium one (b) 18 x 18 mm, and thirteen of the smallest (c), 13 x 13 mm – see illus. 5.⁵⁹ We do not only find these initials in this group, however, but also in certain books bearing the name of Niclaes van Oldenborch as publisher, in addition to a fairly large number of publications without an imprint which Dr Kronenberg (sometimes with reservations) attributed to him. In the signed ones among these publications, only two initials appear from the smallest set,⁶⁰ but in the anonymous group she ascribed to him there are others: of the three formats four, ten and three respectively, not counting repetitions.⁶¹

It was primarily their use of the same initials which prompted Dr Kronenberg to identify Vanden Merberghe with Van Oldenborch, but she extended her investigation to the typefaces, some of which she not only described, but also reproduced in

the same publisher's name very doubtful. Such an edition was mentioned in 1809 in the eighth number of the *Naam-lijs van eenige zeldzame boeken en handschriften*, p. 156, which the famous collector Jacob Koning had printed from time to time to describe his new acquisitions. When part of his collection was sold by the Amsterdam firm of P. den Hengst & Son in 1828, this description was repeated word for word in the auction catalogue (p. 99, no. 35). Since then the copy has disappeared. Dr Kronenberg has already pointed out (art. cit. (n. 1), no. 7) that the imprint mentioned was probably taken from the colophon of another book bound together with the copy in question. On the history and other aspects of this important work, see J. Trapman, *De Summa der Godliker scrifturen* (1523) (Leiden 1978), *passim*.

⁵⁸ Not mentioned by Wijnman; Dr Kronenberg included the book as no. 5 in her list, art. cit. (n. 1), although she had never seen a copy. Since they do not provide a full description of the title I shall give it here: [Urbanus Rhegius], *Dialogus, | oft Tsamensprekinghe. | Van de prekinge die Chri | stus den twee Discipelen dede | tot Emaus gaende op den Paes-dach, wt Moyses | ende alle den Pro- | pheten. | Duer Polytem Basilium. | Luce. xxiiij. | [4 lines] (s.l.a.n.; colophon on X7r: 'Ghe- druckt int Jaer ons Heeren M.vijf C.LVJJ [=1557] By Magnus vanden Merberghe'. 364 leaves (last blank), collation: †4 (-†2?) A-Z⁸ a-x⁸. Copies: Ghent, UL; The Hague, Royal Library (KB). – This title, printed on †I, appears once more with variations in the spelling on A1. The preliminaries (of which †2 (blank?) is missing in the Hague copy) were obviously added after the completion of the printing process and made it necessary to produce a new title-page.*

⁵⁹ Of set (a): A, H, L, M, N, O and V; of set (b): S; of set (c): A, B, C, D, E, I, K, L, N, O, P, Q and V. – D and V of the last set are illustrated in Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 1), Pl. II, resp. Pl. I.

⁶⁰ The O in NK 1010 (W 1) and L and O in NK 1790 (W 4).

⁶¹ More precisely: Largest set (a): in NK 1013 (N), 1787 (A, C, G), 1885 (G), 3399 (A) and 4239 (G). Medium set (b): NK 1115 (G, I, O, V), 1422 (H, T, W), 1682 (A, D, T, V), 3460 (A, D, G, W, and Z used as N). Smallest set (c): NK 246 (N), 1009 (C) and 4239 (D).

her article. Of the still existing publications with the Merberghe imprint seven⁶² appear to have been printed in Lettersnijder's Pica Textura (VPT T 30; Dr Kronenberg's type c), a fount which clearly differs in details from the two of the same face which we have already encountered in work signed by Van Oldenborch. In two other books we again find Gravius' Pica Textura (T 32; her type f).⁶³ With a single exception⁶⁴ all the T 30 publications are dated, viz. between 1555 and 1557, while those in T 32 have no date. The latter also applies to books signed by 'Van Oldenborch' or attributed to him by Dr Kronenberg, which, in so far as they contain the aforesaid initials, are, with two exceptions,⁶⁵ all printed in T 32. Between this group and the two editions signed by Vanden Merberghe in this typeface, there is no external difference other than the imprint. Besides what can be attributed to Crom, Mierdmans and an anonymous printer (from Kampen?), we are thus dealing with two groups of books in which the same initials, or initials belonging to the same sets, appear. They are printed in two different types on the same body and thus either come from two different presses or from a single printer who went over to another face in the course of his career.

We have now reached a point in our investigation at which only an analysis along the lines sketched above can help us. In the hope of meeting enough material for comparison we must look for one or more printers who worked before or after the Merberghe production with the ornaments found in it. There is, of course, a chance that the woodcuts were acquired afresh for these books and had not been used before, and the possibility also exists that they were never applied again in later days. Experience shows, however, that in the Low Countries a sixteenth-century printing-office very seldom leaves no traces, even when it has not been carried on in its original form. This emerges here too: we find the initials, both before and after their use in the groups of publications in question, in the possession of cer-

⁶² These are Kronenberg's nos. 1 (W 12), 3 (W 14), 4 (W 20), 5 (not in W), 8 (W 17), 9 (W 15) and 10 (W 16). The T 30 there used is a narrow version of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura, distinguished by an f and a long s extending beneath the line, in combination with the original 'square' y and a French Bastarda capital S.

⁶³ Kronenberg's nos. 2 (W 19) and 6 (W 18). The other typefaces which appear in these publications are, with reference to her descriptions, VPT T 3 = type a and e, T 12(b) = type b, T 43 = type d and R 24 = type g.

⁶⁴ The undated book is Kronenberg's no. 4: *Dit is een seer schoon Christelijcke onderwijsinghe vanden doopsel* (W 20).

⁶⁵ For a list of these publications printed in T 32 see n. 61, where they are mentioned with emphasis on their initials. The exceptions pointed out are NK 1423 en 3399, the latter with the fictitious imprint 'Straesburch, by my Cornelis van Nieuhuys'. These pieces, both of very small size and certainly produced by the same press, are printed in T 30 in its older form, as illustrated in VPT figs. 88-9. On the possible printer see below.

tain printers in Antwerp. That result in itself provides a strong indication that the Merberghe production and the publications connected with it must be placed in that town and not in Emden.

The first man at whose press a part of these initials can be found is Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch, a publisher-printer who had been living in Antwerp since 1526, producing Bibles as well as other works.⁶⁶ He must have bought the woodblocks at the end of his career, since I have not found them in any of his books before 1548: three letters from set (a) and eight from (b), not counting repetitions. Most of them appear in Peetersen's *Dat Nieuwe Testament* of that year,⁶⁷ together with a large number of ornamental letters of different sorts which he had long been using and which recur on a large scale in the publications of his widow from 1549 on. The new initials are entirely lacking in her books, however, and this suggests that they only remained for a short while in the Peetersen firm: they must have passed into other hands soon after his death.

Almost a quarter of a century elapses before we meet the initials in signed typographical work again. They then appear to have been in the possession of Peter (I) Mesens,⁶⁸ one of the small printers whose name appears so seldom in a book that it looks doubtful whether he actually was a self-employed printer. In this case, however, doubt is unjustified, since Mesens' career is confirmed by documentary evidence. On 29 July 1570, ten days after his acquittal on a charge of heresy, he obtained a certificate as a printer from Plantin.⁶⁹ The document contains some important facts about his life: born in Antwerp in 1520 or 1522, he spent six years in the town working as apprentice to Henrick Peetersen van Middelburch and received a patent as a printer on 17 September 1558, a year after he had been accepted as a bookseller in the St Lucas Guild.⁷⁰ The number of publications of his which we

⁶⁶ For biographical information and bibliography, see Rouzet, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 170 f.

⁶⁷ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno M DXLI ad annum M DC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), hereafter cited as *BT*, no. 5254. The book contains D, I and O from (a) and A, D, I, M and T from (b). From this last set *Die grote Evangelische peerle* (1548), *BT* 6995, contains the H, I and W, while the K appears in Thomas à Kempis, *Van die werelt te versmiden* [...]. *Qui sequitur me*, of the same year (*BT* 6862). Peetersen only used these woodblocks as spares, when he needed more initials of a particular letter in a form than were available in his other sets.

⁶⁸ Peter (I) Mesens was a son-in-law of the widow Geertruyd Crom who continued the Crom-Mierdmans bookshop. She was a sister of Mattheus Crom and Mierdmans' sister-in-law. For these relationships, see Wijnman, *art. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 109 f., 118 f.

⁶⁹ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin* ..., ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), p. 20.

⁷⁰ L. van den Branden, 'Drukooctrooien toegekend door de Raad van Brabant tot 1600', *De Gulden Passer*, 68 (1990), pp. 5-88, no. 188 (p. 40); *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint*

know, is particularly small, however; it is limited to a few books which he printed for a book dealer in Mechelen, Jan van der Pole, in 1574.⁷¹ The rarity of his work is explained by a stock list which he had to submit to the authorities on 29 March 1568.⁷² In the autographed list he only gives sixteen booklets published for elementary schools. We come across his name so seldom for the simple reason that none of these primers have survived. He was thus first of all an educational printer, as was probably his son Mattheus, who succeeded him in 1579.⁷³ Little more has remained of the latter's work than a reprint of Joris Wybo's anonymous history of the martyrdom of Christoffel Fabricius (de Smedt), which he published as a joint venture with the Antwerp publisher Jan Troyens.⁷⁴ Both this business partnership and the nature of the book published indicate that Mattheus was a Protestant. Despite the acquittal this probably also applied to his father.

In the production of Mesens senior and junior we find, besides various tailpieces which appear in the Merberghe publications, so many initials from all three alphabets that there can be no doubt that we are here dealing with material from the press we are seeking (illus. 6).⁷⁵ The typefaces, too, are identical, and this is

Lucasgilde onder zinspreuk 'Wt jonsten versaemt'. Les liggeren et autres archives historiques de la gilde anversoise de Saint Luc, 2 pts., eds. P. Rombouts & T. van Lierus (Antwerpen/'s-Gravenhage, 1864-76; repr. Amsterdam 1961), vol. I, p. 202: 'Peeter Meesens, boeckvercooper', in 1557.

⁷¹ BT 59, 3964, 4233 and 4237. Also: Innocent Egare (pseud. of Gilles d'Aurigny), *De genealogie ende afcompst vande poetische goden, tot profijt ende instructie van alle liefhebbers van consten ...* ([Antwerpen, Peter (I) Mesens, for] Jan van den Poele at Mechelen, 1574); BT 8242; copy in Amsterdam, UL; not to be confused with a rival edition by Jan van Ghelen with the same date.

⁷² Brussels, General State Archive, Council of Troubles (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Raad van Be-roerten), no. 29, f. 22r. A photocopy is to be found in Lode van den Branden's collection of documents on the Antwerp book trade which is now kept and being prepared for publication in the Royal Library in Brussels. I should like to thank Mrs Elly Cockx-Indestege for her kind help in the matter.

⁷³ For biographical details and bibliographical references, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 147.

⁷⁴ BT 5968 mentions the issue with Mesens' imprint. A copy printed in the name of Jasper Troyens is now in Amsterdam UL.

⁷⁵ The majority of the ornamental letters used by Peter Mesens are to be found in Egare's *De genealogia ...* (n. 71; see illus 6). From the largest set (a) we find A, D, I, L, N, P and S; the A also in BT 59, 3964 and 4237 and the E in BT 4233. In addition Egare contains the initials H and S from the medium set (b), and A, B, C (also used as G), D, E, I, N, P and V from the smallest set (c); the V is also in BT 59. Of these 18 initials ten can be found in works with the Merberghe imprint (cf. n. 59). This material for comparison is so abundant that I can limit myself here to the father's publications. His son and successor also used the initials in the books which he is known to have produced. He printed more works than those to which he put his name: I came across the V of set (a), for example, in BT 5069: *Prophetie vanden smet van Huyse genaemt Jan Aneseus ...* (s.l.e.n. 1582), an anonymous reprint of a political prognostication.

particularly striking in the Lettersnijder T 30 variant with its characteristic features. Peter Mesens had obviously taken over the Merberghe printing-office in its entirety. We can thus assume, until any proof to the contrary comes to light, that he acquired the material at about the time when he was admitted as a printer. This is not certain, since a request for a printer's patent does not necessarily mean that the applicant already had a business of his own. Nevertheless, there often was such a connection and then the date of the consent might not be far removed from the establishment or the takeover of a printing-office by the person concerned. That is why, in a case like this, it is worth inquiring into which printer at the end of his career in or about 1558, the year of Peter Mesens' application, owned the material which was later to become the property of Mesens and his son. As a result of this investigation we come to the name of a printer-publisher whose activities have hitherto been a mystery: Frans Fraet.

[Part Two]

In the history of the book trade Frans Fraet is only mentioned as a martyr for his faith – further information is almost entirely lacking.⁷⁶ He is, however, known as an author. Not so long ago a few poems of his were published which had been preserved in manuscript. Under the device 'Als 't God belieft' ('As God desires it') he wrote a 'referein', a poem which became fairly popular and has been handed down in various manuscripts. He also wrote a lively 'resentspel', a conversation piece between several people in which humorous dialogues lead to the exchange of presents symbolizing various religious virtues.⁷⁷ He had previously distinguished himself as the editor of the earliest emblem collection in the Dutch language, *Tpaelays der gheleerder ingienen* [...] *inhoudende hondert morale figueren* ... (Antwerp, widow Van Liesveldt, 1554), BT 1812, a translation of *Le théâtre des bons engins* by the French priest and man of letters Guillaume de la Perrière. Although Fraet's literary output is not extensive, the variety of the genres he chose, unusual even for rhetoricians with a larger oeuvre, makes of him an author with an interesting personality. He was equally intriguing as a printer: his name survives in that capacity as one of those courageous individuals who paid with their lives for the faith which they served with their publications. On 4 January 1558 he was beheaded after a sentence which

⁷⁶ For a survey of what little is known about him, see Rouzet, op cit. (n. 21), p. 65, and, as an earlier source, P. Génard in *Biographie nationale* [...] *de Belgique*, vol. 7 (1880), cols. 219 f.

⁷⁷ *Een present van Godt Loondt*; cf. L. Roose, 'Het refrein en het presentspel van Frans Fraet', *Jaarboek Koninklijke souvereine hoofdkamer van retorica "De Fonteyne" te Gent*, 25 (1975), pp. 119-40; P. Pikhaus, *Het tafelspel bij de rederijders*, 2 vols. (Gent 1988-9), vol. 2, pp. 444 f. and 496 f. For a survey of his literary work, see also L. Roose, 'De Antwerpse hervormingsgezinde rederijker Frans Fraet', *Jaarboek Koninklijke souvereine hoofdkamer van retorica "De Fonteyne" te Gent*, 19-20 (1969-70), pp. 95-107.

the Antwerp tribunal had pronounced on the previous day. A few days earlier, on 30 December, he had been imprisoned for ‘printing, selling and distributing prognostications and other seditious books under false and fictitious names’.⁷⁸ In connection with his execution, a contemporary chronicle reports that he had already received several warnings from the authorities and archival documents show that he had got on the wrong side of the law at an early stage in his career.⁷⁹ He was thus hardly an unsuspecting victim.

Nothing further is known about Fraet’s personality and circumstances. We do not know where and when he was born, nor whether, for example, he was a member of one of the Antwerp chambers of rhetoric, *De Goudbloeme* (The Marigold) or *De Violieren* (The Gillyflowers) – although this seems very likely. Did

⁷⁸ *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 8 ([1872]), p. 441 (and see p. 445): ‘... dat den verweerdere diverssche seditieuse boecken, als pronostication ende andere op versierde ende gefingeerde namen gedrukt, vercocht ende verspreyt heeft, ...’. Certain hitherto unpublished documents are printed below in Appendix I. One of these letters informs us that the prophesy was ‘by the old master Willem de Vriese from Maastricht’. *Prophecie vanden ouden meester Willem de Vriese van Maestricht, naer syn doot onder zijn hoofd gevonden. Beginnende vanden jaere 58 totten jaere 70* (s.l. 1566), presumably a reprint, is recorded in the auction catalogue Van Westphalen, Meyerus Chiflets, Butkens Le Roy, etc. (The Hague 1764; a sale held by Pieter van Damme), lot Oct. 3207, and in *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque [...] de Gaspar-Joseph de Servais* (Malines 1808), lot 3231. – It seems that the incriminating prognostication had been seized in circumstances which allowed Fraet no chance of denying his involvement. It is possible that the edition, or part of it, had been found at his printing shop. One of the documents also provides a possible explanation for the unusual haste with which he was condemned and executed: representatives of the third estate (burghers and guilds) would have rebelled had Fraet been tortured, presumably to discover the names of his accomplices. Apparently in order to avoid a legal dispute about the justification of such a procedure the plan was abandoned and the decision taken to deliver as speedy a sentence as possible.

⁷⁹ *Het Antwerpsch chronykje [...] sedert den jare 1500 tot het jaar 1574 [...] bijzonderlijk op het stuk der geloofs-hervorminge, door F.G.V. [...] naar deszelfs Handschrift* (Leiden 1743), p. 57, reports: ‘Item den 4. January A^o voorschrevenen, doen wirt tot Antwerpen op den Merct gerecht Frans Raet [*sic*] boekdrucker, om dat hy Boecken gedrukt hadde teghen het Mandement des Conincx ende was hem dikwils noch vergeven geweest, maer hy ende lietet niet.’ (‘Also on 4 January of the same year Frans Raet [*sic*], printer, was executed in the market square of Antwerp, because he had printed books against the edicts of the king, had often been forgiven, but persisted in so doing.’). Frans Fraet had already come up before the magistrate on 6 February 1551. He was then admitted to bail on the condition that he should not leave Antwerp for three months and should remain at the disposal of the margrave. See Stadsarchief Antwerpen (Antwerp Municipal Archives), Certif. 7, f. 222v., which does not, however, give the charge. It seems likely that he was then, too, suspected of publishing a book without consent. On 24 September of that year Gielis [Coppens] van Diest, printer, and Jan van den Vliet, woodcarver, testified that they knew Frans Fraet to be a good Christian who went to church regularly (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Collectanea, 8, f. 311 r.). On 6 October 1551 Fraet obtained his admission as a printer from the Council of Brabant; see Van den Branden, art cit. (n. 70), p. 36, no. 157. – Photocopies of the documents mentioned are also contained in Van den Branden’s collection (see n. 72).

he come to the book trade as an outsider, after a different sort of training, or had he worked in it since his childhood? All we know is that his existence as an independent printer started in about 1551. After he had obtained a patent to print on 6 October of that year, he joined the St Lucas Guild as a master-printer in 1552.⁸⁰ Until recently not a single example of his typographical work had been identified: the prognostication for which he was condemned appeared to be irretrievable and other publications were overlooked. Since then, however, two short news reports dated 1553 have been discovered to have been printed by him, both somewhat carelessly produced on cheap paper and intended for sale in the streets (illus. 7a).⁸¹ The booklets are so insignificant and undistinguished that they cannot possibly be representative of the level of Fraet's publications. Their contents are also too innocent to bring a printer to the scaffold. But this tragic business appears in a different light when, in one of these publications, we encounter an initial from the Oldenborch-Merberghe books: the S from the largest alphabet (illus. 7b).⁸²

This S does not, however, seem to occur anywhere in the available publications of these two groups. So how do we know that it does indeed belong to our set (a)? For various replicas of this design were in use elsewhere, only differing from one another in minute details. The identification happens to be possible, since exactly the same letter appears in a book printed by Peter (I) Mesens who, as we have seen, was later to own the initials.⁸³ There can be no doubt at all: this is an impression from the woodblock belonging to the set (a). So we see that in 1553 Fraet owned an ornamental letter of an alphabet used from 1555 to 1557 in Merberghe publications printed with T 30 and which also appears in a related group of undated publications in T 32, a few of which have that same imprint. The remaining typefaces in all these books correspond to the ones on the same body in Fraet's news reports, so that the inevitable conclusion is that he was the long sought after Magnus vanden Merberghe.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *Liggeren*, op. cit. (n. 70), p. 180: 'Francoys Fraet, druckere, is onthalst' ('F. Fraet, printer, has been beheaded'). This note dates from 1590.

⁸¹ *Een waerachtighe goede nieu tidinghe vanden KM. waer synen persoon is ende van syn macht van volcke ende ghelde* ... (Colophon: 'Ghedrukt Tantwerpen inden alfsberch inde boeckstede by my Frans Fraet', s.a. [c.1553]), 8vo, 4 leaves (n⁴), copy: Ghent, UL. Cf. J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter quoted as Machiels, K 198. — *Nieu waerachtighe tidinghe vander victorien des Keyzers volc, hoe si de stercke stadt Teruwanen beleghen hadden* ... (Colophon: 'Ghedrukt tot Hantwerpen inde Boecxstede by Frans Fraet met consente, 1553'), 8vo, 4 leaves (n⁴), copy: Ghent, UL; Machiels K 218.

⁸² *Nieu waerachtighe tidinghe* ... (n. 81), verso of title.

⁸³ Egare, op. cit. (n. 71), sign. [C6]v.

⁸⁴ So the connection is as follows: the S of set (a), contained in one of Fraet's news reports, can be found in Egare, op. cit. (n. 71), printed by Peter (I) Mesens at Antwerp (for a publisher in

We see here how important it is to trace significant elements in the material of successive printers. With this method a single initial in a simple news report turns out to give the answer to a very remote question: why was Frans Fraet executed so mercilessly? For the difference from other punishments imposed in these years upon transgressors of the laws for the book trade is striking and would seem to be inexplicable. We now see that data derived from the material aspects of typographical work can provide a means – sometimes the only available one – of establishing the identity of an underground printer and of recovering essential details about his career. In this case the method connects the name of Frans Fraet with the most important publishing-house of Dutch Protestant literature of the time. The attribution implies that an end must have been put to that production with his death, and indeed, no book of this stock is dated later than 1557, at the end of which year he was imprisoned.

The discovery that he used the Merberghe pseudonym is not, however, all there is to be said about his activities as a publisher. As we saw, besides the two books with that imprint, there also appeared in T 32 two ‘Oldenborch’ publications, plus a book that claimed to have been printed in Marburg. Of the twenty-eight publications without an imprint which Dr Kronenberg ascribed to Niclaes van Oldenborch, moreover, twelve are printed in Gravius’ type.⁸⁵ All these publications were apparently produced by the same press and their total number can be raised to eighteen through the recent discovery of an early edition of *Veelderhande liedekens*, for a century the most popular collection of spiritual hymns in the Netherlands.⁸⁶

Mechelen). The book also contains six other letters from the same woodcut alphabet, three of which (A, L and N) appear in Merberghe publications. The work also has a letter from set (b) and nine initials from the smallest alphabet (c). Elsewhere Mesens used still more of that material (cf. n. 75). The various typefaces in the books of both presses also correspond to each other, so there can be no doubt that the inventory of the Merberghe printing shop subsequently came into his possession. This included the initial S mentioned. Fraet’s publication in which it appears, *Nieu waerachtighe tidighe* (n. 81), is dated 1553 in the colophon, a year which is also written on the title-page in ancient script. This date is close to that of the dated Merberghe books (1555-7) and comes within the period in which Fraet was active as a printer (1550/1 to 1557).

⁸⁵ NK 246, 472, 1009, 1013, 1115, 1422, 1682, 1787, 1885, 1924, 3460 and 4239.

⁸⁶ *Veelderhande / schriftuerlijke Liedekens / ghemaect wt den ouden ende nieuwen te- / stamente, nv nyeus anderwerf gecorrigeert / ende verbeteret ende vermeerdert met meer / ander Godlijcke Liedekens, die noyt / In Printe en zijn gheweest, ende zijn / op den A,B,C, by den an- / deren gheuoecht. / Apoc. 19 / [2 lines] / Psal. 151 / [1 line] (s.l.a.n. [Antwerpen, Frans Fraet, 1552/4]). 8vo, 192 leaves, collation: A-Z⁸Aa⁸. On the last page [Aa8]v. the arms of Cologne. Copy: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB). – Judging from the ‘anderwerf gecorrigeert’ (‘once more corrected’) in the title this edition was preceded by (at least) two earlier ones, no copies of which have come to light, however. In 1556 Fraet produced a new and augmented edition ‘nu derdewerf gecorrigeert’ (‘now for the third time corrected’) (W 16) under the Merberghe pseudonym (which was to be followed in Emden and the northern Netherlands by numerous*

Besides T 32, four other Texturas appear in these books which are in every respect identical to the founts in the T 30 Merberghe publications. This means that the only typographical difference between the two groups is the Pica Textura in which the text is set. A comparison between the impressions of some initials shows that the T 32 publications, all undated or predated, precede the books dated between 1555 and 1557 in T 30.⁸⁷ We can also establish that there was no question of an interruption of any length being caused by the transition, since one of the T 32 books must have appeared after February 1554, indeed, almost certainly a few months later. This is a translation of an obituary by Nicolas von Amsdorf of Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony who had died on 18 February of that year, followed by a funeral oration for the prince by the same author.⁸⁸ The book's date of publication thus closely precedes that of Fraet's T 30 production, and since the contents of the books in both groups are of the same nature, we can conclude that, in the course of 1554 or early in 1555, Fraet exchanged the T 32 fount with which he had worked so far for T 30 type cases.

Although it is impossible to discover the motives for such a replacement, the phenomenon itself can be accounted for simply by a change of supplier. Not every printer owned matrices himself and the smaller firms, at least, had to resort to cast type which they obtained from a type founder. We can conclude that this also applied to Fraet from the similar course of events in the case of his successor. In the course of 1574/5 Peter (I) Mesens replaced his Lettersnijder Pica Textura which he had taken over from Fraet, by another, more modern, Textura on the same body. In his case, too, it is likely that, lacking matrices of his own, he turned to another supplier. In such a situation there is no reason to assume that the firm passed into other hands or that there was any further change in its management.

other editions). See F.C. Wieder, *De Schrifluurlijke liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche hervormden tot op het jaar 1566. Inhoudsbeschrijving en bibliographie* (s-Gravenhage 1900), pp. 134 ff., nos. XXVIII, XXIX and XXXI. – The edition described here is on the Louvain *Index* of 1558; see Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 35), p. 359, no. 363, where the title of the 1556 edition is cited. The woodcut at the end of that reprint also appears in the 1556 *Gulden onderwysinge* with the Merberghe imprint (W 14). This representation of the city arms of Cologne served as a device for the books which Franciscus Birckman(n) had printed in Antwerp in the 1520s, cf. NAT (n. 43), vol. 2, Anvers, Derniers imprimeurs I 1. The name of the publisher and his device have now been cut from the block.

⁸⁷ The most telling example is the C of the smallest set (c) in NK 1009 (on A2) compared with the impression in *Veelderhande Liedekens* of 1556 (W 16) on D3v., in which certain unmistakable fractures reveal a later state.

⁸⁸ Nicolaes van Amsdorff, *Vande(n) Christelijcken ende salighe(n) verscheyden ende steruen des [...] Vorsts [...] Joannes Frederyck den ouden, Wylen Hertoghe van Sassen [...] Met een lijck sermoon ouer zijn begrafenisse [...] des maendaechs nae halfvasten, 1554 (s.l.a.n. [Antwerpen, Frans Fraet, 1554/5])*, copy: Leiden, UL. The German original, *Wie sichs mit des Herrn Johans Friderich des Eldem [...] Christlichem Abschied zugetragen hat*, was published in Jena by Christian Roedinger in 1554.

LUTHER IN T 32

A special place is held among the T 32 books belonging to this group by four translations and adaptations of writings by Martin Luther (1483-1546), the leader of the great religious revolt of the sixteenth century (NK 1115, NK 1422, NK 1682 and NK 3460).⁸⁹ They differ from the other publications since they exclusively contain initials from the medium set (b), ten in all.⁹⁰ Besides, they all have the same border on the title-page, consisting of four woodcut strips which are apparently only printed in these treatises (illus. 8).⁹¹ The typographical design which is also uniform in other respects shows that the books came off the same press at about the same time. One of the four, however, has a peculiarity: about half-way through the *Passionael-boecxken* (NK 1682), containing thirteen whole and two half quires, we suddenly find that the text is printed in various German typefaces instead of the Texturas which had been used hitherto.⁹² This complete replacement gives the

⁸⁹ NK 1115: *Dye hooft stucken des Christengheloofts* ... (i.e. a brief summary of Luther's *Den cleyne(n) Catechismus*); Visser, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 124 ff., letter I; W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), no. D.2.3. (vol. 1, pp. 309 f.); *idem*, 'Luthers Kleine Catechismus in de Nederlanden, 1529-1585', *De arte et libris. Festschrift Erasmus 1934-1984* (Amsterdam 1984), pp. 225-35 (p. 232). – NK 1422: [Luther], *Den cleyne(n) Catechismus* ...; C.C.G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen 1969; thesis Amsterdam), pp. 96 ff., no. 74; Heijting, op. cit., no. A.4.8 (vol. 1, pp. 130 f., vol. 2, p. 33); *idem*, art. cit., pp. 231 f.; M.E. Kronenberg, 'Uitgaven van Luther in de Nederlanden verschenen tot 1541', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 40 (1954), pp. 1-25, no. 21; J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie* (Baden-Baden 1965-6), no. 2666. – NK 1682: *Passionael-boecxken* ...; Visser, op. cit., pp. 123 f., letter H; Kronenberg, art. cit., no. 84; Benzing, op. cit., no. 340. – NK 3460: [Luther], *Dat schone Confitemini* ...; Visser, op. cit., pp. 95 f., no. 73; Kronenberg, art. cit., no. 22; Benzing, op. cit., no. 2885. The book contains a 'nyeuwe Prologhe' by Caspar Creutzger which first appeared in a German edition of 1546.

⁹⁰ See the list in n. 61. From the use of the Z (on its side) as an N we can see that the woodblock of this particular letter was no longer serviceable at that time. Besides the initials listed from set (b), NK 3460 and 1115 contain another A and another I respectively, of the same size but with a floral ornamentation in white on a black ground. Together with many other letters from the same alphabet they appear in books by the widow Peetersen van Middelburch who carried on her husband's firm in 1549. I first encountered these ornamental letters in her work in Bouteillier's *Somme ruyrael* of 1550, BT 386, and *Die grote evangelische peerle* of 1551, BT 6996, and, after that, in publications like BT 67, 1161, 4183, 4520 and 4637. The reciprocal relationship was obviously such that Fraet could borrow a single letter in these cases. Some of the widow's publications include hundreds of initials, but none belonging to set (b), so that it seems certain that she had parted with it in the meantime.

⁹¹ Reproduced in NAT (n. 43), vol. 1, Inconnus II fig. 6 and vol. 2, Inconnus VII fig. 24, as well as in Heijting, art. cit. (n. 89), illus. 4 & 5. I have not managed to establish the origin of the fine woodcut representing the scourging of Christ on the title-page of the *Passionael-boecx*.

⁹² Besides T 32 as the main type these books contain the same four Texturas as used by Fraet: T 3, T 12(b), T 25 and T 43; see NAT (n. 43), vol. 2, Inconnus VII fig. 24 and VIII fig. 27. In the *Passionael-boecxken* these types only appear, however, in the quires A-D⁸ and in the last quire P⁴, which is almost entirely composed of 'Correcture van tghene dat versuyt is int drucken van dit passionael

book such a hybrid appearance that we must assume that it was printed in exceptional circumstances.

How can we account for this remarkable phenomenon? The four books must be dated after 1548, the year in which Gravius' Pica Textura became available and Henrick Peetersen used the initials in various works of his. We also noticed that in 1551 Fraet started to print with the same material. It now appears perfectly possible that these publications were the cause of his first difficulties with the Antwerp magistracy. Judging from the subsequent course of his career, he managed to pull through: the evidence against him does not seem to have been sufficient to lead to a condemnation. If the relationship suggested here actually existed, it looks as though he succeeded by prompt action in saving the already printed (but hardly corrected) sheets of the *Passionael-boecxken* from confiscation and in carrying them to safety in time. For the completion of the book he was obliged, by an understandable lack of enthusiasm in his own circle, to look for facilities elsewhere. In this he was successful: across the German border, out of reach of the Inquisition, a colleague seems to have been prepared to take over the remaining part of the printing – hence the abrupt switch to Schwabacher and Fractura types.⁹³ Subsequently, when the danger had diminished, Fraet could annex an appendix with his own material for the many misprints which had slipped in during the book's turbulent publishing history.⁹⁴

The course of events outlined above not only provides a solution for the curi-

boecxken', a list of almost 150 misprints – a particularly high number in view of the limited length of the book, suggesting that it was set in haste. The intermediate gatherings E-N⁸ and O⁴ are set in two Schwabacher faces of 76 and 91 mm, respectively, for twenty lines, with three larger German types for a heading: see NAT, vol. 2, Inconnus VII fig. 25 and VIII fig. 26. The errata at the end also refer, albeit to a small extent, to this other part of the book. The fact that this list should again be set in the original types used must mean that the book was finally completed by the press in which it was begun. In view of the small size of the work and the two half sheets succeeding each other at the end (one for the end of the text and one for the errata), it seems unlikely that there was a prearranged agreement about the division of labour between two printers. The unusual continuation by another press points, rather, to an unexpected complication.

⁹³ The only printer who, so far as I can make out, owned German types on more than two bodies in Antwerp in about 1550 was Jan van der Loë. The typographical material used here, however, is not his.

⁹⁴ For earlier, now outdated views on the time and place of publication, I refer to Visser, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 100 ff. and 123 f. On p. 103 the author summarized the state of affairs at the time as follows: '... some four publications which appeared (in Wesel?) between 1540 and 1550. It is possible that they were printed in Antwerp. Reu [see n. 7] is particularly opposed to an East Frisian origin, and I too think that that should be excluded [...]'. At all events they were produced by the same press.' Recently Heijting, op. cit. (n. 89), no. A 4.8 (pp. 130 f.) and no. D 2.3 (pp. 309 f.) dated these books between 1542 and 1546. He chose this last year since the Louvain *Index* then published mentioned an edition of *Den cleyne(n) cathecismus*; cf. Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 35), pp. 186 f., no. 131. The title there cannot, however, refer to the T 32 edition since this typeface was first used in 1548.

ous composition of the book, but may also explain why the numerous initials of set (b) no longer appear in typographical work by Fraet. He later only used the S of this alphabet, a letter which does not appear in the Luther editions. Since the suspicions against him in 1551 were connected with these publications, the initials in them – when not confiscated – were naturally ‘infected’ and could no longer be used without running the risk of their again being held as evidence against him.

However plausible this hypothesis of Fraet’s involvement might seem, a decisive proof is missing. It is theoretically conceivable that another printer produced the Luther editions around 1550, ran into difficulties with them and, voluntarily or under pressure from the authorities, got rid of his press. Even with a modern application of bibliographical means it is only in exceptional cases that we can conclude from the anonymous production of a press who the owner was or who was in charge of the day-to-day management. For such a purpose we need further factual evidence which, as in most comparable cases, is missing here. I have never, however, found any indication of the existence of such a predecessor. Although the question must therefore remain open, the chances are that this event marked the beginning of Fraet’s career as a publisher and also of the involvements which would prove fatal to him.

We have so far seen that, with one exception, the name Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout, unlike that of Niclaes van Oldenborch, was used exclusively by the man we can identify as Frans Fraet.⁹⁵ To adopt the pseudonym of a colleague who had been executed hardly seems an attractive idea – *nomen est omen* – despite the renown it must have had in those days among the followers of the new doctrine. It is possible, however, that this goodwill factor in 1555 did lead to the statement ‘ghedruct by Niclaes van Oldenborch’ being used again after a long interval. We find it in a reprint (W 11) of *Der waerheyt onderwijs*, which had already been published earlier by Mierdmans (NK 2193, W 6) with the same imprint and a fictitious date, 1536. The book contains two initials (A and E) from the medium alphabet and is set in a variant of Lettersnijder’s Pica Textura with a long s and f which extend beneath the line. A peculiarity of the type is a Bastarda capital S, a letter which some printers in the southern Netherlands preferred to the form actually belonging to the face. Fraet’s Textura, too, showed these particulars and there would thus appear to be every reason to attribute the book to him. Yet this may not be correct, for these two initials, undoubtedly printed from the same woodblocks,

⁹⁵ The only exception is the spurious reprint of *Summa der Godtlijcker scriftueren* (see n. 57), recently found under the floor-boards of an old house in Delft; cf. B.J. Spruyt, ‘De zes in het grachtenpand te Delft gevonden boekjes, met name de Summa der godliker scrifturen’, *Criterium*, 19 (1989), pp. 4–12. The imprint reads: ‘Ghedruckt bi my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout’ and the date is unaltered: ‘1557. in Aprijl volint’ (‘1557. Finished in April’), but the book was published, at some time after Fraet’s death, presumably by the printer Steven Joessen in Kampen.

also appear together in a work published a year earlier by the Antwerp printer Hans (Johannes) de Laet.⁹⁶ He worked with the same variant of Lettersnijder's Pica as Fraet, including the Bastarda S. They presumably acquired their cast type from the same type founder, probably Ameet Tavernier. In addition we find the tailpiece at the end of the book – the aforesaid copy made after a woodcut owned by Mierdmans – in a publication by De Laet from the same year, 1555.⁹⁷ There are thus various reasons for identifying this printer as the man who here used the Oldenborch imprint.⁹⁸ A decisive answer to the question of whether he printed the book himself or had it done by Fraet will, however, only be possible when we have a clearer picture of De Laet's printing materials.

THE ATTRIBUTIONS TO NICLAES VAN OLDENBORCH

Of the twenty-eight publications without an imprint which, besides his signed editions, Dr Kronenberg attributed to Nicolaes van Oldenborch, eight thus seem to have been printed by Fraet in his earlier type, Gravius' Pica Textura (T 32). One of these (NK 4239) has a fake address, 'Cornelius Nyenhuys tot Marburch',⁹⁹ while

⁹⁶ In J. Salwechter, *De maniere om een proces te voeren ...* (Tantwerpen, gheprint by H. de Laet, 1554'), BT 6690, and the supplementary *Dboeck van exceptien inden rechte ...*, with the same imprint, BT 6687). The A appears on sig. I[I]v. and the E on a2v. in the second work. The A is also used in two of the Luther editions (NK 1682 and 3460; cf. n. 61).

⁹⁷ A reproduction of this woodcut appears in Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), illus. 2d (and see pp. 458 f.). I have been unable to find any signed publication by De Laet in which this woodblock is used, but it is printed on the title-page of (François de Vos), *Een cleyne maer zeer profitelijcke wederlegghinghe der woorden Christi by S. Lucas int XXII. ...* (s.l.a.n., colophon: 'ghedruckt by Theophilum Acanthium, 1555'), Machiels V 400. This spurious imprint was concealing Hans de Laet, as we see from the initial on A2v. which appears in several of his books.

⁹⁸ The matter is complicated by the fact that De Laet obviously had more works printed by other people than we can discern from the books themselves. Because of the aforesaid presence of the initials of set (b) and the identical composition of the Pica typeface one might even wonder whether he was perhaps also responsible for the Merberghe production in T 30. This can be excluded, however, since, as far as I can establish, none of his books contain letters from sets (a) and (c) (although he did own replicas of the latter design) and not a single ornament which could have come from him appears later in Mesens' work. De Laet was certainly not the T 32 printer: he never used that typeface anymore than he did the Pica Roman which appears in one of those books.

⁹⁹ The imprint 'Ghedruct tot Marburch bi my Cornelius Nyenhuys', in [Patrick Hamilton], *Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts* (NK 4239; cf. n. 36) already appears (with: 'by my') in an earlier edition of the same work (NK 3140). With some hesitation Dr Kronenberg, following BB H 214, attributed it to Christoffel van Ruremunde in Antwerp in c.1530. This date is certainly too early, however. Together with NK 1623, 3788 and 1150 the book is part of a small group of publications printed with material from his press but which were produced in a later period. The printer was probably Hans (II) van Ruremonde to whom I shall be returning later. He was active

the rest were published without any imprint (NK 246, NK 472, NK 1009, NK 1013, NK 1787, NK 1885 and NK 1924). To these must be added the four Luther editions which have just been discussed, printed with the same typographical material, but possibly by an anonymous predecessor. *Vier liedekens* (NK 3399), allegedly published by Cornelis van Nieuhuys, this time in Strasburg, is also presumably by Fraet, although the Lettersnijder Pica used in it differs from the type as it appears in his later work.¹⁰⁰ Printed in the same deviant fount and certainly by the same press, we have *Een schoon exposicie wten 67. Psalm* (NK 1423), the text of which fits in with various Biblical commentaries by Luther published earlier in Antwerp,¹⁰¹ and a tract by Balthasar Hubmaier, the German reformer and Anabaptist leader, with the spurious imprint of 'Melchior Lotter te Wittenberch' (NK 1145).¹⁰²

as a printer from 1547/8 to 1552/3 and then apparently only worked as a book dealer and publisher. Fraet would thus have been using, as a pseudonym, the name of a colleague who had recently given up printing or, what is far more likely, had produced the book for him. He appears to have executed various commissions for other people: I found his I from set (b), with exactly the same flaws in the frame as in NK 1115, in *La grande et perpetuelle prognostication ...* (Anvers, Jan van Liesveldt, s.a.), BT 1322. Besides the publisher's large device at the end, this piece of four leaves contains an approbation in his name dated 16 August 1553. The text is printed in T 20 except for an eight-line poem 'Au bon Lecter [sic]' on the title-page which is set in T 32 and thus indicates Fraet as the printer. The other publications by Van Liesveldt of about this time are set in T 30 and contain initials of a different design.

¹⁰⁰ Wieder, op. cit. (n. 86), p. 134, no. XXIV. The author came to a date between 1551 and 1554 on internal grounds. The piece, comprising only eight leaves, is undoubtedly by the same press as *Een schoon exposicie ...*; NK 1423, see following note. At the beginning we encounter initial A of the largest alphabet, set (a), while both pieces are noteworthy for the repeated use of Lombards as capitals. They are set in an old, over-used Lettersnijder Pica, clearly differing from the modern variant which Fraet was to use later in his Merberghe publications. The VPT T 20 on the title-page seems to be the same as in the two news reports he issued under his own name in 1553 (cf. n. 81). This presumably represents the very first phase of his work, before he proceeded to purchase T 32 type as a necessary replacement for the worn material of his early experiments.

¹⁰¹ What is decisive for the attribution of this piece, consisting of a single gathering of four leaves, are a D and an H (15:15 mm) which do not belong to the three sets already mentioned but which appear together with them in *Veelderhande liedekens ...* (Magnus vanden Merberghe van Osterhout, 1556), W 16; the D is also to be found in *Een gulden onderwysinge ...*, with the same imprint (W 14), and the H in *Veelderhande schriftuerlijcke liedekens ...* (n. 86) and *Vanden propheet Baruch*, NK 246, the last two without an imprint but printed by Fraet. In 1574 we find both woodcuts again together with initials of set (a)-(c) in Peter Mesens' edition of Egare's *De genealogie ende afcompst*, op. cit. (n. 71). – The only surviving copy of NK 1423 is in a tract volume in Leiden UL, where it is bound together with as many as ten undated T 32 publications. This, too, points to the same press, viz. that of Frans Fraet. The text, a translation of a part of Luther's *Auslegung des 67. Psalms*, is reprinted in BRN I (n. 35), pp. 127–36. See also Visser, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 68 f., no. 40; Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 89), no. 28; Benzing, op. cit. (n. 89), no. 943; Pont, op. cit. (n. 6), p. 34. All give the much too early date of c.1525.

¹⁰² The only known copy of this piece of only four leaves is also in the [Fraet] tract volume in Leiden (see previous note). The text, eighteen theses by Balthasar Friedberger (Hubmaier), followed

Half of the group of attributions to Van Oldenborch thus still remains to be investigated. Judging from their typographical features, eight come from the Crom-Mierdmans press. Two Biblical commentaries (NK 1429, by Luther, and NK 2092) are printed in the Pica Textura which Crom used between 1539 and 1543. He also appears to have published another treatise in the group, much in demand at the time, *Der waerheyt onderwijs* (NK 2194),¹⁰³ of which we have already encountered some later editions, including one from the same press when it was run by Mierdmans. To Crom's successor three further publications must also be ascribed: another exegetical work by Luther (NK 1430), a reprint of one of the most important books from the early years of the Dutch Reformation, *Summa der Godliker scrifturen* (NK 1969),¹⁰⁴ and, in two volumes, the notorious *Sermonen* (NK 1691-2) of the fictitious Franciscan Niclaes Peeters, whose true identity has yet to be revealed. It has indeed been established that this extensive work, which gives 1520 as the year of publication, was predated and must be placed considerably later for reasons of content. The proposed date of c.1540 is still a little too early, at least for this edition, since the work is printed in Oldenborch's Pica Textura (T 35) and thus came off the press between 1543 and 1546. Since we are here only concerned with the history of the books as typographical products, I regard these summary accounts as sufficient.¹⁰⁵

by a quotation from Franciscus Lambertus of Avignon, is reprinted in BRN 1 (n. 35), pp. 109-25. See also De Hoop Scheffer, op. cit. (n. 2), vol. 2, pp. 406 f. – Dr Kronenberg believed the imprint 'Ghedruct tot Wittenberch by my Melchior Lotther' to be authentic and thus came to her date in NK of late 1524 or early 1525; see also her 'Nederlandse post-incunabelen in Duitsland gedrukt', *Het Boek*, 34 (1959-60), pp. 12-20 (pp. 14, 20).

¹⁰³ The title-page is reproduced in Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), Pl. 2a. The words 'Niclaes van Oldenborch' in the caption must be canceled: the book has no imprint.

¹⁰⁴ Judging from the still extant copies, this is the fourth edition of this important book which was translated into French, English and Italian. The Dutch text is an adaptation of a Latin original entitled *Oeconomica christiana* (Argentinae [= Antwerp] 1527). On this work, with a rejection of the earlier attribution of authorship to Hendrik van Bommel (Bomelius), see Trapman, op. cit. (n. 57), *passim*; certain additional observations by *idem*, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la Réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 63 (1983), pp. 1-24 (pp. 9 ff.). The text of the earliest edition but one, NK 1968, still without *Dat ander deel* which has here been added, appeared as vol. 1 in the series Monumenta Reformationis Belgicae (n. 57).

¹⁰⁵ On this originally Dutch work which was reprinted several times, see above all De Bruin, art. cit. (n. 9), *passim*, with an extensive survey of the history and the present state of research. On p. 20 the author suggests that there are reasons for dating the *Sermonen* earlier than 1530, rather than later. Indeed, the words 'Ghecorrigeert ende verbeteret' on the title-page of the second part, NK 1692, suggest that it is a reprint. The lost original, possibly a publication by Mattheus Crom, was only prohibited in 1540, however; see Wijnman, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 449, n. 2. In A.G. Johnston's recent 'The sermons of Niclaes Peeters: partially unmasked', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 64 (1984), pp. 123-43, the author argues that the content does not allow the book to be dated earlier

A special case must be mentioned separately. In 1542 Mattheus Crom published a translation of Andreas Althamer's *Catechismus* with the title *Kinder leere*. Two editions appeared with that date, printed with different material but both with Crom's name in woodcut on the title-page. One appears to be a spurious reprint by Fraet in his T 32, with the V of set (a) as initial.¹⁰⁶ After Crom's death (his house was sold in 1548) it was obviously Fraet who had entered into possession of the woodblock, and in this reprint of a schoolbook which had in the meantime been prohibited, he used the name as camouflage. Here, too, however, the typographical material reveals the true origin. Dr Kronenberg (NK 3317) attributed a loose second (and last) quire to Van Oldenborch. The fragment is contained in a tract volume, together with eleven other publications which may be attributed to Fraet's press, in Leiden University Library; a complete copy is preserved in Ghent University Library.

Of the remaining six books, three are the work of another printer who was the victim of his clandestine activities: Adriaen van Berghen, briefly mentioned above. For years the most important publisher of Dutch books on theology, he published a great many works, often in the vision of the authorities of questionable orthodoxy. As persecution intensified, he published in ever greater secrecy. Nevertheless he ran into serious trouble: after various warnings he was banished from Antwerp in 1536. Thereafter he led a nomadic existence in the northern Netherlands as dealer in Protestant books until he again fell foul of the authorities and was finally executed in The Hague in 1542. In the intervening years his press in Antwerp apparently continued to function on a limited scale: he seems to have remained in touch with those he had to leave behind.¹⁰⁷ Before his banishment he printed anonymously an early edition (NK 3911) of the aforesaid *Summa der godliker scrifturen* with the same title border but with the year 1526. This date must be false: the work is composed from a fount of Lettersnijder's Pica, with not only a Bastarda v, as in Crom's work, but also a French w with an upward extension. Adriaen only used the face after 1530 or 1531 in this composition, so that we are again dealing with an antedated

than 1528. A reprint of the Lent volume, NK 1691, appeared under J.G.R. Acquoy's supervision (Uitgaven van de Maatschappij der Vlaamsche Bibliophilen, 4th S., 10; Gent 1893), with a reproduction of the title-page.

¹⁰⁶ BB (n. 9), vol. 3, p. 626, no. K 1; Heijting, op. cit. (n. 89), no. A.2.2 (vol. 1, pp. 114 f., vol. 2, pp. 7 f.).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. M.E. Kronenberg, 'De drukker-martelaar Adriaen van Berghen (†1542)', *Het Boek*, 16 (1927), pp. 1-8, which also contains the text of his sentence; *idem*, op. cit. (n. 19), pp. 88-92; for further bibliography on him, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 21), pp. 12 ff. For what was printed by his press after 1536, including eight or nine treatises by David Joris, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to the "arch-heretic" David Joris', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 163-209 (pp. 185 f.).

work.¹⁰⁸ The book contains one of the characteristic Gothic initials which he had been using for over twenty-five years.¹⁰⁹ A letter from the same set can also be found in another 'heretical' book belonging to our group: Urbanus Rhegius' *Een rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe* (NK 1791), a translation of his *No-vae doctrinae ad veterem collatio* which had appeared in 1526. The year 1527 on the title-page is probably correct in this case. The book is composed in a Pica Schwabacher which Adriaen often applied in his anonymous printing at about that time.¹¹⁰

There is also a third book which can be attributed to this printer: *Een gulden onderwijsinge* (NK 3631), the original edition of a work which we have already encountered in Fraet's reprint (W 14; illus. 10). The title-page, printed in an ornamental woodcut border with three female figures symbolizing Faith, Hope and Charity, gives as place and year of publication 'Nurenberch 1525',¹¹¹ taken over from the original, *Eyn Ratschlag, den etliche christenliche Pfarrherrn [...] verthedigenn wöllenn*, of which this is a free translation. At the end of the book the 'Nurenberch' imprint is repeated. The book does not contain any initials or other significant elements and the text is set in Lettersnijder's Pica in its original form, as Adriaen had used it

¹⁰⁸ The date 1526 was presumably taken from an earlier edition, to be had, according to a contemporary source, in Antwerp around Christmas of that year. See J. Decavele, 'Vroege reformatische bedrijvigheid in de grote Nederlandse steden. Claes van der Elst te Brussel, Antwerpen, Amsterdam en Leiden (1524-1528)', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 70 (1990), pp. 13-29 (pp. 23 f.). For the variant fount, see NAT Adriaen van Berghen X 41 and XIV 55. The Lettersnijder Pica which he had used for many years previously is reproduced there on Pl. VI 20, VIII 28-9, IX 34, X 42 and XV 61.

¹⁰⁹ Various letters of this set are reproduced in NAT Adriaen van Berghen IV 12 and IX 34 (two different A's), XIV 56 (E), XII 52 (G), VIII 29 (P) and 30 (D, I, N), XV 61 (T) and VI 20 (V). A variant N, on the verso of the title-page of *Summa, dat ander deel*, had already appeared in Adriaen's work in 1510 (in NK 1408) and was still used by him in 1535 in NK 3035.

¹¹⁰ Wouter Nijhoff does not give any reproduction of this typeface under Adriaen van Berghen and we may thus assume that he never saw it in his books. Yet the Schwabacher is reproduced in NAT, vol. 2, Inconnus VII fig. 22, after NK 2027. This anonymously printed *Nyeuwe tijdinge van Ferdinandus, coninck tot Bemen* is undoubtedly by this printer; it contains three of his Gothic initials, including NAT Pl. VIII fig. 30 (N), besides an ornamental letter from a smaller set we know to have been his. He probably bought the German type for camouflage purposes and used it in 1528 for his share in the production of a translation of Luther's *Postils* (NK 3464, there ascribed to his Antwerp colleague Johan Hoochstraten). He had used it earlier to print a translation of Luther's commentaries on Jonah and Habakkuk (NK 01335-6, the copy has recently been recovered), where the initial A as reproduced in NAT Adriaen van Berghen IX. 34, betrays the origin of the book. See U. Kopp, 'Ein unbekannter und andere niederländische Lutherdrucke von ca. 1528 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (I)', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 4 (1979), pp. 47-53 (pp. 49 ff. and illus. 3 A).

¹¹¹ For reproductions of the title-page and the typefaces, see NAT Nicolaes van Oldenborch II, fig. 7-9. Dr Kronenberg had already doubted whether the date referred to the Dutch edition.

before about 1530. In certain marginalia, however, his Pica Schwabacher is used and at some points we also find a lowercase h of that face in the Textura matter. He obviously had a shortage of this letter and had to make up for it by taking it from a different fount. This same unusual phenomenon can be observed in another book which appeared in about 1528: Luther's *Een christelicke oprechte wtlegghinghe des vijffsten boecks Mosi* (not in NK), a publication which can again be attributed with certainty to Adriaen van Berghen because this, too, contains two initials of his Gothic alphabet.¹¹²

We again find the fictitious printing place 'Nurenberch', as well as the woodcut border in a second edition of *Een gulden onderwijsinge* (NK 1623) (illus. 9). This, too, seems to be from Antwerp: both the types and the initial in the book point to the press of Catherine, widow of Christoffel van Ruremunde.¹¹³ She acquired a Letter-snijder Pica Textura in 1542 and used it in certain editions of official publications, the last dated 1546.¹¹⁴ The stringent laws of that year, so ominous for the book trade and of such consequence to Mierdmans, put an end to her activity as a publisher. The issuing of news reports in which she had specialized became virtually impossible. The press remained, however, and on 5 October 1548 Janne van Remunde, i.e. Hans (II) van Ruremunde (probably her son), obtained a licence to print.¹¹⁵ Both worked for the most part with the same typographical material, a complication which makes it particularly difficult to determine which of the two was responsible for undated clandestine publications printed with it. That is why it is not yet possible to provide a more precise attribution for the reprint of *Een gulden onderwijsinge*.

With Adriaen van Berghen and the Van Ruremundes it has again been possible to add some names to the list of printers involved in the production of what has hitherto been regarded as the work of Niclaes van Oldenborch. This, for the time being, is as far as it is possible to go: I have not managed to trace the names of the

¹¹² This commentary on Deuteronomy is also a recent discovery, cf. Kopp. art. cit. (n. 110), pp. 47 ff. and illus. 1-2. One of the initials (*ibid.* illus. 3 D) is NAT Adriaen van Berghen VIII 30 (d). The other is the Z from the same set, used reversed to serve as an E.

¹¹³ Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 194. The initial D can be found in BT 2046, a publication of 1542 with the imprint of the widow of Christoffel van Ruremunde.

¹¹⁴ The Lettersnijder Pica of 'de weduwe', as the widow of Christoffel van Ruremunde signed some of her publications (for the greater part news tidings) seems in some respects identical to that of Crom, including the unusual combination of a Bastarda v and a normal w. Her f and long s, however, extend below the line. Her first and last dated publications in which I have found the type are official decrees from 1542 or 1543 (BT 2045-6) and 1546 (BT 2364-5) respectively. In later years the fount was used by her son; see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Drukkers voor Menno Simons en Dirk Philips', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 17 (1991), pp. 31-74 (pp. 40 ff.).

¹¹⁵ Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 195. He is mentioned until 1556, but in that year exclusively as a book-seller. See also n. 99.

printers of the two remaining books. One of them, an edition of *Van den olden ende nieuwen Godt* (NK 1014),¹¹⁶ is undoubtedly from the anonymous press which, besides a few undated books, produced the original 1559 edition of Cornelis Cooltuyn's *Dat evangeli der armen*. Who the printer was we do not know, but the I with three thorns in his Lettersnijder's English Textura (VPT T 20) shows that he was working in Kampen or close by. As far as typefaces are concerned *Van dat avontmael ons Heeren* (NK 2323)¹¹⁷ could also be from this town, but the book contains no other elements indicating its origin. It seems certain that it was printed in the northern Low Countries at a later date than has hitherto been assumed.¹¹⁸

So the invented name of Niclaes van Oldenborch did not just serve to disguise one single publisher. What has been listed as his production, including attributions, appears to have been the work of seven or even eight printers. The most involved were Crom and Mierdmans with seven works each and Fraet with eleven or fifteen, if not eighteen publications. By far the largest number of these books indeed came from Antwerp, as Dr Kronenberg had already suggested, for Adriaen van Berghen, Hans de Laet and the Van Ruremundes were also living in that city. The pseudonym was again used in the 1550s in Kampen or a town in the vicinity. Other towns which have frequently been mentioned in this connection, Wesel and Emden, must be dismissed: their candidature rested exclusively on historical and theological arguments which lacked the reliable basis of a bibliographical analysis. Antwerp, and not Emden as has been assumed for such a long time, appears also to have been the town of origin of the books published under the name of Magnus

¹¹⁶ A reprint of Fraet's edition published between 1551 and 1554 – the latter dated far too early by NK 1013 where c.1524 is suggested; De Hoop Scheffer, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 410–15. A new reprint can be found in BRN 1 (n. 35), pp. 27–107, together with the text of the original: *Vom alten und nien Gott, Glauben und Ler* (earliest edition 1521), a work of uncertain authorship. It was once fairly generally attributed to Joachim Vadianus; more recently Ulrich Hugwald is named as a possible author. Cf. H. Scheible, 'Das reformatorische Schriftverständnis in der Flugschrift "Vom alten und nien Gott"', *Kontinuität und Umbruch. Theologie und Frömmigkeit in Flugschriften und Kleinliteratur an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, eds. J. Nolte, H. Tompist & C. Windhorst (Spätmittelalter und frühe Neuzeit, Tübinger Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, 2; Stuttgart 1978), pp. 145–77 (pp. 172 ff.); C. Bonorand, 'Stand und Probleme der Vadian-Forschung', *Zwingliana*, 11 (1963), pp. 586–606 (pp. 595 ff.). I thank Dr J. Trapman for pointing out these articles to me.

¹¹⁷ For Cooltuyn's *Dat evangeli der armen*, see the introduction to the reprint by F. Pijper in BRN 9 (n. 51), pp. 189–215. Because Cooltuyn stopped in Emden in 1559 after his departure from Alkmaar it has been assumed that the book was printed there. Typographical research has shown, however, that this is incorrect.

¹¹⁸ On this tract, see J. Trapman, 'Dat avontmael ons Heeren', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 51 (1971–2), pp. 149–66, with a reprint of the text. On p. 153 Joannes Sartorius is named as a possible author. Where the extant text is concerned we can say that both the spelling and some word forms point to its having been printed in the north-eastern Netherlands – something which does not of course necessarily affect the origin of the work itself.

vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout.¹¹⁹ With a single exception, only one clandestine printer used this name: Frans Fraet, as we now know for sure. After the discovery of Fraet as a virtually forgotten man of letters, we can now form an image of him in the trade which he practised. What we know of his career shows that he was the most active publisher of his time of Protestant books in the Netherlands. With his courage and his readiness, despite repeated warnings, to run the risks incurred by his profession, he deserves a place of honour in the history of the book in the sixteenth century.

CONCLUSION

What general conclusions can now be drawn from an article inevitably packed with titles of books and bibliographical references? In the first place that, as Wijnman had already suggested, Niclaes van Oldenborch must be dismissed once and for all as a historical figure. Dr Kronenberg's great idol actually existed as no more than a pseudonym behind which various printers tried, for nearly twenty-five years, to conceal their involvement in illegal publications – an object in which they were so successful that their secret remained undiscovered for centuries. The considerable output in his name, in addition to a large number of attributions, now disintegrates and appears to have been an ephemeral construction, an arbitrary scheme embracing the publications of various printers in Antwerp, Kampen and possibly elsewhere.

A second result is the discovery of Fraet's underground work as a printer-publisher and the recognition of his eminent role in the history of the Reformation book in the Low Countries. At this early stage he contributed more than anyone else to the diffusion of the new doctrine in the vernacular. His publications excelled both in quantity and in intrinsic merits those of the few other publishers in this field. He thus proved himself a worthy successor of men like Adriaen van Berghen, Mattheus Crom and Steven Mierdmans. From now on this output, which has hitherto not been attributed to Antwerp,¹²⁰ must take its place in the assessment of the ways by which an increasing part of the population of the Low Countries came into contact with the advancing Reformation. It becomes ever clearer that the role of Emden as a publishing centre,¹²¹ however important, has been overestimated. After other recently dismissed attributions, the town must now also be deprived of the 'Mer-

¹¹⁹ For checklists of these publications and their new attributions, see Appendices II and III.

¹²⁰ For the current view on the subject, see Johnston & Gilmont, 'L'Imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', *La Réforme et le livre*, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 191-216 (p. 199): 'Après 1546, le livre protestant n'est pas pratiquement plus imprimé à Anvers dans aucune langue'.

¹²¹ See also on this matter my articles mentioned in n. 33.

berghe' publications. Emden could only take over Antwerp's leading position in this area completely after Fraet's execution: partly because of his renown as a writer this event must have made a deep impression and the authorities in Brussels could be well satisfied with its prompt effect as a deterrent on his colleagues within the national borders.

The most consequential outcome of this investigation lies elsewhere, however: the significance of the new attributions for the chronology of the Reformation in the Low Countries. For many years this chronology was determined by the dating in the *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, the standard work started by Wouter Nijhoff and expanded to three times its original length by Dr Maria Kronenberg. Later investigations by Benzing and Visser¹²² into the translations of texts by Luther made it necessary to correct certain points, but her attributions were otherwise maintained. Scholars working on the subject of ecclesiastical and dogmatic history were generally obliged to accept her dating and placing of publications for lack of any other data for the study of printed literary sources.

We can now see that, despite her in many respects exemplary treatment of the material, Dr Kronenberg fell into a trap which was set at the time by various printers in order to escape detection. No more than earlier scholars, from the first specialist, Isaac Le Long, to eminent church historians like De Hoop Scheffer, Pont and their later colleagues, did she take sufficient account of the practice of antedating. Invented dates of publication are indeed to be found in that period, especially in heterodox theological writings – the area on which the authorities concentrated with particular ferocity until the rise of political propaganda. In order to throw their persecutors off the trail, the printers resorted to every conceivable means of camouflage. One method was to give the impression that the book had been printed some years earlier, sometimes even in the time before the odious 'plakkaten' ('placards') had prohibited such publications – years like 1518, 1520, 1525 and 1531 do not appear to have been arbitrary choices. Even when the authorities distrusted such dates of issue, uncertainty as to their correctness, or not, can hardly have encouraged them to embark on the difficult investigation into the identity of the publisher. This method was used until about 1555. At that point the protection which had previously been expected obviously no longer held its own against the disadvantage of outdatedness in the eyes of the reading public.

Although only a small part of the books discussed in this article was antedated, Dr Kronenberg's misjudgement of the phenomenon had heavier consequences than might be expected from their quantity. It led her to datings which were too early, sometimes far too early, for the entire production of certain printers or of

¹²² Visser, op. cit. (n. 27) pp. 89 ff., nos. 67, 73 and 74 = NK 1432, 3460 and 1422 respectively; cf. NK vol. 3, pt. 5, p. xvii.

groups of publications without an imprint which proceeded from the same press.¹²³ Fictitious dates give a misleading impression of the period in which certain books were issued and could thus reach the public. The moment in which it was possible to become acquainted with the content shifts according to the interval between the false and the true date of publication. The larger the margin, the greater the distortion in the reception and consumption of the book and its possible influence, in this case on religious developments in the Low Countries. An error in the domain of bibliography thus entails consequences which reach considerably farther.

Further conclusions about the new dating, however, lie more in the domain of church historians than of bibliographers. I shall now simply limit myself to a brief survey of the differences between the descriptions provided by Dr Kronenberg and the revisions suggested in my article. We have seen that of the thirty-eight books published under the name of Nicolaes van Oldenborch in the *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* there are only three, the publications of Adriaen van Berghen, which certainly belong to the period dealt with in that work. It is possible that the six publications of Mattheus Crom, dateable from about 1539 to 1543, just fit within the set chronological limits. The others, however, are undoubtedly outside them, sometimes by three to six year, but often by more. Six books (NK 246, 1009, 1013, 1422, 1423 and 1885), which Dr Kronenberg dated from about 1522 to about 1530, actually only appeared in about 1550 or later still. The same applies to four (NK 472, 1010, 1790 and 3108) of eight publications which she placed between 1530 and 1540. These ten books which have been dated far too early include works whose content and influence make them amongst the most important Protestant writings to be published in Dutch at the time.

The picture of the religious literature accessible in the vernacular to the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the first two decades of the Reformation is thus greatly altered: a comparatively large number of titles must be eliminated. The shift becomes still clearer if we also consider the other Protestant works described in the *Nederlandsche bibliographie* – books attributed to other printers or without an ascription and simply provided with a date. There, too, the situation would appear

¹²³ This conclusion seems to be confirmed by the significant fact that of the many books she attributed to Van Oldenborch only three (NK 1692, 1789 and 2193; cf. Appendix II) are listed in the Louvain *Indices* of 1546 and 1550. In this context one should notice that Bujanda, op. cit. (n. 35), wrongly identifies his no. 168 with NK 472 – this ought to be NK 2549, an unsigned edition by Adriaen van Berghen. For Gnapheus' *Troost ende spiegel der siecken* (Bujanda's no. 158) NK 1010 and 3108 are recorded, but these were printed after 1550; actually the book's condemnation may be attributed to one of the two earlier editions recently discovered (see notes 46-7). For Bujanda's no. 171 NK 3788 should be assigned; NK 1787 and 4170 are both from a later period. For his no. 167 the author refers to NK 1924 instead of NK 1925; and finally the identification of no. 157 with NK 1790 should be cancelled. Apparently the interdicted book was an (unknown) older edition – presumably published by Crom or Mierdmans with the Van Oldenborch pseudonym and the date 1536.

to be the same: with the exception of a group of early Luther translations various publications have been dated too early and are wrongly included in the work. I hope to deal with the results of that part of my research on another occasion.

APPENDIX I

Report by the Pensionary of Antwerp, 31 December 1557

Alzoe byden officier deser stadt ierst gevangen ende *daerna* ter vierscharen -beticht- waeren geweest eenen Frans Fraet drucker -poorter- [- ter sake] ende tegen hem conclusie genomen ter scerper examinatie mids dien hy tot vier reysen alhier hadde gevangen geweest mids zyn mesusen ende dien nyet tegenstaende onlancx noch hadde gedrukt op andere namen date ende plaetsen *verscheyden* quade boecken innehoudende quade secten ende leeringen tenderende tot oproerichheit ende seditien ende besunderen oick nu onlancx versiert ende gefabriceert zekere zeer quade opruerige pronosticatie opten naem van eenen Meester Willem de Vriese / tenderende tot commotie van zeer quaden *exemple* ende consequentien / blyckende den selve naerdere by zyn eygen verlyt boecken ende pronosticatie die hy exhibeerde waer op den selven gehoort hadde by mynen heeren borgemeesteren ende scepenen het vonnis *daeraf* opten naestlesten decembris 1557 gehouden geweest in advyse tot des anderen daeghs / Soe hebben de voers. wethouderen ten selven voernoene vuyter vierscharen comende opte voers. conclusie gelet insgelycx de voers. pronosticatie verlyt ende boecken gesien ende daeren tusschen voer hen opinie geresolveert dat deselve wel behoorde ter bancke geleet te worden om te weten doer wyen hy *daer*toe opgeruyt waeren besundere want de sake tenderende waeren tot ontstichtinge ende oproerichheit te meer want de voers. pronosticatie vele saken was innehoudende grootelyck doende tegen de weereldlycke ende oic geestelycke overheyt ende tot dien eynde te worden ontpoortert sluytende datmen tselve den breeden Raide om andere saken alsdoen vergaiderende soude te kennen gheven dwelck dien volgende is gedaen geweest / waer op eyntelyck byde selven breeden Raide dach van *vertrecke* is genomen tot op des anderen daechs besundere mits dien de poorterye tselve oft langere *vertreck* had versocht vuyt dien zy seyden nyet al vergadert te wesen van welcken *vertrecke* zy nyet en wilden scheyden nyet tegenstaende allen remonstrantien hen *daerop* oick apart gedaen / Ten voers. anderen dage den lesten decembris hebben de voers. leden tvoers. gesproken hebbende (nadyen oic der poorteryen het verlyt ende pronosticatie gelesen waeren metten titelen vande boecken by hem gedrukt) eyntelyck *vercleert*

Te weten de oudescepenen dat zy hem int ontpoorteren vande voers. Frans conformeerden metten opinien van borgemeesteren ende scepenen ende *daerin* consenteerden / die vande poorterye *vercleerden* ter contrarien dat zy in nyet en volchden de

opinionen vande scepenen noch oudescepenen noch *daerinne* en consenteerden

Ende die vande [-poorteryen] Ambachten dat zy gheen stoffe en vonden om den man te ontpoorteren *ende* also *daerin* nyet consenteerden / Aldus gedaen ten voers. [-naest]lesten *decembris* 1557.

My *daerby* zynde

[signed] J. Wesenbeke

Stadsarchief (Municipal Archives) Antwerpen - A 4574, 31 December 1557

(Transcription by Mrs G. Degueudre)

Letter from Philip II to the Margrave of Antwerp, 4 January 1557 [= 1558 NS]

Byden Coninck.

Lieue ende beminde. Alsoo wy geaduerteert zyn dat onsen Schoutet van Antwerpen onlanx geapprehendeert soude hebben eenen fransois fraet geswooren printer ende borger vande voirsz stadt die hem veruoirdert heeft te printen ende distribueren diuersche gereprobeerde quade ende suspecte boecken, ende oick bevonden wesende op tfait druckende een valsche schandeleuse ende seditieuse pronosticatie, oft prophecie, Ruerende alle geestelijcke ende weerlycke princen ende potentaten, ende oick gemeyne volcke, de selue verweckende tot seditie oft desperatie al directelick tegens onse placaten ende ordinantien op tstuck vande Herezie tot diuersche stonden gepubliceert, Ende gemerct dat de voirsz getuigen tselue alleene nijet en heeft kunnen gedoen, maer hem sonder twyffel beholpen heeft met quade valsche ende opruerige gheesten, mogelijkck heijmelyck verstandt hebbende met onsen viant sulcx datter materie ende stoffe meer dan ghenough is om den voirsz gevanghene te bringhen ende legghen ter scerper examinaten, desen nochtans nyet tegenstaende verstaen dat die vanden derde leden vanden voirsz stadt difficulteijt ende zwaricheijt *daerinne* soudén vinden ende maken, sonder dat wy geïnformeert zijn oft kunnen -verstaen- begrypen de Redenen die hun soude mogen moueren, Soo eest dat wij mits dimportancie van dese zake wesende van groten ende quaden exemplaer, ende tegens de gemeyne weluaert ende prosperiteyt vande voirsz stadt Ordineren ende beuelen om ons terstont te aduerteren int particulier vande gelegentheijt van deser saken, ende tgene wes inden breeden Raet verthoent ende gepasseert is, ende het fundament vanden voirsz derden lede ende oft hier voortijts in gelycke oft meerdere saken zy int onborgeren nyet geconsentee[rt en] hebben, mitsgaders vanden inhouden vande preuilegie waarmede die vanden voirsz derden lede hun soude moegen pretenderen te behelpen, ende op als u advis [in the margin:] ons omscryven ende des nijet en laet. Lieue ende beminde

onse Heere god zij met u. Gescreuen in onsen stadt van Bruessele den iiijen dach van Januario 1557 [= 1558 NS].

Brussels, Archives générales du royaume - Audience 1709²

Jan van Immerseel's Reply, 6 January [1558]

Sire Votre Ma.^{te} mat ordonne par ses lettres en date du iiij.^e de ce present de superceder encores a la procedure contre franchois fraet, de lapprehention duquel auois aduertit Monseigneur le duc de Savoye par deux mes *lettres*, la premiere en date le vj.^{me} de decembre, par laquelle jaduertis ledict Seigneur Duc de lapprehention par moy faicte de susdict fraet, et de ces mesures ayant alors envoye certaines prognostications par luy forgees et imprimes, Et par la seconde du dernier dudict ay aduertit des difficultés que les membres de ceste ville *assauoir* bourgeoisie et mestiers ont faict pour desbourgoiser ledict fraet lequel sans le estre ne se pouoit mettre a torture, ayant par lesdictes mes *lettres* escript que pour demonstrier auxdicts membres que me sentoies bien fonde contre ledict fraet que estoie delibere de Lundy alors prochain (que estoit le troisieme de ce mois) *proceder* a la vierschaer criminele contre ledict ; ce que jay fect pour non auoir eu ordonnance du contraire, ayant le susdict fraet ce mesme jour este condampne a la mort. Lequel at este le lendemain execute, nayant soustenu ne debatue aucune mauuaise opinion, et en article dela mort publicquement a declare nauoir aulcun mauuais sentiment, ains quil morut volentiers et bon XPien, pour ces oeuvres quil disoit auoir fect pour lentretenement de ces femme et enfans. [Follows the complimentary phrase] anvers le vj.me jour de januiers
[Signed] Jan de Ymerzelle

Brussels, Archives générales du royaume - Audience 235, f. 18r.+v.

APPENDIX II

'Van Oldenborch' Editions

(To be compared with Kronenberg's list in NK, vol. 3, part 3, pp. 201-3)

Reference: W = H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [= 1968]), pp. 476-8 ('Appendix').

- NK 246 *Van den propheet Baruch* (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1552-4]).
- NK 472 *Den boom der schriftueren* (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1552-4]).
- NK 529 *Catechismus dat is de groote kinderleere* (*s.l.*, Niclaes van Oldenborch, 1538 [=Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]); W 7.
- NK 915 *Expositie op den 126en Psalm* (*s.l.*, Niclaes van Oldenborch, *s.a.* [=Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]); W 9.
- NK 1009 [Gnapheus], *Disputacie tusschen die kettermeeesters en Jan van Woorden* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1552-4]).
- NK 1010 [Gnapheus], *Troost ende spiegel der siecken* (*s.l.e.a.*, Niclaes van Oldenborch, '1031' (32*) [= Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1552-4]); W 1.
- NK 1013 *Van den olden ende nieuwen God* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1552-4]).
- NK 1014 *Van den olden ende nieuwen God* (*s.l.a.n* [Kampen?, 'Cooltuyndrukker', c.1559]).
- NK 1115 *Die hoofstucken des Christen gheloofs* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet?, 1550/1]).
- NK 1422 [Luther], *Den cleynen cathecismus* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet?, 1550/1]).
- NK 1423 [Luther], *Een schoon expositie wten 67. Psalm* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1555-7]).
- NK 1429 [Luther], *Uutlegghinghe op het 4e cap. van S. Jans 1e epistel* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]).
- NK 1430 [Luther], *S Jans 15e cap. uutgheleyt* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]).
- NK 1431 [Luther], *Uutlegghinghe des 16en cap. van S. Jans Evangelie* (*s.l.*, Niclaes van Oldenborch, 1534 [=Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]); W 3.
- NK 1434 [Luther], *Den 13oen Psalm uutgheleyt* (*s.l.*, Niclaes van Oldenborch, 1536 [=Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]); W 5.
- NK 1623 *Gulden onderwijsinge* (*s.l.e.n.* ['Neurenberg'] 1525 [=Antwerpen, Weduwe Christoffel van Ruremunde, 1542-6, or Hans (II) van Ruremunde, c.1550]).
- NK 1682 *Passionael-boecxken* (*s.l.a.n* [= Antwerp, Frans Fraet?, 1550/1]).
- NK 1691 Niclaes Peeters, *Sermonen oft uutlegghingen op alle de Evangelien vander vasten metter passien* (*s.l.e.n.* 1520 [=Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]).
- NK 1692 ['Niclaes Peeters'], *Christelike sermonen op alle de Evangelien van alle de sondaghen ende principael heylichdaghen int jaer* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]).
- NK 1787 *Refutacie vant Salve regina* (*s.l.a.n* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, c.1552-4]).

- NK 1789 Urbanus Regius, Dialogus van de prekinghe ... op den Paesdach (*s.l.*, Nicolaes van Oldenborch, 1538 [=Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]); W 8.
- NK 1790 Urbanus Regius, De medicijne der sielen (*s.l.*, Nicolaes van Oldenborch, 1536 [=Antwerp, Frans Fraet, 1552-4]); W 4.
- NK 1791 Urbanus Regius, Een rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe (*s.l.e.n.* [Antwerp, Adriaen van Berghen], 1527).
- NK 1885 Een en troostelijcken Sendbrief voor allé die om der waerheyt ... vervolcht worden (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet, 1552-4]).
- NK 1924 Spel van sinnen op tderde, vierde ende vijfde cap. van dwerck der Apostelen (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerpen, Frans Fraet, 1552-4]).
- NK 1969 Summa der godliker scrifturen (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]).
- NK 2092 Een costelicke uitleggginge oft expositie op die X gheboden ... (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]).
- NK 2193 Der waerheyt onderwijs (*s.l.*, Nicolaes van Oldenborch, 1536 [=Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6]); W 6.
- NK 2194 Der waerheyt onderwijs (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]).
- NK 2323 Van dat avontmael ons Heeren (*s.l.a.n.* [Kampen?, printer unknown, c.1555-60?]).
- NK 2778 Een seer schoon dialogus van der waerheyt (*s.l.*, Niclacs van Oldenborg [*sic*], *s.a.*); W 10.
- NK 3108 [Gnapheus], Troost ende spyegel der siecken (*s.l.* Nicolaes van Oldenborch, 1532 [=Kampen?, printer unknown, c.1555-60?]); W 2.
- NK 3317 [Kinderleere, fragment] ('Antwerpen, Mattheus Crom, 1542' [=Frans Fraet, 1552-4]).
- NK 3399 Vier liedekens (Straatsburg, Cornelis van Nieuhuys, *s.a.* [=Antwerp, Frans Fraet, 1555-7]).
- NK 3460 [Luther], Dat schoone Confitemini (*s.l.a.n.* [Antwerp, Frans Fraet?, 1550/1]).
- NK 3631 Gulden onderwijnsinge (*s.l.* ['Neurenberg'], *s.n.*, 1525 [=Antwerp, Adriaen van Berghen, not after 1532]).
- NK 3911 Summa der godliker scrifturen (*s.l.e.n.* 1526 [=Antwerp, Adriaen van Berghen, not before 1531]).
- NK 4239 Patrick Hamilton, Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts (Marburg, Cornelius Nyenhuys, *s.a.* [=Antwerp, Frans Fraet, 1552-4]).
- NK (-) [Gnapheus], Een troost ende spiegel der siecken (*s.l.*, Nicolaes van Oldenborch [=Antwerp, Adriaen van Berghen], 1531); cf. n. 47.
- NK (-) [Gnapheus], Een troost ende spiegel der siecken (*s.l.*, Nicolaes van Oldenborch, 'MXXXI' (*sic*) [=Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43]); cf. n. 46.
- W 11 Der waerheyt onderwijs (*s.l.*, Nicolaes van Oldenborch [=Antwerp, Hans de Laet, but printed by Frans Fraet?], 1555).

APPENDIX III

Checklist of Books by or attributed to Frans Fraet

References:

BT = *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94).

Machiels = J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979).

MEK = M.E. Kronenberg, 'Is Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout een schuilnaam van Niclaes van Oldenborch?', *Het Boek*, 31 (1952-4), pp. 105-12, with 3 plates, and her additions to this article, 'Meer drukken van Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout (Niclaes van Oldenborch)', *ibid.*, pp. 311-12.

NK = W. Nijhoff & M. E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('-Gravenhage 1923-71).

W = H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia bibliographica in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey* (Amsterdam 1966 [= 1968]), pp. 476-8 ('Appendix').

Frans Fraet, 1550/I (Type: VPT T 30)

No imprint:

(1) [Mart. Luther], Een schoon expositie wten 67. Psalm (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1423; see n. 101. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(2) Hier zijn ghestelt vier liedekens ('Straesburch, Cornelis van Nieuhuys', *s.a.*); NK 3399; see n. 100. – Copy: Ghent, UL.

(3) Balth. Friedberger (Hubmaier), Ghenade ende vrede ... ('Wittenberch, Melchior Lotter', *s.a.*); NK 1145; see n. 102. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

Frans Fraet, or a predecessor, 1550/I (Type: VPT T 32)

No imprint:

(4) Dye hoottstucken des Christen gheloofs, inhoudende het fundament der Christelijcker religien (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1115. – Copies; Amsterdam, UL; Ghent, UL.; Utrecht, UL.

(5) [Mart. Luther], Den cleynen cathechismus, oft een onderwijs ende fundament des Christeliken gheloofs (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1422. – Copies: Göttingen, UL; Utrecht, UL.

(6) Passionael-boecxken. Tracterende van dat lijden ons Heeren Jesu Christi, met nog veel meer andere troostelike stucken (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1682. – Copies; Amsterdam, UL; London, British Library (BL); Nijmegen, UL (formerly Wittem); Utrecht, UL.

(7) D. M[art.] L[uther], Dat schoone Confitemini. In tghetal den hondert ende achthiensten Psalm [...] Met een nyeuwe Prologhe (*s.l.s.n.*); NK 3460. – Copies: Berlin, Stadtbibliothek (SB); London, BL.

Frans Fraet, 1551/2-1554/5 (Type: VPT T 32)

With an imprint in the name of Niclaes van Oldenborch:

(8) [Guil. Gnapheus], Een troost ende spiegel der siecken ende der ghenen die in lijden zijn (*s.l.a.n.* [Colophon: 'Ghedruct by my Niclaes van Oldenborch [...] M.XXXI' (*sic*)]); NK 1010; W 1. – Copies: Greifswald, UL; Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL.

(9) U[rbanus] R[egius], De medicijne der sielen, voor die ghesonde ende crancke in des doots noodt (*s.l.a.n.* [Colophon: 'Ghedruct by mi Claes van Oldenborch [...] M.D.XXXVI']); NK 1790; W 4. – Copies: Ghent, UL (def.); Utrecht, UL.

With an imprint in the name of Magnus van den Merberghe:

(10) [Hans Sachs], Een schoon disputacie van eenen evangelischen schoenmaker ende van eenen papistigen coorheere (*s.l.*, 'Ghedruckt by my Magnus vanden Merberghe', *s.a.*); MEK 6; W 18. – Greifswald, UL.

(11) [Justus Jonas and Michael Celsius], Twee troostelijcke sermonen over dat lijck D. Martini Lutheri ghedaen tot Eisleben 19 en 20 Februari 1546 (*s.l.*, 'Ghedruct by my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout', *s.a.*); MEK 2; W 19. – Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

With an imprint in the name of Mattheus Crom:

(12) [Andreas Althamer], Kinder Leere. Dat Christen gheloove, die thien ghebooden, den Vader onse, van de Wet, ende Evangelie (*s.l.*, 'Matt. Crom [in woodcut] M.D.xlij'); Machiels K 275; NK 3317; and see n. 106). – Copies: Ghent, UL; Leiden UL (fragment).

No imprint:

(13) Niklaus von Amsdorf, Vanden Christelijcken [...] sterven des [...] vorsts [...] Joannes Frederyck den ouden, wylen hertoghe van Sassen [...] 1554 (*s.l.a.n.*); MEK p. 108: Niclaes van Oldenborch. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(14) Den boom der schriftueren van 6 personagien ghespelt tot Middelburch, 1539 (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 472 and see vol. 2 p. xlviii). – Copies: Greifswald, UL; Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek (SB) ('Trou moet blycken'); Leiden, UL (wanting last quire).

(15) [Guil. Gnapheus], Een suverlicke ende seer schoone disputacie [...] in den Haghe in Hollant, tusschen die kettermesters ende [...] Jan van Woorden, aldaer [...] verbrant (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1009. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(16) Patricius [Patrick Hamilton], Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen sa-

licheyts ('Ghedruct tot Marburch bi my Cornelius Nyenhuys', *s.a.*); NK 4239. – Copy: Greifswald, UL.

(17) Refutacie vant Salve regina [...] bewijsende dat desen lofsanck rechte afgoderie is (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1787 and see vol. 3, pt. 1, p. xvii. – Copies: Greifswald, UL; Leiden, UL (wanting last leaf).

(18) Een spel van sinnen op tderde, tvierde ende tvijfde capittel van Dwerck der Apostolen (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1924 and see vol. 3, pt. 1, p. xviii) – Copies: Greifswald, UL; Leiden, UL (def.).

(19) Een en troostelijcken sendbrief, voor alle die om der waerheyt ende om Christus naem vervolcht worden (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1885 and see vol. 3, pt. 1, p. xviii). – Copies: Greifswald, UL; Leiden, UL (def.).

(20) Vanden olden ende nieuwen God, geloove ende leere (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 1013. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(21) Vanden Propheet Baruch (*s.l.a.n.*); NK 246. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(22) Veelderhande schriftuerlijcke Liedekens ghemaect wt den ouden ende nieuwen testamente, nu nyeus anderwerf gecorrigeert [...] ende vermeerdert (*s.l.a.n.*); See n. 86. – Copy: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB).

Frans Fraet, 1553 (Type: VPT T 20)

With an imprint in Fraet's own name:

(23) Nieu waerachtighe tidinghe vander victorien des Keysers volc, hoe si de stercke stadt Teruwanen beleghen hadden ... (*s.l.a.n.* [Colophon: 'Ghedruct tot Hantwerpen [...] by Frans Fraet [...] 1553']); Machiels K 218, and see n. 81. – Copy: Ghent, UL.

(24) Een waerachtighe goede nieu tidinghe vanden K. M. waer synen persoon is ende van syn macht van volcke ende ghelde ... (*s.l.e.n.* [Colophon:] 'Ghedruct Tantwerpen [...] by my Frans Fraet', *s.a.* [c.1553]); Machiels K 198, and see n. 81. – Copy: Ghent, UL.

Frans Fraet, 1554/5-1557 (Type: VPT T 30, variant)

With an imprint in the name of Niclaes van Oldenborch:

(25) Der waerheyt onderwijs. Een tsamen sprekinghe ... (*s.l.a.n.* [Colophon: 'Ghedruct by Niclaes van Oldenborch. Anno 1555']); BT 4856; W 11. Presumably printed by Fraet for Hans de Laet. – Copies: Brussels, Royal Library (KBR); London, BL; Dutch private collection.

With an imprint in the name of Magnus vanden Merberghe:

(26) Joannes Anastasius Veluanus, Een cort onderricht van allen principalen puncten des Christen gheloofs ... ghe-naempt der Leeken Wechwijser ... ('Ghedruct by Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oosterhout [...] 1555'); MEK 1; W 12. – Copy: The

Hague, KB.

(27) Een gulden onderwijsinge om te antwoorden op alle punten die die vanden der waerheyt bybrenghe moghen [...] Nurenberch 1556 (*s.l.a.n* [Colophon: 'Nurenberch 1525. Ghedruckt by my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout, 1556']); MEK 3; W 14. – Copy: The Hague, KB.

(28) Een suyverlijck ende schriftuerlijck boecxken van drie schriftuerlijcke Liedekens ende drie schriftuerlijcke Refereynen ... ('Ghedruckt by my Magnus vanden Merberghe. Anno 1556'); MEK 9; W 15. – Copies: The Hague, KB, Utrecht UL.

(29) Veelderhande Liedekens, gemaect wt den ouden ende nieuwen Testamente, nu derdewerf gecorrigeert ende meer ander daer by gheset ... ('Ghedruckt by Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout. Anno 1556'); MEK 10; W 16). – Copy: The Hague, KB.

(30) Polytes Basilius [= Urbanus Regius], Dialogus oft Tsamensprekinghe. Van de prekinge die Christus den twee discipelen dede tot Emaus gaende ... (*s.l.a.n* [Colophon: 'Ghedruckt int jaer ons Heeren 1557. By Magnus vanden Merberghe']); MEK 5, not seen; cf. n. 58). – Copy: Hamburg, SB (†).

(31) [Urbanus Regius], Dialogus oft tsamensprekinghe [van Polytes en Anna], van de prekinge die Christus den twee discipelen dede tot Emaus gaende ... (*s.l.a.n* [Colophon: 'Ghedruckt int jaer ons Heeren M.vijf C.LVJJ (1557) By Magnus vanden Merberghe']); Machiels R 105. – Copies: Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB.

(32) Summa der Godliker scrifturen oft een duytsche Theologie leerende [...] wat dat Christen gheloove is [...] Nu wederom seer neerstelijck ghecorrigeert (*s.l.a.n* [Colophon: 'Ghedruckt by my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout [...] 1557 in Aprijl volint']); MEK 8; W 17 (not seen). – Copy: Hamburg SB (†).

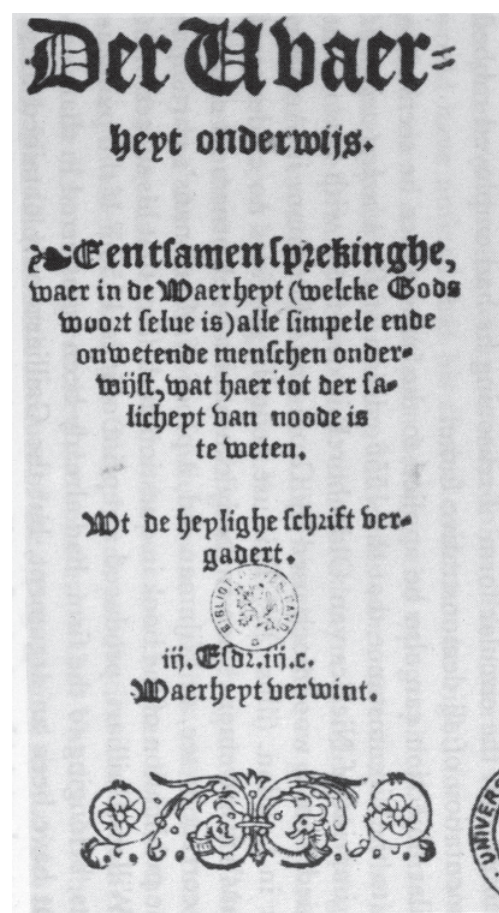
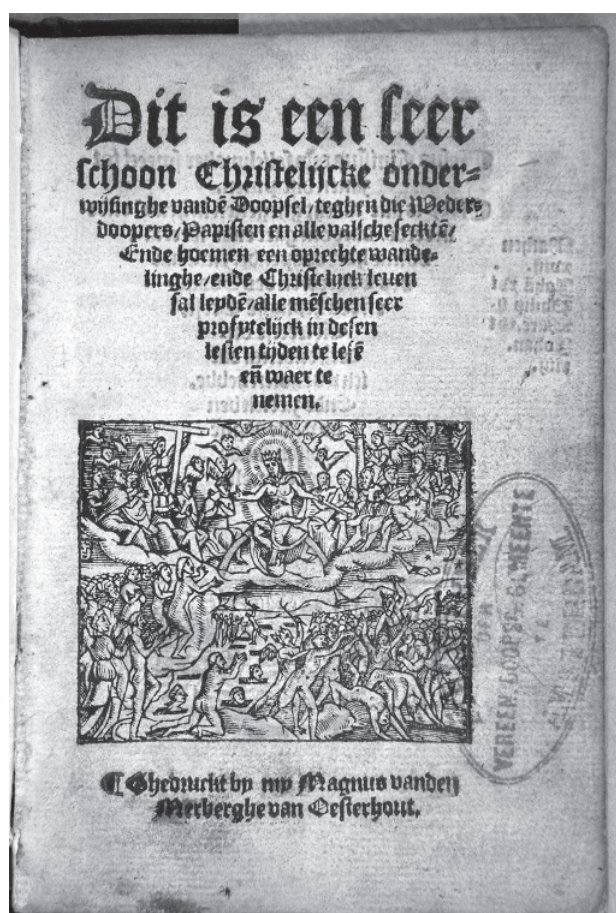
(33) [Erasmus Alberus?], Dit is een seer schoon Christelijcke onderwijsinge vanden Doopsel, teghen die Wederdoopers, Papisten en alle valsche seckten ... ('Ghedruckt by my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout', *s.a.*); MEK 4; W 20. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library); Ghent, UL.

No imprint?

(34) [Prophecie vanden ouden meester Willem de Vriese van Maastricht, naer zijn doot onder zijn hooft gevonden. Beginnende vanden jaere 58 totten jaere 70] (*s.l.a.n.*? [1557]). – No copy known, see note 78.

For Hans II van Liesveldt

(35) La Grande et pepertuelle Prognostiation, Anvers, chez Jehan de Liesvelt, s.a.[1553?] BT 1322. – Copy: Brussels RL. See note 99.

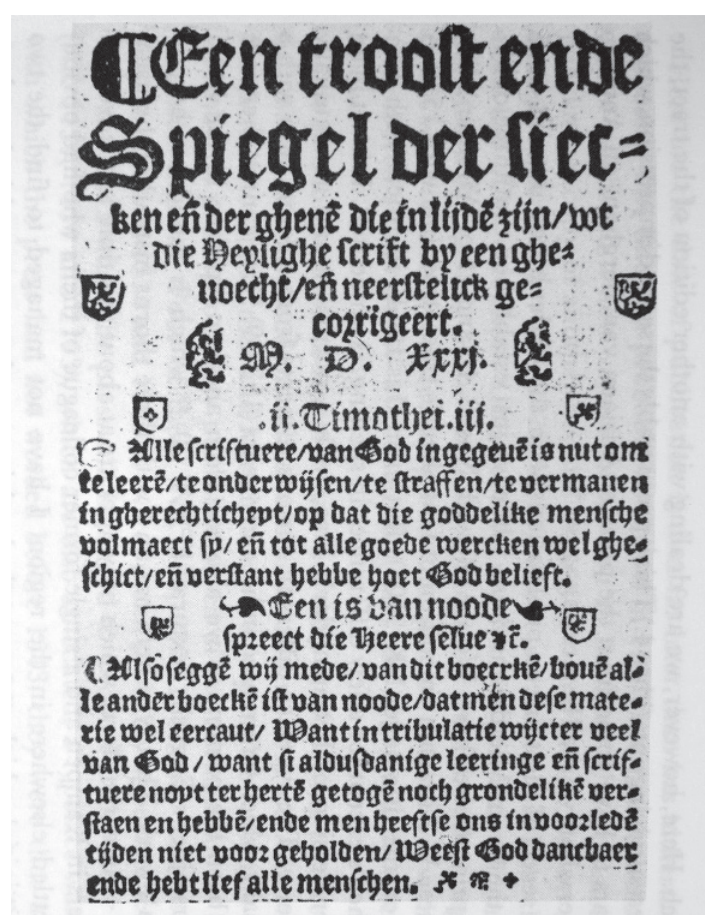
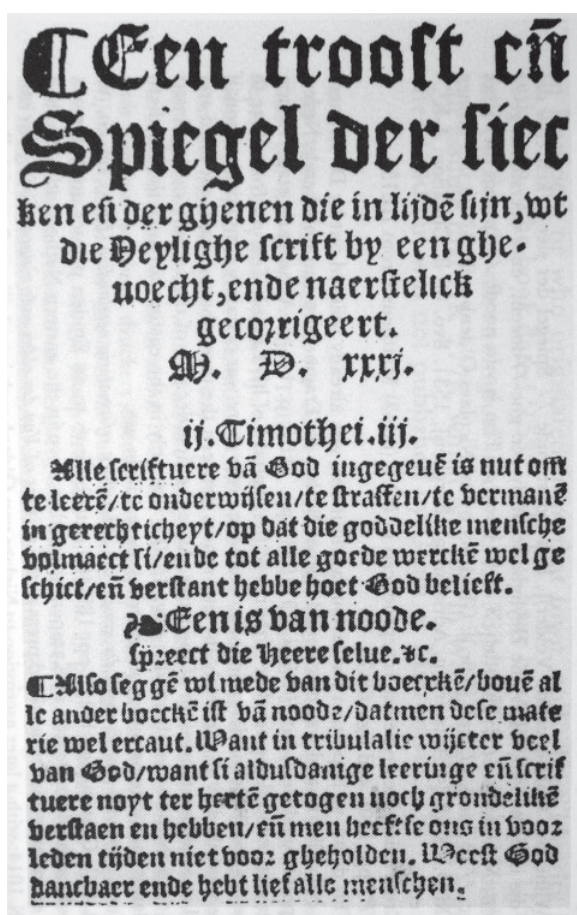


1

[Erasmus Alberus?], *Christelijcke onderwijsinghe van den doopsel* (s.l. Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout, s.a. [= Antwerp, Frans Fraet, 1554/5-57])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 65-216; Winman 20. Checklist no. 33.)

2

Der Waerheyt onderwijs (s.l., Nicolaes van Oldenborch, 1536 [= Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6])
(Scan from the original publication; NK 2193; Wijnman 6.)



3

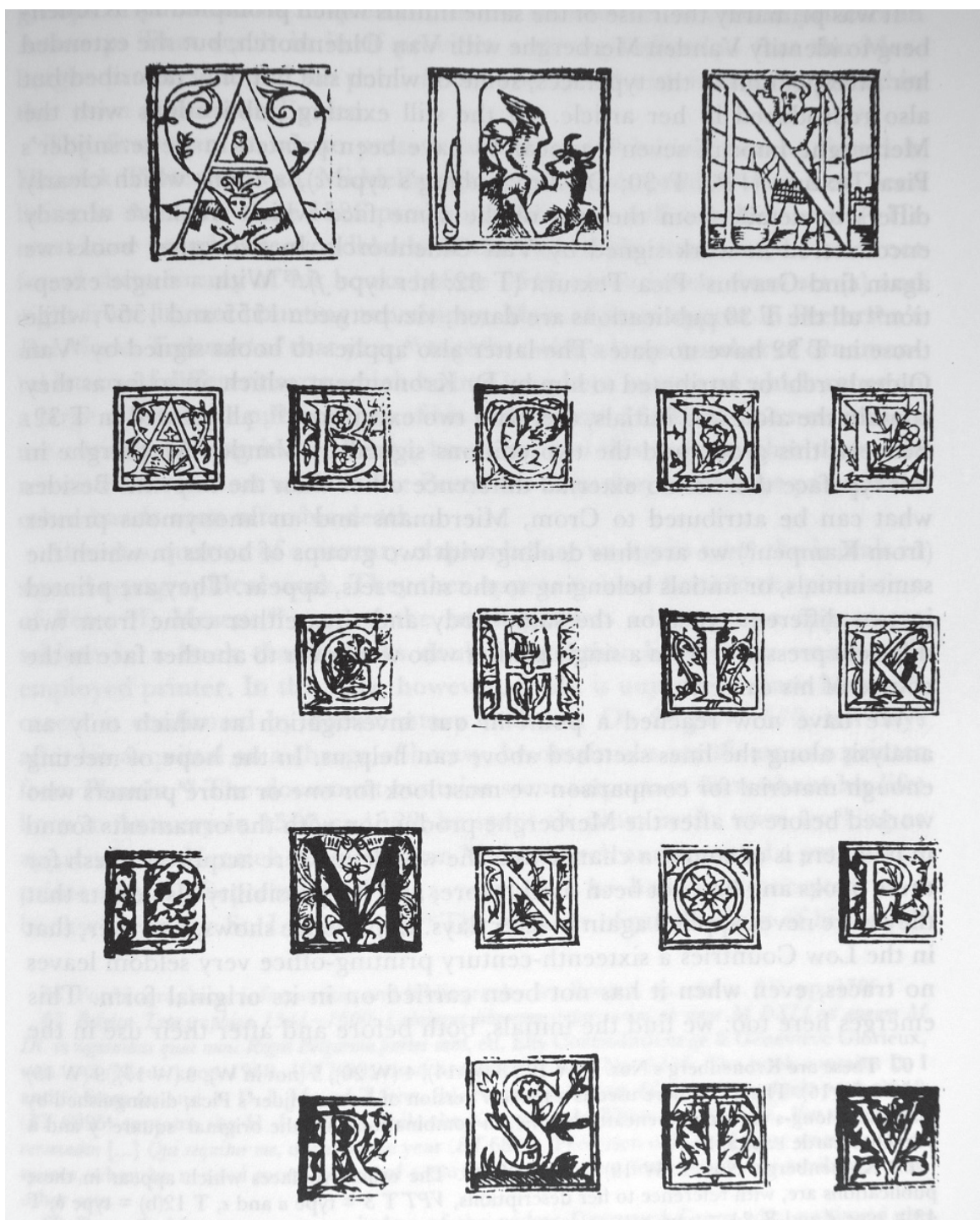
[Wilhelmus Gnapheus], *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken* (s.l., Niclaes van Oldenborch, 1531
 [= Antwerp, Mattheus Crom, 1539-43])

(Scan from the original publication)

4

[Wilhelm Gnapheus], *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken* (s.l., Niclaes van Oldenborch [= Ant-
 werp, Adriaen van Berghen], 1531), see note 47

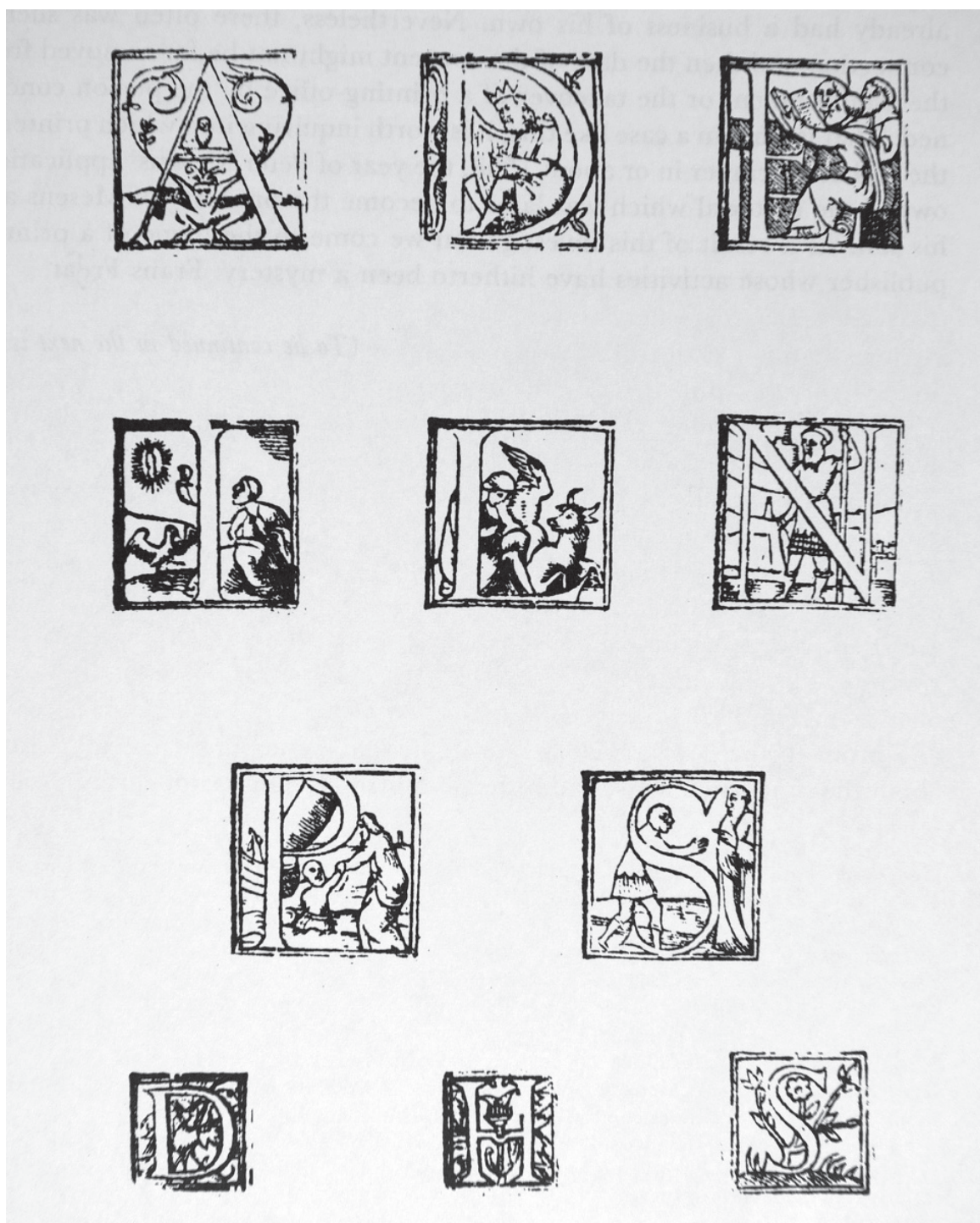
(Scan from the original publication)



5

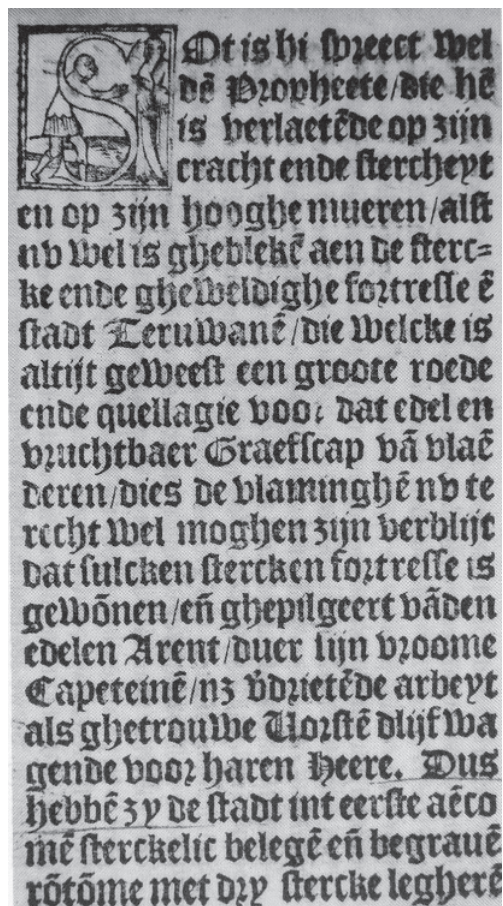
Woodcut initials from various books issued with the Merberghe imprint — to be compared with illus. 6

(Scan from the original publication)



6

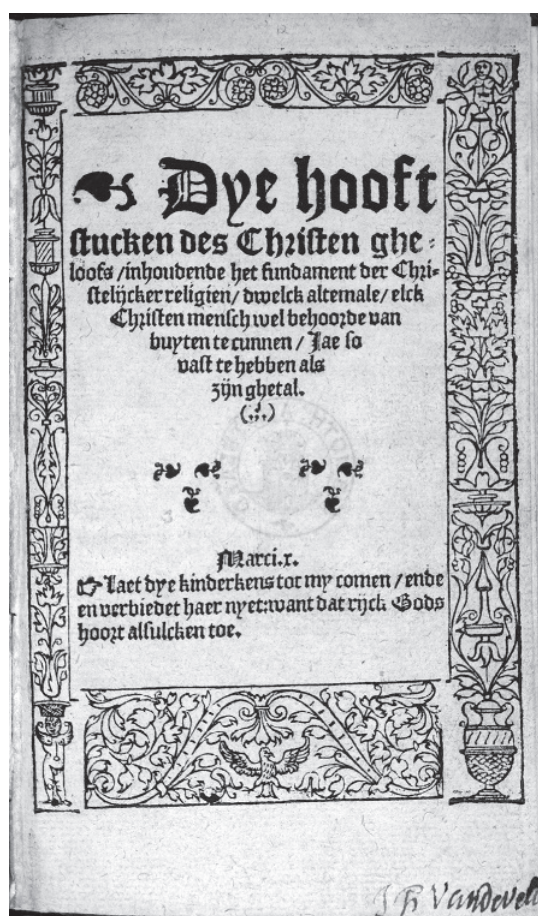
Woodcut initials from: Innocent Egare [Gilles d'Aurigny], *De genealogie dende afcompst vande poetische goden* (Antwerp, Peter (I) Mesens for Jan van den Poele at Mechelen, 1574)
(Scan from the original publication)



7a and 7b

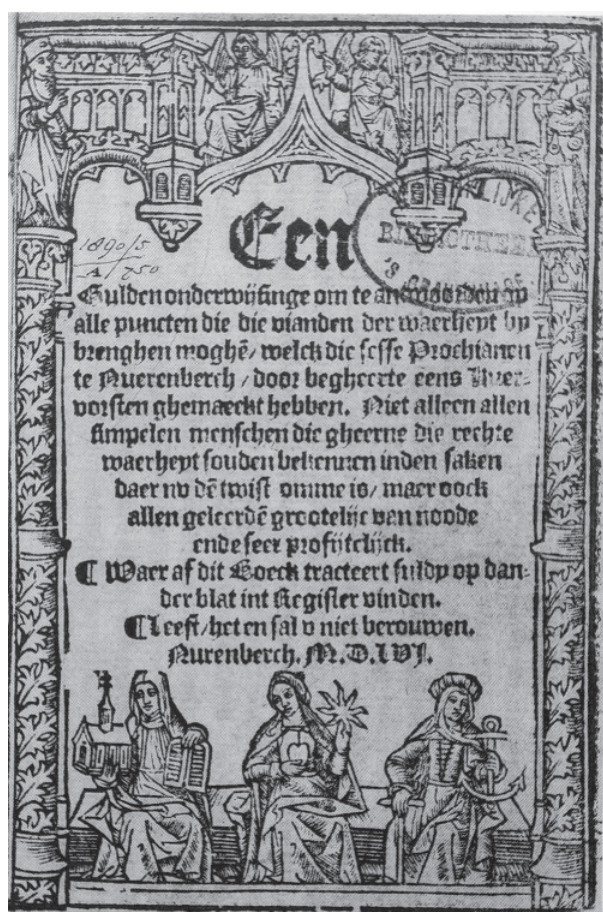
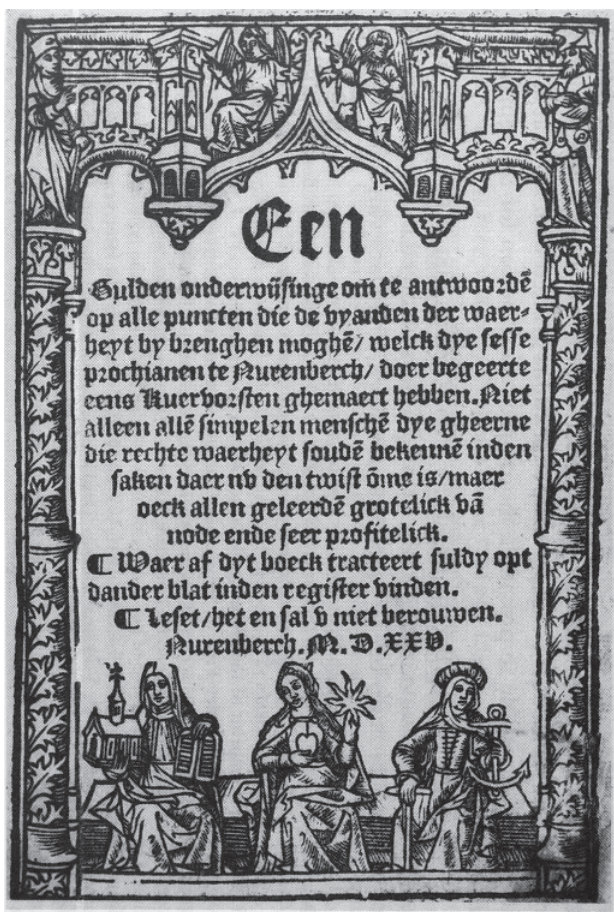
Nieu waerachtighe tidtinghe (Antwerp, Frans Fraet, s.a. [1553/4]); Title-page and verso of title. Checklist no 23. The initial to compare with illus. 6.

(Scans from the original publication)



8

Dye hoofstucken des Christen gheloofs (s.l.e.a. [Antwerp, Frans Fraet or a predecessor, 1550/1])
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 536; NK 1115. Checklist no. 4)



9

Een gulden onderwijſinge (Nuremberch 1525 [= Antwerp, Widow Christoffel van Ruremonde, 1542-6, or Hans (II) van Ruremunde, c.1550])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 286)

10

Een gulden onderwijſinge (Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oosterhout [= Antwerp, Frans Fraet], 1556)
(Scan from the original publication)

WAS PLANTIN A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY OF LOVE?

NOTES ON HIS DEALINGS WITH

HENDRIK NICLAES



At present it is quite generally accepted that typographical elements, even without the help of initials and other woodcut ornaments, can play a decisive role in locating the origin of printed works. Outside the field of incunables there was, for many years, little confidence in the possibilities these elements offered. More recently, however, the content of the type cases of printing shops has proved to be of considerable indicative value also for a later period of the history of the book. We now know that sixteenth-century typefaces – and above all the combinations in which they appear – can equally well indicate the printer of books without an imprint even when their nature was so dangerous that not a single publication could bear the name of the press. Although comparison with signed works is then impossible, in various cases we can use the typefaces as a means of assembling a number of books and derive information from that group which allows us to place the press in a geographical and chronological context.¹

By following such a path I believe it has been possible, in certain earlier issues of *Quaerendo*, to demonstrate Plantin's participation in a press which was set up in Kampen in 1561 by the founder of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes.² At its head

¹ An example is provided in P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90 (pp. 175 ff.); *id.*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibidem*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103. – Surprisingly enough few scholars have acknowledged this as a possible means of investigating Plantin's work. Yet, owing to the many foreign, and especially French, typefaces the typography of the *Officina* has a character all of its own. The first scholar to use typographical information in this context was Max Rooses, who recognized a German typeface in a book by Hiël (Voet PP 627) as being identical with a Fractura in the 1581 edition of Lobelius' *Kruydtboeck* (Voet PP 1579) – Voet PP refers to Leon Voet's *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle. 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3). Cf. also M. Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, Imprimeur anversoïs* (Anvers 1882), pp. 87 ff., with a reproduction opposite p. 90, and *id.*, *Le Musée Plantin Moretus* (Anvers 1914), p. 52. Many years later Professor Vervliet demonstrated on the basis of the typefaces used that Plantin could not have printed his edition of *La théologie germanicque* dated 1558 (Voet PP 2309) before 1579. See H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographica Plantiniana I. – Ter inleiding: De studie van het zestiende-eeuwse letterbeeld en het geval van "La théologie germanicque" (Plantin, 1558)', *De Gulden Passer*, 37 (1959), pp. 170-8. All other attributions of anonymous editions to Plantin have until recently been based on the recognition of his woodcut initials.

² P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14

HN appointed his former 'schrijver' or secretary Augustijn van Hasselt who, under Plantin's tuition, had in the meantime turned into a fully-fledged printer. In the *Cronica: Chronika des Hüs-gesinnes der Liefsten* (hereafter quoted as *Chronika*), compiled by a 'fellow-elder' of the sect, Daniel, this press is explicitly mentioned³ and its existence has never been called into doubt. Its activities remained a riddle, however. We now know what it produced: besides a number of previously unpublished works by the leader of the sect and a book printed for the *Officina Plantiniana*,⁴ it published a Dutch Bible and a New Testament. These appeared in the name of Lenaert der Kinderen, a compositor working for Plantin, who had to move from Antwerp to Kampen for the purpose. His employer had an important share in the venture and the plan to print Bibles in this town was probably his. The attribution rests on an analysis of the typefaces used, in combination with a new interpretation of certain entries in Plantin's account books.⁵

The arguments provided can be summed up as follows. We first see that an Italic typeface is applied in the Bibles – a unique choice for the Dutch-speaking area which corresponds to the repugnance which the Frenchman initially displayed for what he obviously regarded as the far from elegant local Textura. Then there are the types themselves: Plantin was the only printer in the Low Countries who worked with Granjon's Brevier or 'Bible' Italics as early as 1561. The same applies to Garamont's Brevier Roman, which we find in the marginalia of HN's tracts printed in

(1984), pp. 247-72; *id.*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *ibidem*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127. – In writing the present article I have assumed that the reader is aware of the current state of research as described in L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), quoted as Voet GC; above all vol. 1, pp. 21-44 and 50-2. I consequently hardly make any references to this standard work. The same applies to the bibliography included in the notes.

³ *Cronica, Ordo sacerdotis, Acta HN. Three texts on the Family of Love*, ed. A. Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden 1988), cap. XVIII, 4 (p. 59). The editor, Alastair Hamilton, is also the author of a standard work on Hendrik Niclaes and his movement: *The Family of Love* (Cambridge 1981). In the same year there appeared J. Dietz Moss, 'Godded with God'. *Hendrik Niclaes and his Family of Love* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 7, pt. 8; Philadelphia 1981), which provides information above all on the history of the sect in England. Much historical information is also assembled in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The Family of Love', *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), pp. 219-71, with a survey of earlier literature.

⁴ A reprint of Plantin's 1558 edition of *De Secreten van [...] Alexis Piemontois [= Girolamo Ruscelli?]*. The book is described as an Antwerp product of 1561 in Voet *PP*, no. 39. For the attribution of this book to Kampen, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Printers'), pp. 266 ff.

⁵ Besides the articles quoted in n. 2, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Plantin's betrekkingen met Hendrik Niclaes', *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (De Gulden Passer, 66-7; Antwerpen 1989), pp. 121-58. In what follows I have limited references to these articles as much as possible.

Kampen.⁶ At the end of 1561, despite the fact that he already possessed matrices of them, Plantin had a second set of these two typefaces adjusted by François Guyot which, according to his 'Journal', he promptly dispatched to his friend Martin le Jeune, a printer and publisher in Paris.⁷ The same dispatch also included complete sets of matrices of two of Guyot's own Italics. Contrary to what one might expect, however, these typefaces are nowhere to be found in the publications of the man to whom they were sent, any more than in those of Plantin – but we see them, together with Granjon's 'Bible' Italics, in Lenaert der Kinderen's Bible editions.

The Parisian address of the dispatch was thus obviously a trick intended to disguise the true destination of the material. It is also significant that Lenaert's name should be on the title-pages: he is listed as a compositor in Plantin's accounts until 20 September 1561⁸ and the subsequent disappearance of his name corresponds exactly to the period in which, judging from the estimated duration of the production, the Bible must have first gone to press in Kampen. After his activities there had terminated, he delivered to his former employer in Antwerp several hundred pounds of old type and four used type cases in October 1563.⁹ He then departed for Emden with the Italics and woodcut initials employed in the Bibles and set to work with the same material in the printing shop of the publisher Willem Gailliart.¹⁰ All these elements fit together so perfectly where both content and chronology are concerned that any other course of events seems to be excluded.

The personal presence of Plantin in Kampen in 1561/2 is equally certain. The *Chronika* describes his visit (was there just one?) and provides various details which

⁶ This probably also applies to Pierre Haultin's (first) Saint Augustin Roman, which appeared together with Garamont's Brevier Roman in a Latin translation of one of the Kampen tracts by Hendrik Niclaes. So far I have only encountered this typeface in the Netherlands in 1561 in work by Plantin. See also M. Parker & K. Melis, *Inventaris van de Stempels en Matrijzen van het Museum Plantin-Moretus. Inventory of the Plantin-Moretus Museum Punches and Matrices* (Antwerpen 1960), pp. 32 f., no 39, and the literature quoted in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Printers'), p. 261, n. 46. All these founts were sold at auction in May 1562; the new owner was Willem Silvius in the same town. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559-62', *Quaerendo*, 20 (1990), pp. 167-206 (pp. 202 f. and *passim*).

⁷ See more extensively: Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Lenaert'), pp. 98 ff.

⁸ Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. 35 ('Journal' 1558-61), f. 127r.; see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Lenaert'), pp. 125 f. This previously unknown piece of information was discovered by Dr Daniel Grosheide.

⁹ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Lenaert'), p. 96. Professor Johan Gerritsen (University of Groningen) assures me that in the entry reporting the purchase of four second-hand type cases, there cited in n. 30 after Voet *PP*, vol. 2, p. 144, n. I, the name of the seller runs 'Lienard der Kinderen' and not 'Leonard de Kinder'.

¹⁰ For Lenaert der Kinderen's activities in Emden, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Lenaert'), pp. 113 ff.

suggest a longer stay, reporting more than once the many conversations he had with his host.¹¹ Another direct link between Plantin and the press in Kampen is to be found in the aforesaid Dutch book he had printed there with typefaces some of which were never used in the *Officina*. And finally the Bible editions contain an alphabet of two-line 'Bible' capitals of Garamont the punches and matrices of which, we know from documented evidence, were bought by Plantin at the auction of his estate.¹²

It is usually impossible to establish where a printing shop of that time obtained its types – unless they were delivered by the punchcutter himself. The typographical material which we find in the publications of the press in Kampen, however, form such an assortment that, in view of the conditions in Holland, it can only have come from one man: Plantin. The French types already point to him clearly since he was the only printer in the Low Countries at the time to work with them. The two-line 'Bible' capitals, his own exclusive property,¹³ are a still stronger indication (see *illus.*). Judging from their style and distinction it cannot be doubted that they were designed by Garamont, and it is certain that Plantin had recently obtained from this designer punches and matrices of a Roman on the same body: he listed them himself in his inventory. In view of the fact that no other set of Plantin's types corresponds to that description the presence of this alphabet in Kampen can be regarded as decisive evidence of his direct involvement.

Because of all these arguments we can assume that Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes collaborated in this important venture. This was not the first time: in 1556 the printer, at HN's expense, had taken on the production of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* and a few of his smaller publications. In Kampen, besides a new series of writings by the prophet, the two aforesaid Bible editions now followed. It was an expen-

¹¹ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XXI, 20-1 (pp. 70 f.).

¹² Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Lenaert'), pp. 107 f. The reproduction there only gives 19 of these capitals. Professor Johan Gerritsen was kind enough to inform me that three more appear in the register of *Den Bijbel* 1563 so that it is now possible to reconstruct an alphabet in which only the letters X and Y are wanting. The capitals are the same size, but not the same, as those of Garamont's 'Vraye Parangonne' (*Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*, 1567, no. 20); see the specimen of that type given in H.D.L. Vervliet, 'The Garamond types of Christopher Plantin', *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1 (1965), pp. 14-20 (fig. 4).

¹³ These capitals remained among the founts and initials from Kampen which Lenaert received from Plantin and went on working with in Emden. He used them in his New Testament of 1565; see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Lenaert'), pp. 91, 122 (where erroneously only one edition with this date is mentioned: the copy at Ghent is an octavo printed in Lettersnijder's Pica Textura, but the copies in Amsterdam UL and Leiden UL are duodecimo's in VPT T 47). After Der Kinderen had left his material with Willem Gailliart on his departure at the end of that year these capitals probably returned to Antwerp as part of Granjon's 'Bible' Italic which the Gailliaris sold (back) to Plantin in April 1566 (*ibidem*, pp. 94 f.). I have never found them again used in Emden.

sive undertaking which, although we do not know how it was shared, must have been carried out at joint expense, possibly with the financial participation of one or more sleeping partners.

The considerable investments demanded by the two products had entirely different purposes. With the publication of *Den Spiegel*, his *magnum opus*, Hendrik Niclaes did not aspire to make a profit: this impressive work was intended to publicize his teaching also outside the immediate circle of the Family of Love. With an external appearance heavily influenced by the *Wonderboeck* of the recently deceased David Joris, it was supposed to win the support of a select group of contemporaries who could be expected to take a serious interest in religious matters – and possibly in the views of the prophet. The great rarity of the book (we only know of five copies,¹⁴ which is very little for a work of this size) suggests a limited edition which was probably distributed privately and outside the established book trade.¹⁵

The lavish presentation of the work was undoubtedly chosen in order to impress the reader and thus to contribute to the persuasive powers of the text. Judging from the luxurious appearance no heed was paid to expense. The paper, the special typefaces, the woodcuts and the initials, not to mention the costs of typesetting and printing, must have demanded substantial sums. But Hendrik Niclaes, who, according to the *Chronika*, bore all the costs himself,¹⁶ had the means with which to meet so expensive an undertaking. Even after he had made the management of his firm over to his eldest son in Antwerp, he carried on business in Emden and clearly obtained a considerable income from his share in the enterprises of others.¹⁷ If the external appearance of the book is anything to go by, the design was largely determined by the author himself, probably with the assistance of Augustijn van Hasselt. That Plantin should have been prepared to collaborate, even if he would undoubtedly have preferred to produce the book otherwise, is hardly surprising.¹⁸

¹⁴ Copies: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (imperfect); Emden, Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst; Leiden, UL; London, Lambeth Palace Library; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB).

¹⁵ A part of the edition is known to have been intended for followers who could not afford the expensive book – as had happened formerly with David Joris' *Wonderboeck* (1542); see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to the "arch-heretic" David Joris', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 163–209 (p. 180). That this means of distribution made it possible for the book to fall into the hands of readers who rejected the content emerges from the bitter words about the hostility and slander of opponents in *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XV, 34–5 (pp. 48 f.).

¹⁶ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XV, 27–8, 32 (pp. 47 f.).

¹⁷ I. Simon, 'Hendrik Niclaes. Biographische und bibliographische Notizen, Emden (1540–60)', *Niederdeutsches Wort*, 13 (1973), pp. 63–77 (p. 67).

¹⁸ Although this has sometimes been regarded as a good reason for doubting whether it originated from Plantin's press; cf. H.D.L. Vervliet in a review in *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), p. 72; C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), with a reproduction of the title-page opposite p. 33. Reproductions are

For an incipient printer the order was a windfall which would have induced him to defer to the taste of his patron.

The activities in Kampen were mainly of a different nature. Hendrik Niclaes had everything printed there that had not yet been published – later, in Cologne, apart from a large series of revised reprints, only a single new work was to appear, a collection of brief sentences by the prophet – but this was not the most essential side of the production. If, as seems likely, the desire to publish his own works was the first reason for setting up the press, the publication of Bibles expanded the programme far beyond the original design. This joint activity was a substantial venture the purpose of which was to profit from the fast growing demand in the Netherlands for the Scriptures in a modern translation. Plantin thus hoped to corner a part of the market which had recently fallen all but completely into the hands of Protestant printers in Emden. To oppose this monopoly and to launch Bibles printed in an unusual type was a daring initiative, but the production went well and, if the number of surviving copies are anything to go by, it was possible to print large editions. As the *Chronika* explicitly states, the activities in Kampen encountered no difficulties from the magistrates and once the production had been completed, sales can hardly have been other than successful. The dozens of Bibles and New Testaments which appeared in various towns until about 1570 show that it was almost impossible to satisfy public demand.

After an interruption of a few years, in which there is no sign of mutual contacts (although this does not mean that they did not exist) we find Hendrik Niclaes again involved in a venture of Plantin, this time probably only as a financier. On 2 August 1567 Plantin wrote him so detailed a letter about the marketing of the Hebrew Bibles he had printed in the previous year that we must regard it as addressed to someone who was financially involved in the publication.¹⁹ This assumption is supported by the circumstance that two volumes of one of the three editions then published have survived with the name ‘HENRICUS NICOLAS’ stamped in gold on the covers as a supralibros. We can presumably regard this as a sign of gratitude from the printer for HN’s share in the realization of the edition.²⁰

Much has been written about the significance in this connection of the letter in question,²¹ and it thus seems superfluous to deal with the subject further. But the document – the only surviving piece of their correspondence – is, I believe, also of importance for a reason that has hitherto hardly been given any attention. One

also contained in De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 3), illus. 2 and 3.

¹⁹ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 parts in 8 vols., eds. M. Rooses & J. Denucé (Anvers 1883-1920), vol. 1, pp. 157-9 (no. 74).

²⁰ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 3), p. 237 and illus. 5.

²¹ The most extensive information is provided in Voet *PP*, no. 649.

is struck by how distinctly business-like the contents are, how cool the tone (quite apart from certain conventional formalities), and how far it would seem to be from any spiritual affinity. If we compare the wording, starting with the particularly distant opening 'Monsieur HNcs', with what Plantin wrote at almost the same time to his 'tres cher ami', the French linguist, diplomat and religious universalist Guillaume Postel (whom he had never met) the difference is striking.²² In the letter to Hendrik Niclaes there is no question of a reference to anything like 'l'avancement du faict de la charité' as a common aim. The problem is thus how we should account for the reserved tone and the absence of any sign of personal congeniality in the letter. Must we conclude that an estrangement had occurred or was their friendship never as close as was once thought?

Because of the lack of further contacts between the two men it has hitherto been assumed that the former answer was correct, but I believe the second explanation to be nearer the truth.

PLANTIN AND THE FAMILY OF LOVE

Over the years a marked shift can be perceived in the assessment of the relations between the printer and the prophet. When Friedrich Nippold published his pioneering study on the life and work of Hendrik Niclaes in 1862²³ the bibliographers of the time did not immediately realize how important his information also was for the biography of Christopher Plantin. Not until six years later did an article by P.A. Tiele²⁴ draw the attention of historians of the book to the fact that Nippold's principal historical source, the *Chronika*, contained striking evidence about a hitherto unsuspected secret in the life of the arch-printer: his close relationship with the leader of the Family of Love and his direct involvement in the publication of his work – particularly of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*.

Research undertaken in Plantin's archives showed that, in as far as it was possible to check them, the facts in the *Chronika* were reported reliably and that the only complaint that could be made was against the partiality with which the author was inclined to interpret his material. He had obviously spent many years in the

²² *Correspondance*, op. cit. (n. 19), vol. I, pp. 80-1 (no. 30) and pp. 86-9 (no. 33; p. 89). '... deux lettres de Plantin et une de Postel, soigneusement pliées dans une enveloppe et découverte par nous dans un tiroir ...' (Rooses, op. cit. (n. 1: 'Christophe Plantin'), p. 72; *id.*, op. cit. (n. 1: 'Musée'), p. 40).

²³ F. Nippold, 'Heinrich Niclaes und das Haus der Liebe. Ein monographischer Versuch aus der Secten-Geschichte der Reformationszeit ...', *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, 32 (1862), pp. 323-402, 473-563.

²⁴ P.A. Tiele, 'Christophe Plantin et le sectaire mystique Henrik Niclaes', *Le Bibliophile belge*, 3 (1868), pp. 121-9.

immediate vicinity of Hendrik Niclaes and always complied with the views and decisions of the leader and his closest collaborators, to whose circle he undoubtedly belonged. In his work, however, he limits himself almost entirely to the events and developments within the movement itself and takes no notice of the worldly existence of its members. There is thus very little information about the business activities of HN and his career as a merchant. This side of his life was believed at the time to be irrelevant for future generations of his followers but now, obviously, it is a matter of interest. Like the absence of reliable dates, this is yet another irritating deficiency in the accounts.²⁵

In his discussion of the relations between our two protagonists, Nippold confined himself almost entirely to a summary of what the *Chronika* says of them. Tiele went further on some points. He was struck, for example, by the fact that the chronicler was clearly prejudiced in his interpretation of certain events and tended to disapprove of anyone who was not entirely devoted to the service of the prophet.²⁶ Daniel thus kept his distance from Plantin and rated him more than once for concealing his own personal interests under the guise of sympathy for the movement. The pronouncements on this point testify to a profound distrust of the printer's motives.²⁷ Tiele could see no reason for these suspicions and proclaimed himself convinced of Plantin's good faith in such matters as the well-known affair of the missing jewels – the mysterious account of a casket of jewels which a jeweller in Paris had bequeathed to Hendrik Niclaes.²⁸

As distinct from later views it is clear that both Nippold and Tiele interpreted the account in the *Chronika* as that of a primarily business relationship between the two men. They make no mention of Plantin as a follower of the prophet's teaching. This changed, however, when Max Rooses provided a different interpretation in his great biography. The first keeper of the Plantin-Moretus Museum based himself on some of the passages in the *Chronika* to describe the printer as an active member of the Family of Love, not to say as an important propagandist of the movement, forming a link with foreign, particularly French, sympathizers.²⁹

²⁵ See A. Hamilton in the introduction of *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3): 'The texts as historical documents: importance and reliability' (pp. xiii ff.) and 'Language, authorship and date' (pp. xvii ff.).

²⁶ Tiele, art. cit. (n. 24), p. 128: 'Son récit est partial; il s'efforce constamment d'élever le prophète et d'accuser tous ceux en qui celui-ci n'avait pas une entière confiance'.

²⁷ See, amongst other passages, *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XV, 23 (p. 46); XV, 26 (p. 47); XXI, 21-9 (pp. 71 ff.).

²⁸ On this affair, see Clair, op. cit. (n. 18), pp. 29-31, and Voet GC, vol. I, pp. 24, 39.

²⁹ 'Il connaît le maître et ses disciples, il leur sert d'intermédiaire et les appelle ses frères, il a donné de sa main un écrit imprimé qui est un grand don, il fait de la propagande pour la secte: il en est donc un des membres les plus zélés', cf. Rooses, op. cit. (n. 1: 'Christophe Plantin'), p. 75; *id.*, op.

This entirely new opinion of Plantin's direct involvement in the Family of Love has proved decisive for the *communis opinio* which has existed ever since. All later authors have accepted Rooses' interpretation uncritically – even if some of them may have had their doubts they have never, to the best of my knowledge, expressed them.³⁰ Over the years, moreover, the sect has been accorded ever more followers and influence. Many of Plantin's friends and acquaintances, both Catholic and Protestant, have been regarded with more or less certainty as members. The fact that they belonged to his circle was often in itself considered sufficient evidence.³¹ Only exceptionally was more direct evidence at hand, as in the case of the versatile cartographer Abraham Ortelius. Religion had an important place in his life,³² and we know that he possessed a large and catholic collection of books on the subject which included the *Wonderboeck* by David Joris. The surviving copy of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* with the inscription of his name³³ is thus not in itself sufficient reason for counting him among the prophet's adherents. Where the other 'followers' from Plantin's circle are concerned, however, there is not even so unconvincing an item of evidence.³⁴

cit. (n. 1: 'Musée'), p. 42.

³⁰ A case such as this shows how very tenaciously a theory can persist amongst a public accustomed to believing in a particular concept. For this phenomenon of 'fama crescit eundo', whereby a once expressed supposition can grow without any further evidence into an incontrovertible truth, see R. Fruin, *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 7 (1903), p. 94, in connection with an attribution to Marnix.

³¹ This development was primarily due to the influence of B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano, 1527-1598* (Groningen 1961; thesis Amsterdam), pp. 137-84, English translation (London/Leiden 1972), pp. 70-104: 'The Family of Love'. Not only does the author number figures such as Lipsius, Masius, Ortelius and Luis Perez among the 'disciples' of Hendrik Niclaes (p. 72), but he also states that Montano 'in the years [after 1572] discovered that nearly all his Flemish friends were Familists' (p. 77). According to him Hendrik Jansen Barrefelt (Hiël) was then the head of the Family of Love with countless supporters inside and outside the Netherlands, such as Mylius, Metellus, Furio Ceriol, Fernando de Sevilla and Pedro Ximenes in Cologne, and Postel, Porret, Coignet and Beys in Paris (*ibid.*, n. 2). Judging from a number of recent publications the author's views, however unfounded, gained ground rapidly. Where France is concerned the otherwise excellent study by J.-F. Maillard, 'Christophe Plantin et la Famille de la Charité en France: Documents et hypothèses', *Mélanges sur la littérature de la Renaissance, à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier* (Genève 1984), pp. 235-53, is equally speculative.

³² On Ortelius' religious views, see Hamilton, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 70 ff.; R. Boumans, 'The religious views of Abraham Ortelius', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17 (1954), pp. 374-7.

³³ The copy once belonging to the Dutch Church in London is now in the Lambeth Palace Library. See also J.A. van Dorsten, *The radical arts. First decade of an Elizabethan renaissance*, 2nd edn. (Leiden/London 1973), p. 30.

³⁴ One of the few scholars to prove rather more critical on this point was Voet GC, vol. 2, p. 386: 'Only a very few of Plantin's circle were adherents, although it should be pointed out that these were his most intimate friends.'

It is hard to resist the impression that, in the absence of verifiable facts, a legend was formed which grew ever more remote from historical reality. This remarkable phenomenon was probably due in part to the lack, until very recently, of an actual edition of the Leiden manuscripts – apart from the unreliable reports of a few opponents the only contemporary description of the Family of Love. Now, however, the complete texts of the chronicles are available in print and we can observe the disappointment of Hendrik Niclaes over the rejection of his ideas by his ‘enemies’ or the defection of followers who had once revered him as a prophet. This is a recurrent complaint,³⁵ balanced by very few reports about a successful acquisition of members. There is thus every reason to suppose that the number of members in his lifetime was considerably smaller than has hitherto been assumed.

Max Rooses and his successors based their judgement of the relations between Plantin and Hendrik Niclaes entirely on the information contained in the few historical sources. Nothing was yet known about the important joint venture in Kampen and this ignorance led to a distorted view of Plantin’s motives for travelling to that town. It was thought that he went to ask HN for help and encouragement after the loss of all his possessions at the liquidation of the *Officina* in April 1562, while in fact he was visiting a partner in whose firm a large-scale publishing project was being launched at joint expense. Lack of knowledge of the business side of their relationship also led Rooses to hold a mistaken view of how the *Officina* originated.

THE CREATION OF PLANTIN’S PRESS

Various theories have developed over the years about Plantin’s reasons for choosing the craft of printing and the circumstances in which he did so. It is now quite generally accepted that the report of his serious wounds which made it impossible for him to continue his career as a bookbinder and maker of gold-tooled leather objects (such as jewel cases) is correct. And indeed, the application of stamps and rolls requires so much muscular strength that the explanation seems plausible. Whether he already had ambitions as a publisher but only decided to pursue them when circumstances obliged him to change his profession is another matter, to investigate which would mean groping in total darkness.

In view of Plantin’s later successes nobody can be surprised that he should have made this choice: his great aptitude and faculties for a career as a printer and publisher had obviously always been latent and he already had many years’ experience in the book trade. But what about his knowledge of typography? It has hitherto

³⁵ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XXXVII, 1-4 (pp. 119 f.), XXXVIII, 7-9 (pp. 125 f.), XXXIX, 1-2 (pp. 127 f.) and the reports about the schism in 1573.

been believed that, after his apprenticeship with the book dealer Robert Mace in Caen (where he turned into an excellent binder), he worked for a few years for one of the Parisian printers – the name usually suggested is that of Jacques Bogard, father-in-law of Martin le Jeune with whom Plantin was later to have close contacts. There is no evidence to support this assumption, however, and it also hardly seems logical, for why should a binder of his capacity have himself trained as a compositor? We can assume that, as an artistic personality, he found satisfaction in creative work. Then there is the economic factor: bindings of the high technical and aesthetic quality which Plantin could provide were obviously a more abundant source of income than typographical work of any kind.

But even without a specific training as a printer this gifted man, with his great talent for organization and his excellent flair for business, can hardly have had much difficulty in turning to the other branch of the book trade. He had plenty of predecessors who started a printing-office without any previous special training. They took on the day-to-day commercial management and drew on qualified craftsmen for the typographical work. Judging from the quality of Plantin's first publications he had no problems in finding an adequately trained staff.³⁶ Besides, he had a sufficient number of contacts, also in France, to obtain commissions – sometimes in breach of the existing publishers' rights in that country. And as far as the necessary investment was concerned, he was no longer that penniless immigrant who, five years previously, had depended on a benevolent financier in order to open a bookshop.³⁷

In the *Chronika* the establishment of the new press is directly connected with the commission for the production of *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* and a number of small-

³⁶ It appears from the names in Plantin's earliest regulations, *Ordonnancie ende costume der druckerie van Meester Christoffel Plantin [...] welcke alle ghesellen [...] schuldich zijn te onderhoudene* (Voet PP 2070), that he was working with seven men at the end of 1555 or 1556 (the date is uncertain). The document is printed in M. Sabbe, *De Plantijnsche werkstede. Arbeidsregeling, tucht en maatschappelijke voorzorg in de oude Antwerpsche drukkerij* (Antwerpen 1935), Appendix G (pp. 64-6).

³⁷ Later letters to Alexander Graphaeus do indeed testify to Plantin's deep gratitude for the financial support he once received from Graphaeus and his father. But that was 'ab eo tempore quo primum in has regiones appuli', when, as a newly arrived foreign resident, he required money in order to open a bookshop while continuing his trade as a binder. The Antwerp merchant Gaspar van Zurich, who was later financially involved in the publication of Plantin's Hebrew Bibles, was also prepared to advance him loans at an early stage. The complete absence of administrative details about the first years of Plantin's activities makes it impossible to assess their extent. Judging from his subsequent commercial success, however, we can assume that he even then managed to make a considerable profit by trading with the French in graphic art, textiles and other luxury articles, besides his income from binding and bookselling. By 1555 Plantin must already have had at his disposal a substantial capital of his own, even if, as usually happens to a successful young firm, it was almost entirely used to finance a growing stock.

er works for Hendrik Niclaes. The author's tale runs as follows: the Frenchman Christopher Plantin, a bookbinder in Antwerp and a clever and enterprising man, had learnt Dutch and had read the prophet's writings. Grippled by his religious views, he had mentioned them to friends of his in Paris, who were mainly merchants, and had thus gained for himself a certain authority in the field. After he had heard from various sources that other tracts and a large book by the prophet were awaiting publication, he approached his French acquaintances and persuaded them of the importance of printing these works. Many of them proved ready to provide support and to further the Service of Love. Plantin, however, used the episode to advance his own interests. With the financial contributions of the merchants he set up a printing shop in Antwerp with which he did good business. He there also printed for the Family of Love, but he did so at the expense of Hendrik Niclaes and made no contribution to the progress of the movement himself.³⁸

Ever since these reports became known – summarized by Tiele, with complete quotations from the *Chronika* published by Rooses – the belief developed that Plantin owed the existence of his press to a large printing order from the Family of Love. The version of the events provided by the chronicle was accepted, even if not everybody agreed that the printer had put to his own use money which was actually intended to finance *Den Spiegel*. Some scholars attributed the accusation to Daniel's evident antipathy for anyone who did not devote himself totally to the leader. Voet suggested the possibility that business friends had made loans intended to finance the press and that the contract for the printing of *Den Spiegel* only arrived after the young firm had been established. But even this biographer linked the start of Plantin's new enterprise with his relations with Hendrik Niclaes and thus concluded that 'Plantin's career as a printer undoubtedly had its origin in his religious convictions'.³⁹

Subsequently other scholars, too, rejected the suspicions about Plantin, but the view that his press owed its existence to the printing orders of the Family of Love

³⁸ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XV, 22 ff. (pp. 46 ff.).

³⁹ Voet GC, vol. I, p. 24. – A certain shift can be perceived in Voet's view of the early development of Plantin's press. To start with he shared the opinion of H.F. Bouchery who 'has made it clear that there is every likelihood that the statement of the *Chronika* gives the bare truth'; see Voet's 'The Personality of Plantin', *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955* (Antwerpen 1956), pp. 199-213 (pp. 201f.), also in *De Gulden Passer*, 34 (1956), pp. 73-87 (pp. 75 f.). In 1969 (Voet GC, vol. I, p. 23 f.) the author left the question of the reliability of the report open ('in the absence of further particulars it cannot be decided ...'). In the meantime Colin Clair had rejected its accuracy in his *Christopher Plantin* (London 1960), pp. 29 ff.. See also his statement in *The Library*, 5th S., 16 (1961), p. 216: 'Thus I see no reason to believe unconfirmed stories of malversation of funds entrusted to him by others, more especially as this runs counter to all we know respecting Plantin's financial probity.'

is still generally current.⁴⁰ Yet it is not difficult to find a more satisfactory explanation for the sequence of events. It is certain that Plantin started his new business in 1555 by carrying out a number of commissions for French publishers. On each occasion fairly sizeable deliveries were at stake and it now looks perfectly likely that the money mentioned in the chronicle was intended for the acquisition of paper (which habitually had to be paid for in advance) or as advances on the printing costs. The sums remitted from Paris were thus part of a perfectly normal transfer of payments between a firm and its customers. The chronicler read far more into the episode, but what he knew (or thought he knew) about Plantin's finances must have come, directly or indirectly, from Plantin himself – and he was hardly the sort of man to discuss the details of his business with outsiders. All he had to do to obtain a contract with Hendrik Niclaes was to show that he had a business capable of carrying out such an order satisfactorily. Daniel's assumptions probably rested on a suspicious interpretation of insufficient information – Plantin had obviously failed to win his confidence.

There is another point which makes it likely that *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit* did not go to press in 1555 but was only started on one year later.⁴¹ Plantin probably put his press into action at the beginning of April 1555. On the 5th of that month he received a privilege for three works. The document gives as the first Bruto's *La institutione* (Voet PP 842), a book which is indeed generally agreed to have been the first publication. The issue with the imprint of the Antwerp printer-publisher Jan Bellerus contains a dedication dated 1 May 1555; that of Plantin in his own copies is of 4 May. Then came Seneca's *Flores* (Voet PP 2200), which has no dated dedication. Judging from the information in Voet's *Plantin Press*, the output of the new press in its first year consisted of 99 quires, almost all of which were in octavo or duodecimo.⁴² To these we must add 29½ quires for the first edition of Guy de Brès' *Le baston de la foy Chrestienne* with the fictitious imprint 'Lyon 1555', which Eu-

⁴⁰ Eugénie Droz even developed the theory that Plantin was fetched to Antwerp by Hendrik Niclaes in 1548 in order to print for him; cf. E. Droz, 'Christofle Plantin, imprimeur de Guy de Brès, 1555', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 57-72 (pp. 64 ff.).

⁴¹ I should repeat, perhaps unnecessarily, that there is no separate edition with the title *Den Spiegel der gerechticheit* (Voet PP 1731). The report may have been overlooked since it stands, somewhat unobtrusively, in a note; see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Printers'), p. 252.

⁴² See the list in Voet PP, vol. 6, p. 2451. It concerns nos. 637, 842, 920, 1016, 1118, 1505, 1634 and 2200 of this bibliography. Voet PP 2070 is a single sheet. PP 592 must be removed from Voet's list since, as Rooses had already surmised (see his op. cit. (n. 1: 'Musée'), p. 17), it was not printed by Plantin; actually it is from the press of Gillis Coppens van Diest, who in this first year also handled the printing of another publication of his new colleague, Mizauld's *Ephemerides* (Voet PP 1704). – Clair, op. cit. (n. 39), p. 17, came upon an unrecorded publication from 1555 which is mentioned in Plantin's accounts: *Oratio Johannis Caesaris de morte matris imperatoris*. 'No copy is known; it was apparently a single-sheet folio'.

génie Droz rightly supposed to have been printed by Plantin.⁴³ If we compare the almost 130 sheets (a reasonable number for the first three quarters of a year of a printing shop working with a single press) with what is said to have appeared in 1556 the difference is remarkable. According to the same source the *Officina* hardly produced 100 quires in that year, nearly all of which were also in smaller formats.⁴⁴ In the year following, the production recovered and a steady growth began until a provisional end was put to it in the catastrophic year of 1562, when Plantin had to seek refuge in Paris and his household effects, the inventory of the printing-office and the books in stock were seized and publicly sold.⁴⁵

The considerable reduction would seem to have only one satisfactory explanation: in 1556 the capacities of the *Officina* were so taken up with the performance of the order for Hendrik Niclaes (some 51 gatherings of 6 folio leaves for *Den Spiegel* and, as far as we know, 9 sheets for the shorter writings) that no production time remained for other activities.⁴⁶ This means that Plantin started to work for the

⁴³ Droz, art. cit. (n. 39), pp. 57 ff. Her argumentation is not always very felicitous: *De totius Africae descriptione* (Antwerp 1556), by Joannes Leo Africanus (BT 1874), unlike the French edition of the same year (Voet PP 1517), was not printed by Plantin but by Gillis Coppens van Diest. [BT refers to *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94).] This, however, does not affect the correctness of her attribution of De Brès' book to Plantin. For further information and additional arguments, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 1: 'Augustijn'), pp. 172 f.

⁴⁴ Voet PP, vol. 6, pp. 2452 f. We are here concerned with nos. 1161, 1220, 1248, 1517, 1670, 1947 and 2058. No. 1705 (Mizauld) is a reissue of PP 1704 from 1555 (see n. 41) and must thus also be cancelled here; Nostradamus (PP 1754), of which no copy is known, was very probably an import from France, and the *Ordinantie* (PP 2070) has already been discussed under 1555. These publications cannot therefore be counted. We should also keep in mind, moreover, that some books which appeared with the date 1556 may actually have been entirely or largely produced at the end of 1555. In such cases postdating was customary even then. — After the removals, however, there is one welcome addition: Ant. Hulstius, *Stadium cursoris christiani* ... ('Antverpiae, apud Joannem Bellerum, 1556'), BT 6012, 5½ quires, was undoubtedly printed by Plantin. In this total of 101½ quires we should keep in mind that PP 1733-46 and 1746bis (pp. 2451 f., dated [1555-62] by Voet) should all be eliminated since they were not printed in the *Officina*, but by Augustijn van Hasselt in Kampen in 1561/2 on a press set up by Hendrik Niclaes; cf. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Printers'), pp. 258 ff. This remark also applies to the check-list in L. Voet, 'Some considerations on the production of the Plantin Press', *Libër amicorum Herman Liebaers* (Brussels 1984), pp. 355-69 (pp. 363 f.).

⁴⁵ Cf. Clair, op. cit. (n. 18), pp. 25-6, and Voet GC, vol. 1, pp. 34-8.

⁴⁶ That *Den Spiegel* and a couple of minor works by the prophet were published in about this year is confirmed by the paper on which they were printed. With book printing we must of course always take the processing of remnants into account, but this was certainly not the case with *Den Spiegel*: a single supply was used for the entire edition. All sheets have as their watermark a sphere with a five-pointed star. The resemblance is closest to the reproductions in C.N. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*. A facsimile of

Family of Love when his press had already been functioning for a year: he had obviously succeeded in setting up his printing-office on his own. But then there is no longer any reason to suspect that Plantin used money intended for the production of the work in order to establish his press – unless we assume that he kept his friends in Paris waiting for a whole year before starting on the work for which they had provided their contributions. That seems most unlikely, as does the assumption that various Frenchmen were prepared to pay large sums for the publication of a book they could not read by an author they did not know.

What really happened was probably that Hendrik Niclaes found himself obliged in the course of 1555 to seek another printer for *Den Spiegel* instead of Dirck (II) van den Borne in Deventer, who had worked for him until then but was no longer able to do so on account of his age and his health.⁴⁷ The new man had not only to have the technical means and skill to produce so large a book but he also had to be ready to take on such a clandestine commission despite the risks attached. This the leader of the sect could counterbalance with a tempting offer: it was a large order which he was prepared to subsidize entirely himself.

We do not know how and when the two men met, but Hendrik's son François was carrying on his father's business in Antwerp and it thus seems likely that the meeting took place in that city.⁴⁸ After the necessary discussions a document must have been drawn up stipulating all the details – a contract between two businessmen who obviously wished to establish so important an agreement as meticulously as possible.⁴⁹ We can conclude from their later collaboration that the two parties fulfilled the conditions to one another's satisfaction: a businessman seldom embarks twice on an enterprise with someone he feels may have cheated him. This would seem to be a decisive argument against the account given by the chronicler:

the 1907 edition ..., ed. A. Stevenson, 4 vols. (Amsterdam 1968), nos. 13.995 (Bordeaux 1550) and 13.999 (Pau 1553). – About the same dating can be given for the paper of the two small booklets which Plantin printed for HN, which is of a different, but for both identical, manufacture. These are: H[endrik] N[iclaes]. *Psalmen unde Ledern* ..., and *Van dem rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes* ..., without an imprint, printed in the typefaces of *Den Spiegel*; see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Printers'), p. 272 and illus. 1-2. Watermark: a heart with a stylized crown resembling most closely Briquet no. 4.318 (1554-6, various locations). See also A. Nicolai, *Histoire des moulins à papier du sud-ouest de la France, 1300-1800*, 2 vols. (Bordeaux 1935), vol. 2, Pl. XLI, no. 5 (Navarreinx 1555)

⁴⁷ For Dirck (II) van den Borne as printer for Hendrik Niclaes, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 2: 'Printers'), pp. 250 ff. He did indeed die shortly after, in 1557 or 1558.

⁴⁸ For Hendrik Niclaes' family and other relations in Antwerp, see A. Hamilton, 'The Family of Love in Antwerp', *Religieuze stromingen in Antwerpen voor en na 1585* (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis, 70; 1987), pp. 87-96.

⁴⁹ For the care with which Plantin drew up similar contracts, see his highly detailed agreement in 1558 with the artist Lambert Suavius about the sale of the latter's graphic work, in *Supplément à la Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, ed. M. van Durme (Anvers 1955), pp. 225-6 (no. 228).

the suspicions he arouses reflect his annoyance at the fact that Plantin regarded the collaboration above all as a business deal – but his report never confirms that the prophet himself shared his indignation – nor does Hendrik Niclaes' later attitude.

Elsewhere I have observed that the account in the *Chronika* about the takeover of Plantin's branch in Wesel in 1569 only recounts part of what happened.⁵⁰ The sole reason the chronicle gives is Hendrik Niclaes' desire to help the printer, who feared that his involvement with the 'heretical' publications might become known.⁵¹ This report certainly does not provide a full picture of the considerations of the two parties. As far as Plantin was concerned, he would indeed have his doubts about some of the publications of Augustijn, who proved himself to be highly independent in what he published in Wesel. Part of these books, such as the Bibles and texts by Erasmus which were free of any particular confessional commitment, were in full keeping with Plantin's policy and we might even wonder whether the copy was not sent from Antwerp. Nor can he have had anything against certain other publications, including the two 'consolatory epistles' to citizens in exile and perhaps Rhegius' catechism with a foreword containing an urgent appeal to Christian unity. But he is unlikely to have been happy about the publication of the fiercely anti-Catholic work of the reverend Petrus Bloccius and the Reformed *Somme van de leere der sacramenten*, both of which appeared in 1567.⁵²

So Augustijn's choice of these publications may partly have been determined by developments in Wesel itself in these years when the Lutherans were rapidly losing influence before the rise of Calvinism. This shift, which also affected the local magistracy, could only make the town less attractive to Plantin as a place in which to carry on a branch. Besides, a considerable stagnation had occurred in the domestic book trade in 1568/9 as a result of the alarming political and economic situation, while the market for Bibles had been glutted by the vastly increased production of recent years. In these circumstances the question may have arisen as to whether it was wise to continue the business. Hereby Plantin also had to consider his contract with Augustijn, which entitled the latter to part of the profits of the enterprise. Quite apart from the friendship between the two men a solution had to be found for this obligation too. The sale to the Family of Love provided a satisfactory arrangement for all parties.

After he had retrieved his French typefaces⁵³ Plantin received what must have

⁵⁰ In a discussion of this question in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 1: 'Augustijn'), pp. 174 ff.

⁵¹ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XXXVII, 9-13 (pp. 121 ff.).

⁵² For a list of Augustijn's publications, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 1: 'Augustijn'), pp. 184 ff.

⁵³ As we see from the Cologne editions of the press, these were replaced by various other Roman and Italic types. Hendrik Niclaes also possessed material which he had purchased at an earlier stage; cf. *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XXXVII, 12 (p. 122).

been an acceptable price for the rest of the inventory of the press. We do not know what this amounted to since the sum, like everything else connected with this branch, was kept outside his accounts. For the Family of Love the takeover was attractive in more senses than one. Not only did this mean that they had the printing capacity necessary for the plan of republishing all the prophet's works, but they could also call on the services of his former secretary. On account of the imminent move to Cologne the sect needed an experienced hand of unquestionable fidelity and devotion and who, ideally, was also acquainted with the country and the people. All these qualities were united in Augustijn van Hasselt. Judging from the description of his job he was thus not only appointed as printer but was also required to travel and to see to the administrative and editorial side of the sect's activities.⁵⁴ When the *Chronika* emphasizes how grateful Plantin should have been for being able to dispose of his second business in this way the chronicler forgets to say how favourable the outcome also was for his own organization. And what about Augustijn? He may not have been really satisfied with the loss of his in many respects autonomous position as factor, but the material side of his existence was at least ensured for the immediate future.

We see from all this that commercial elements played an important, not to say predominant, role in the relations between our two protagonists. Hitherto their relationship has been seen as determined primarily by similar views on matters of faith, with the prophet as spiritual leader and Plantin as a follower who also sought his support in secular matters. It is now clear, however, that the business side of their relationship was particularly strong. Plantin can hardly have deferred to Hendrik Niclaes where talent and knowledge in this practical field were concerned, and there can have been no question of a dependent position.

CONCLUSION

In the light of what has been said I regard it as impossible to continue to accept the traditional image of the personal relationship between Plantin and HN which has existed since Max Rooses. The information Plantin's first biographer used for his reconstruction now proves to be incomplete where some essential points are concerned. Plantin's involvement in both the establishment and the activities of the press in Kampen was unknown to Rooses and he was thus incapable of assessing the true significance of the printer's visit to the town. In connection with the foundation of the *Officina* and the provenance of the initial capital he accepted the account in the *Chronika*, unaware that the production of the first two years shows that the firm started at a time when there was still no question of an order from

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

Hendrik Niclaes. Even where the sale of the press in Wesel was concerned he accepted the version of the facts given by the chronicler without acknowledging the biased nature of the account.

The points dealt with in this article amount to more or less all the information we have about Plantin's dealings with Hendrik Niclaes, with the exception of the well-known but still mysterious account of the casket of jewels which a Parisian jeweller had bequeathed to the prophet. From the by no means clear report in the *Chronika*⁵⁵ we can conclude that, in the disappearance of the jewels, HN found cause to doubt Plantin's honesty – probably a novel and unpleasant experience for the printer. Finally we have a few statements by Plantin about the members of the Family of Love in his above-mentioned letter to Postel. Without naming the leader he writes with sympathy about their readiness to abandon earthly vanities and their desire to imitate Christ in their lives. He speaks highly of this aspect of HN's doctrine, but the prophet was not alone in this: we find a similar attitude in other circles too and the conclusion of Rooses and later authors that Plantin proves himself to have been a follower of Hendrik Niclaes by adhering to this ideal is unfounded. The same applies to his attitude to freedom and toleration in matters of faith – these, too, were ideas cherished by numerous people living in the Netherlands of Erasmus and Coornhert.⁵⁶

There is yet another argument which has been advanced to assume the printer's connection with the Family of Love: his attitude, and that of a number of his friends, towards secular authority, particularly in the 1560s. The readiness to comply, even against one's own convictions, with what the state expected of the citizen, this adaptability or 'hypocrisy' (the term currently used), is advanced to prove that those who held such a view and commended it to others were secretly followers of the prophet.⁵⁷ The *Chronika* mentions his recommendation to Plantin in or at about the time of the turbulent year of 1566 to keep away from all political matters – advice allegedly connected with Plantin's intention to found a branch in the northern Netherlands. It seems unlikely that the printer actually involved others

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, cap. XI, 21-9 (pp. 71 ff.).

⁵⁶ For this matter, see G. Güldner, *Das Toleranz-Problem in den Niederlanden im Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck/Hamburg 1968), especially pp. 38 ff., 128 ff.

⁵⁷ 'On this earth the powers of the magistrate were far superior to those of the priest. Civil authority is ordained by God; on no account must the members of the Family of Love disobey it' (Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 39). See also N. Mout, 'The Family of Love (Huis der Liefde) and the Dutch Revolt', *Church and State since the Reformation*, eds. A.C. Duke & C.A. Tamme (Britain and the Netherlands, 7; The Hague 1981), pp. 76-93. For an exposition by Hendrik Niclaes himself about his attitude to the secular powers, see his letter to the city council of Emden written shortly after his flight in 1560; reproduced in A. Hamilton, 'Three epistles by Hendrik Niclaes', *Quaerendo*, 10 (1980), pp. 47-69 (pp. 54 ff.).

before taking this step,⁵⁸ but if he did he took no notice of HN's warning: he carried out his plan.

But quite apart from the traditional authority of the state and the ensuing readiness to obey it, this is quite true: in so far as we know Plantin never refused to execute commissions for the authorities in charge and changes of government never played a part of any significance in his business policy. Other members of his circle, even belonging to the Antwerp magistracy, were equally ready to make concessions in order to safeguard their position and their business interests for as long as possible. But even if this neutral attitude has similarities with the 'simulation' of which Hendrik Niclaes was accused, it is all too understandable in such insecure and dangerous times: in the hope of a better future people tried to survive and to avoid political complications as much as possible. A form of behaviour so obvious in such circumstances can hardly be connected with a particular movement or group.⁵⁹

Matters of faith have only been treated incidentally in this article although this aspect is obviously of considerable importance for a complete picture of the relations between the two men. We are thus entitled to assume that Plantin's religious mysticism was influenced by his numerous conversations with the prophet – conversations which must have occurred every day during his stay in Kampen.⁶⁰ In their ideas about the ecclesiastical practices of the time, about the conflict between the various confessions and about the predominant importance of peace and toleration for the world they probably saw eye to eye. What is certain is that they were both attracted by the ideas of the *Theologia germanica*, a book Plantin was to publish several times.

This, however, is an area which a bibliographer must leave to ecclesiastical historians. It is up to them to answer the question of whether Plantin's religious views, as we know them from his letters (including the moral admonitions to his children) and from the quotations of others⁶¹ contain so many elements of HN's teaching that we can talk of a direct influence, or whether points of community simply rest on a

⁵⁸ The chronicler reports that Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt planned these activities strictly together: 'met ere beiden, buten den Raedt HN anheven unde also ansloegen [...] dennoch hadde em HN. genoch gewarnet, unde em hertelick vormanet, dat he sick in alle dersulver Berörte in stilheit holden solde ...'. – *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XXIV, 3 (pp. 79 f.).

⁵⁹ For certain points of community between Plantin's attitude in worldly matters and the teaching of Hendrik Niclaes, see also Hamilton, art. cit. (n. 46), pp. 90 f.

⁶⁰ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XXI, 21 (p. 71).

⁶¹ See, for example, the utterances of Plantin as noted by Saravia and reproduced in H. van Crombruggen, 'Een brief van Adriaan Saravia over Lipsius en "Het Huis der Liefde"', *De Gulden Passer*, 28 (1950), pp. 110-17 (pp. 114 f.), and in W. Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c.1532-1613), Dutch calvinist, first reformed defender for the English episcopal church order on the basis of the ius divinum* (Leiden 1980), pp. 350 ff. and pp. 150 ff.

general tendency to a personal religious experience which we also find elsewhere in those years. As long as it is impossible to point to any direct influence it seems incorrect to regard Plantin's membership of the Family of Love as certain or even probable.

We know about the fundamental objections which his contemporary Coornhert had to Hendrik Niclaes' doctrine, although he was personally acquainted with the prophet and was even given *Den Spiegel* to read before it went to press.⁶² He was not prepared to accept HN's claims to be the last of the prophets, the successor of Christ on earth – a calling which was an essential point for the leader himself and his followers. Coornhert also rejected the urgent appeal of the Family of Love to absolute obedience to the prophet.⁶³ But if this applied to Coornhert, who expressed his objections (as well perhaps as to countless others about whose judgement we know nothing), is it likely that a man with the character and personality of Plantin was ready to adopt so submissive an attitude to someone whom he had first come across as a successful colleague in business?⁶⁴ The question is thus not whether and to what extent certain of Plantin's religious views coincided with the teaching of Hendrik Niclaes and whether he developed these views under his direct influence. The point is, rather, whether we can assume that Plantin submitted himself to the prophet's leadership to such an extent that he can be regarded as one of his followers, as a member of the Family of Love.

In this connection I should also point out a curious contradiction in the current views of the accounts in the *Chronika*. I have referred on various occasions in this article to an evident prejudice of the chronicler and his biased judgements of the motives of others both within and outside the Family of Love. Information derived from other sources, however, allows us to establish the reliability of all sorts of facts mentioned in the work. Would this reliability cease where such a burning question

⁶² For Coornhert's reservations, see H. Bonger, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 264 ff. According to the author the split occurred in about 1560. Coornhert subsequently expressed his objections to HN's doctrine in his *Spiegelken van de ongerechtigheid* (BB C 103), but he did not publish it until 1581 when the prophet was dead. [BB refers to *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75).]

⁶³ Hamilton, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 39: 'Familism meant obeisance to Hendrik Niclaes'.

⁶⁴ Plantin's later friendship with Hendrik Jansen (van) Barrefelt (Hiël) is outside the scope of this article. Many scholars are still inclined to regard the latter as the successor of the founder of the Family of Love after his death in 1580. Everything suggests, however, that the sect, which had formed a sort of commune in Cologne, ceased to exist in that shape soon after 1580 and only had scattered supporters on the continent thereafter. It also seems inconceivable that Barrefelt, who had broken all bonds with the movement in 1573, should have been seen in those circles as the new leader. His close ties with Plantin should thus not be taken to be the continuation of a similar relationship of the printer with Hendrik Niclaes.

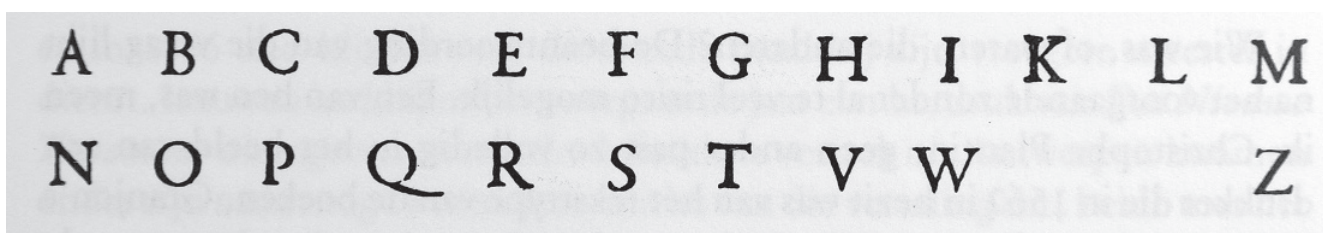
in the Family of Love as Plantin's behaviour towards the movement is concerned? The chronicler repeatedly reproaches him for his purely commercial attitude when he printed *Den Spiegel*. All the costs were met by the prophet. Not only did he have to subsidize the composition and the printing, but he also had to purchase all the type and ornaments. For that purpose he even sent two of his own men to Cologne, just as he also provided someone for the correction of the work. This had undoubtedly all been agreed upon beforehand, but the author still bitterly accuses Plantin of covetousness: the printer regarded the production of the great work purely as a commercial matter and had no intention of providing any further support for the movement and its ends.⁶⁵ From these words we can only conclude that in 1556 Plantin was ready to print a large book for HN but was never prepared to assume further commitments. Why should we doubt so emphatic a statement from the leader's most intimate circle?

Ever since Rooses all experts have regarded Plantin's membership of the Family of Love as an established fact and have based on this their opinion of his 'ambivalent' attitude to religious matters. His repeated expressions of loyalty to his faith are regarded with a certain scepticism or even distrust. And indeed, in his publication of 'prohibited' Bibles and his intensive contacts with men of a different faith he acted with a freedom which sometimes exceeded what was permitted in his time – although remarkably little is known of any complaints about him advanced by the Church. But where his relationship with the Family of Love was concerned suspicion seems to be misplaced now that we know how decisive the business element was. It seems to me that the main reason for doubting the integrity of Plantin's statements about his religious feelings thus disappears. The outcome of a bibliographical investigation, together with a closer interpretation of the only contemporary source, the *Chronika*, thus places the question of 'Plantin the heretic'⁶⁶ in a new light.

⁶⁵ *Cronica*, op. cit. (n. 3), cap. XV, 26-8 (p. 47).

⁶⁶ The title given by Voet to the relevant chapter in his *The Golden Compasses* (GC, vol. I, pp. 21 ff.).

WAS PLANTIN A MEMBER OF THE FAMILY OF LOVE?



I

A set of two-line Brevier capitals, attributed here to Garamont. Collected from Lenaert der Kinderen's Bible, 1563, and reproduced by G.A. de Zeeuw, Amsterdam UL
(Scan from the original publication)

PREDATED PROTESTANT WORKS IN NIJHOFF-KRONENBERG



In a previous issue of *Quaerendo*,¹ I wrote about a group of early Dutch Protestant works which had been misdated and had thus been wrongly included in the *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* by Nijhoff & Kronenberg.² Many of these publications are listed there under Nicolaes van Oldenborch, a name which, as we now know, never belonged to a historical figure but was simply a pseudonym. Over the years Dr Kronenberg ascribed a total of 38 publications to him:³ ten with his imprint and the rest as a result of an investigation into the typographical material used. Subsequently she attributed some ten more books to him which appeared in the 1550s with the fake name of Magnus van den Merberghe van O(e)sterhout.

In my article I managed to establish that, of all these titles, only three (NK 1791, 3631 and 3911) were actually published between 1500 and 1540. Their publisher was Adriaen van Berghen, a courageous man who was banished from Antwerp for printing prohibited literature in 1536 and, after spending years on the move, was ultimately executed in The Hague in 1542. Of the works without an imprint which Dr Kronenberg attributed to Van Oldenborch, moreover, six were produced by another Antwerp printer, Mattheus Crom.⁴ On the basis of the combination of typefaces used, these can be dated between 1539 and 1543 and so might just fall within the chronological limits of Nijhoff & Kronenberg's bibliography.

We can thus say that these nine publications were rightly included in the work. All the other 'Van Oldenborch' books, whether signed or simply attributed to him, appeared later – despite the misleading dates which some of them bear. In various cases they were even published much later, for a relatively high number was only

¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonyms, or Why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), pp. 165-90, 245-72 (quoted hereafter as VB 'Oldenborch'), *passim*; see also the present article's 'Conclusion'.

² W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71), hereafter quoted as NK.

³ This number can now be increased by two recently discovered editions; see VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 178 ff., notes 46-7 and illus. 3, 4.

⁴ NK 529, 915, 1429, 1789, 2092 and 2194. See the list of 'Van Oldenborch' editions (to be compared with Kronenberg's list in NK, pp. 201-3) in VB 'Oldenborch': Appendix II (pp. 267 ff.).

issued in the 1550s. We now know that this group was the work of Frans Fraet, an almost totally forgotten figure as far as his activities as a printer are concerned. Until recently little more was certain than that he was executed in 1558, a few days after his arrest for publishing a prognostication regarded as especially objectionable by the authorities. This is all the information that existed about his career as a printer and publisher. In addition to this, it was known that he was also active as a poet and translated the first emblem book to be published in Dutch.

In the seven or so years in which Fraet worked as an independent printer (as from 1550 or 1551) he would seem to have produced at least 33 books. Besides various anonymous editions these included the aforesaid publications with the fictitious imprint of Vanden Merberghe and two books in which the pseudonym Niclaes van Oldenborch was used again. The total shows that Fraet ran a firm of some significance: indeed, in his day he was the foremost publisher of Protestant literature in the Netherlands. The current view that nothing more appeared in this domain in Antwerp after the 1540s must thus be fundamentally revised, if only because of his activities.⁵

Before Fraet, other printers, too, had used the name of Van Oldenborch. To start with, there was Crom's successor Steven Mierdman(s), who took over his brother-in-law's firm in 1543 and carried it on until he emigrated to London with the entire printing shop three or four years later. In Antwerp he hid on a number of occasions behind the pseudonym in question, but in England such a precaution was no longer necessary. Years later Hans (II) van Ruremunde used the name again in one of his publications (to which I shall be returning). The same applies to another Antwerp publisher, Hans de Laet, in a book which he presumably had printed by Fraet.⁶ Finally, the fake address can be found in a reprint of Guilelmus Gnapheus' *Troost ende spyegel der siecken* (NK 3108), produced by an unidentified press which should perhaps be sought in Kampen.⁷ This, too, is a late edition. All these publications, both the signed ones and the attributions, appeared after 1540, the chronological limit of NK; some of them came out between three and six years later, and a considerable number later still. Six books (NK 246, 1009, 1013, 1422-3 and 1885)⁸, which

⁵ A.G. Johnston, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme aux Pays-Bas, 1520-c.1555', *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-c.1570)*, ed. J.-F. Gilmont (Paris 1990), pp. 155-90; A.G. Johnston & J.-F. Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', *ibid.*, pp. 191-216: 'Après 1546, le livre protestant n'est pratiquement plus imprimé à Anvers dans aucune langue' (p. 199).

⁶ *Der waerheyt onderwijs* (s.l., Niclaes van Oldenborch [=Antwerpen, Hans de Laet; printed by Frans Fraet?], 1555). See VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 254 f., 269 (W II).

⁷ VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 180 f., 268.

⁸ NK 1623 gives the date 1525 as it is stated on the title-page of the book. In vol. 2, p. liv of this work, Dr Kronenberg added the observation: 'Predated?'.

Dr Kronenberg dated between about 1522 and about 1530, were in fact produced in about 1550 or after.

Where the reception of these texts is concerned, a shift of between twenty and thirty years naturally makes a substantial difference. It is clear that the new attributions and the dates connected with them must lead to a revision of the period in which the reader could become acquainted with the contents of the works in question. The existing views on the subject, based on the dates that have been accepted hitherto, must be altered – and this change will affect certain chronological aspects of the Reformation in the Low Countries in so far as printed texts play a part. The impact in that period of the printed word – whether read in private or aloud – on the dissemination of the new religious ideas is at present rated highly. That subject – important as it is from a historical point of view – lies outside my approach to the book as a typographical product, and this also applies to what follows. I shall limit myself to a bibliographical investigation into the years of publication of a number of religious writings which Dr Kronenberg included in her great book besides the Van Oldenborch products – although, as we shall see, these books, too, only appeared after 1540. The consequences entailed by the contents of the works whose dates have been altered I shall leave to experts in ecclesiastical history.

Nijhoff-Kronenberg attributes two publications without an imprint from the group in question, NK 1432 and 2181,⁹ to the aforesaid Mattheus Crom, albeit with a question mark. Such reservations may now be abandoned: the typefaces characteristic of this printer allow no doubt as to the origin of the works. Both publications are antedated, however: Luther's original of NK 1432, *Uutlegghinghe opt drye en vijftichste capittel des Propheetes Iesaias* (s.l. 1536), did not appear before 1539. The year '1526' on the title-page of *Vraghe ende antwoorde op alle saken die eenen mensche ter salicheyt van noode zijn te weten* (NK 2181) is also fictitious. The colophon even gives 1518 as the date of publication! The primary typeface used, however, places both books in the period between 1539 and 1543.

NK 4076 records an almost identical reprint of *Vraghe ende antwoorde* with the same fictitious year of 1518, dated by Dr Kronenberg 'c.1526'. Here the difference between the date she provides and the true year of publication is greater still: it is a book from the press of the heirs of Christoffel van Ruremunde. This printer, who settled in Antwerp in the 1520s,¹⁰ worked mainly for the English market and was incarcerated in Westminster in 1531 for selling New Testaments printed in

⁹ For this attribution see the additions in NK 2, p. lvii, and NK 3, part 3, p. 115.

¹⁰ For information on Christoffel van R(ur)emunde, his wife (and subsequently widow) Catherine and their son Hans (II) or Jan, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), quoted hereafter as Rouzet, pp. 193-5, and the literature listed there.

English. He did not survive his imprisonment. His widow, probably with the help of a son, continued to run the firm with the same policy,¹¹ but when, in the course of time, the demand from England dwindled, she found herself obliged to seek another market. She thus acquired typefaces suitable for the Netherlands and in 1542 started to publish newsletters, official decrees and other popular works. Soon she also had to abandon this activity, when new legislation in 1546 submitted the book trade to the severest restrictions and made the publication of news reports and other topical matters almost impossible. Yet the printing shop remained intact and was carried on some time later by her son Hans (II) van Ruremunde, who obtained a consent to print in 1548.¹² After his authorization had been renewed in 1553, however, he decided to cease publishing.¹³ Thereafter, as far as is known, he worked exclusively as a book dealer – a change of profession which may have had something to do with his marriage in the same year.

That the aforesaid reprint of *Vraghe ende antwoorde* should have been produced by this press emerges from the primary typeface used. Catherine van Ruremunde (who called herself ‘Catharine wydowe’, ‘de Weduwe’, ‘die Weewe’, or ‘la Weuwe’ (the widow) in her publications, without specifying any further name), bought a southern Netherlandish variant of the popular Lettersnijder Pica Textura in 1542.¹⁴ The fount has a Bastarda lower case v as possessed by Mattheus Crom – but, in contrast to Crom, a prolonged f and long s.¹⁵ The son continued to work with the type in this unusual combination and also employed his mother’s woodcut initials. It is consequently impossible to establish exclusively on the basis of the typographical material what she was responsible for between 1542 and 1546 and what was

¹¹ It appears from the *Missale Tornacense* of 1540 (NK 3540) that the material used for the 1527 edition (NK 3539) was still intact; both the typefaces and the many initials. The same applies to the *Processionale ad usum ecclesiae Sarisburiensis* of 1545 (copy: London, BL) with the imprint of the widow, compared with the 1528 edition (NK 1758) produced by her husband. In 1558 a further reprint of this liturgical work was published ‘typis Ruremundensis’, by a certain Melchior Endovianus (another member of the family?). Cf. *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in the Netherlands and Belgium and of Dutch and Flemish Books printed in Other Countries, from 1470 to 1600, now in the British Museum* (London 1965), hereafter quoted as STC, p. 123; Rouzet, p. 62.

¹² L. van den Branden, ‘Drukooitroien toegekend door de Raad van Brabant tot 1600’, *De Gulden Passer*, 68 (1990), pp. 5–88 (p. 30, no. 116). He is there called Janne van Remunde.

¹³ His last publication seems to have been *Dat gheheel nieuwe Testament. Die Epistelen wt den ouden Testament diemen jaerlicx houdt inder kercken* (Antwerpen, Hans van Remundt, 1553), copy: London, BL. The book had actually been produced in the previous year: there are copies from the same setting with the date 1552.

¹⁴ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter quoted as VPT, pp. 140–2: T 30.

¹⁵ See also VB ‘Oldenborch’, p. 260, n. 114.

later published by Hans (II).¹⁶ We must also reckon with the possibility that, even when the printing shop was in her name, many, if not all, the publications were in fact the work of her son and thus seem to have been set by the same hand.

A few other NK numbers can also be attributed to this press. One of them, *Een gulden onderweijnsinge* ('Neurenberg 1525'), NK 1623, a reprint of Adriaen van Berghen's edition with the same imprint, NK 363I, is familiar to us from the attributions to Van Oldenborch.¹⁷ The new edition has the same *Geloof, hoop en liefde* (Faith, Hope and Charity) woodcut border decorating the title-page,¹⁸ which Adriaen had used for the same text. As further decoration the book only has an ornamental D, a Gothic initial of an old-fashioned design. The A of this alphabet appears in a hitherto undescribed work: *Een cort onderwijs uut der heyligher scrift, om den mensche te brengen tot gheerns ende willichlick te sterven* ..., a tract that had already been published previously by Van Berghen and was now reissued¹⁹ without a date but with the same woodcut.²⁰ We thus see that the press had not only taken over certain ornaments from the estate of the colleague who had been executed in 1542, but had also again begun to launch works from Van Berghen's stock on the market. In 1553, after the retirement of Hans (II) van Ruremunde as publisher, Frans Fraet was to fulfil this role and continued with the reprints.

The A to which I have just referred sets us on the trail of various other publi-

¹⁶ About this question, see also P. Valkema Blouw, 'Drukkers voor Menno Simons en Dirk Philips', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 17 (1991), pp. 31-74 (pp. 40 ff.), in connection with two books by Menno Simons which were printed by this press in about 1552.

¹⁷ VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 260, 268.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 259, illus. 10

¹⁹ The only copy to have come to light so far is in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB), shelf-mark Yv 132080 Helmst.(2). J.M. de Bujanda, *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558* (Index des livres interdits, 2; Sherbrooke/Genève 1986 – hereafter quoted as Bujanda 1986), pp. 205-6, no. 159, reports the existence of a copy of this text in Amsterdam UL. This, however, is an edition by Adriaen van Berghen (c.1540?; not in NK). Another issue from this press, presumably from a slightly earlier date (but not before 1532; also missing in NK), is in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. The book has the same woodcut on the title-page but the setting is different. The later edition of c.1550 recorded here also has Van Berghen's title-page woodcut, which had obviously passed into the hands of the Van Ruremundes. – The Paris *Index* of 1544 mentions a French edition in London, BL, apparently an undated translation of c.1540 which was censored in 1541; cf. J.M. de Bujanda et al., *Index de l'Université de Paris 1544, 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, 1556* (Index des livres interdits, 1; Sherbrooke/Genève 1985 – hereafter quoted as Bujanda 1985), pp. 345-6, no. 403.

²⁰ The resurrected Christ crushes the Devil and Death. There is no reproduction of this in W. Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements pendant cette période*, vols. 1-2 & supplément (La Haye 1926-35), hereafter quoted as NAT.

cations by the Ruremunde press. For the letter appears in *Theologia Duytsch* (NK 01150).²¹ This translation had already been recognized by Dr Kronenberg as an edition outside 'her' period ('c.1560?'). But she was less sure about *Refutacie Salve regina*, NK 3788 (see illus. 1).²² For the attribution of this book she referred to *Bibliotheca Belgica* (R 97),²³ where Christoffel van Ruremunde, is named as the publisher – but added this remark: 'In our view later.' Hence her ascription, with reservations, to the printer's widow. The striking similarity in layout with that of the *Theologia Duytsch*, however, makes it very likely that this, too, is the work of the son.

In *Refutacie Salve regina* we find, besides the G of the alphabet in question, also a smaller initial of this letter. The same block is used in *Die summa ende dat begrijp des menschen salicheyts* (NK 3140), a translation of the *Loci communes* of the Scottish reformer Patrick Hamilton.²⁴ The book appeared with the imprint 'Ghedruct tot Marburch by my Cornelius Nyenhuys', a fake address. Here, too, BB H 214 gives Christoffel van Ruremunde as printer, with the date 'c.1530' – an attribution and a dating which are adopted by Dr Kronenberg with some hesitation.²⁵

The presence of the small initial G is a reason for ascribing this book, too, to the group of publications which we can place in the name of the later Van Ruremundes. It is certainly a product of this press, as we also see from a D which is identical to an initial which the father had already used in his *Nieuw Testament* of 1527.²⁶ Yet there is a problem: the primary typeface differs from what we know of this press. The text is set in a worn Lettersnijder Pica Textura in the original composition (thus no Bastarda v), but with, as its sole distinguishing feature, a damaged capital S. It seems likely to me that this is a fount that was not used by the son, but, in about 1541, briefly by the widow when she switched from printing Latin texts to publica-

²¹ A. Zijderveld in *Het Boek*, 15 (1926), pp. 143 ff.; B. Becker, 'De "Theologia deutsch" in de Nederlanden der 16e eeuw', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 21 (1928), pp. 171-5 (with a reproduction of the title).

²² For this probably original Dutch writing, see *Polemische geschriften der Hervormingsgezinden*, ed. F. Pijper (Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica, 1; Den Haag 1903), pp. 1 ff.; J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531* (Amsterdam 1873), pp. 408-10.

²³ *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter quoted as BB.

²⁴ The English text, *Dyvers fruitful gatheryngs of Scripture* ('Patrick's Places'), first appeared in 1527. For the author, see J.E. McGoldrick, 'Patrick Hamilton, Luther's Scottish Disciple', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 18 (1987), pp. 81-8.

²⁵ VB 'Oldenborch', p. 255 and n. 99. The fake address, with a slight difference in the spelling, was later used (by Frans Fraet) for a reprint of this text (NK 4239).

²⁶ NAT, vol. 2: *Les Pays-Bas méridionaux*; Christophorus Ruremundensis, V 16 (and IV 13 d³). The initial also appears in NK 1180, Christianus Ischyrius' *Hortulus animae*, which the widow printed for the author in 1533.

tions in the two vernaculars.²⁷ The choice of the book, a translation of an English text (and as such rather unusual), could also point to this. She soon had her worn material replaced by a better fount. A similar switch also occurred in the early career of another printer, Fraet.²⁸

Towards the end of his career as a printer, Hans (II) van Ruremunde went over to a smaller and more economical type, a 62 mm Rotunda – a face which was already in use among several printers in Antwerp in about 1525 but quickly vanished from their publications. With this he printed, in about 1552, two early treatises by Menno Simons. That the Mennonites had approached him for this purpose proves that he was known in those circles as a man whose principles did not prevent him from printing heterodox texts²⁹

NK 4170 gives yet another edition of *Refutacie Salve regina*, this time with no attribution to a printer but with the date ‘c.1540 or slightly later’. The copy (illus. 2), from the Vandeveld and E. van Hoof collections, came to light in 1951 and was acquired by the Amsterdam University Library. The ‘slightly later’ must be interpreted broadly: some lines of the book are set in Tavernier’s Pica Textura, a typeface (T 29), which, according to Vervliet’s *Printing Types*, was first used in 1558. That year can thus provisionally be regarded as the earliest possible date of the edition. The primary typeface is Lambrecht’s first Pica Textura (T 37, here cast on Small Pica, 72 mm), with a few altered capitals. This T 37 is a rare face which had previously only been used by the punchcutter himself and by (or for?) the English publisher Anthony Scoloker in Ipswich. The same typeface thus takes us to Ghent, where Joos Lambrecht had sold his printing shop to the goldsmith Pieter vanden Keere shortly before he emigrated to Wesel in 1553. The new owner let out the firm for three years to the printer Jan Cauweel and then put it in the hands of his son Hendrik (I) vanden Keere.³⁰ The latter continued to use Lambrecht’s typefaces,

²⁷ She also printed official decrees in French with it.

²⁸ VB ‘Oldenborch’, pp. 255–6, especially notes 100–2, and p. 269, Fraet, nos. 1–3.

²⁹ For these editions, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 16), pp. 40 ff.; I.B. Horst, *A Bibliography of Menno Simons, c.1496–1561, Dutch Reformer. With a Census of Known Copies* (Nieuwkoop 1962), nos. 20 and 38. The young Van Ruremunde’s readiness to work for this group emerges from his anonymous edition of *Een schoon ende profitelijck register, inhoudende die principaelste artikelen [...] in dat gansch Oude ende Nieuwe Testament* (s.l. 1552), which he printed ‘met Gratie ende Privilegie des Alderhoochsten’ (with Pardon and Privilege of the Most High). Cf. J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt vóór 1600, aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter quoted as Machiels, R 104; *Belgica Typographica 1541–1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968–94), hereafter quoted as BT, no. 9061)

³⁰ The father of his homonymous son Hendrik (II), who was later to be so successful a punchcutter and type designer. For information on Hendrik Senior (active from 1556 to 1566 or 1567) and

but also purchased new ones. This also applies to the ornaments of the press; in his edition of the *Costumen der stede ende casselrye van Curtrijcke* (1558), BT 745, we thus meet an alphabet of calligraphic initials, including variants, possibly acquired with an eye to this order. It is from this set that the G in the *Refutacie* is printed (on [A5]) – a fact which confirms the attribution and again indicates the earliest possible date.

Joos Lambrecht's departure from Ghent was always something of a puzzle since no one had succeeded in establishing what he printed in Wesel. The reason for his emigration remained obscure.³¹ We now know that in the three years before his death he produced various prohibited books with the fake addresses 'Straisburg, Balthasar von Klarenbach'³² and, for an English client, 'Rome, before the castel of S. Angel, at the signe of S. Peter'.³³ Also in Wesel Lambrecht published, without an imprint, an anonymous reprint of the summer part of the *Sermoenen* (NK 3684) by the mysterious Friar Minor Niclaes Peeters. That is a pseudonym: the true author of this originally Dutch Protestant book has yet to be identified.³⁴ As I pointed out in my earlier article, an edition of the two parts of the work (NK 1691-2), with the false date 1520 on the first part, had already been published in Antwerp by Steven Mierdmans.³⁵

his publications, see J. Machiels, *De boekdrukkunst te Gent tot 1560* (Gent 1994), pp. 201-24.

³¹ The literature on Joos Lambrecht is extensive: see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 117 f. and the works there listed; *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 11 (Brussel 1985), pp. 429-34 (J. Machiels & J. Teldeman); P. de Keyser, 'De laatste jaren van den drukker Joos Lambrecht', *De Gulden Passer*, 9 (1931), pp. 53-7. For the catalogue of his work in Ghent, see now Machiels, op. cit. (n. 30), pp. 113 ff.

³² It was with this imprint that he published: Joannes Anastasius Veluanus [= Johan Geeraerds ter Stege], *Kort bericht in allen principalen punten des Christen geloves [...] genant der Leken wechwyser ...* (1554). Many years ago P. Bockmühl, 'Wo ist die erste Ausgabe des Werkes von Johannes Anastasius Veluanus, "Der Leeken Wechwyser", im Jahre 1554 zuerst gedruckt?', *Theologische Arbeiten aus dem rheinischen wissenschaftlichen Prediger-Verein*, NS, 13 (1912), had already indicated Lambrecht as the printer. His arguments, however, were so unsubstantial and the typographical analysis which he employed so obviously incorrect on a number of points that many scholars were sceptical about his attribution. Now it turns out to have been correct.

³³ The works were ordered by Hugh Singleton, a book dealer and publisher in London since about 1548. After the succession of the Catholic Queen Mary he had his Protestant books printed on the continent; he probably spent some time as an emigrant in Wesel. Between November 1553 and July 1554, Lambrecht produced four books for him: STC 1307, 4392, 11587 and 15059.5.

³⁴ It has been proved that he used Luther's sermons; see A.G. Johnston, 'The sermons of Niclaes Peeters: partially unmasked', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 64 (1984), pp. 123-43. For the history of the investigation into text and author, the dating and the various editions, see C.C. de Bruin, 'De Sermoenen van Niclaes Peeters', *Kerkhistorische studiën, uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 75-jarig bestaan van het kerkhistorisch gezelschap S.S.S.* (Leiden 1977), pp. 7-49 (pp. 13 f.) and the literature given in VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 166-7, n. 9.

³⁵ VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 256-7, 268.

Vervliet's *Printing Types* does not make a separate mention of the typefaces which Lambrecht used in Wesel. Nor is there any reason to do so: it would seem that the printer worked mainly with his own already existing material. He had taken with him punches, or sets of matrices, of his self-cut types, such as VPT R 23, R 25, T 6, T 25 (see *ibid.* fig. 79) with, as his main typeface, the Pica Textura T 37 as he had further elaborated it by combining the lower case of T 35 (or a copy of it?) with newly designed capitals. The typeface is thus not identical with T 36 (although it bears a close resemblance to it), since he had given it to Steven Mierdmans in 1543 and since it is found later in England in publications by other printers. In addition to this, Lambrecht in Wesel also owned the Canon Textura T 3 and a Schwabacher on English, the second of which typefaces he presumably did not cut himself but acquired from Germany. He used it for the first time in his *Naembouck* of 1546.³⁶

In the 1550s and 1560s the German town of Emden is known to have been one of the most important centres of Dutch book production, and some of its products have found their way into Nijhoff-Kronenberg. In the first place we have NK 948, the *Paradoxa* of the German spiritualist and reformer Sebastian Franck, an entry later provided with the note 'presumably to be dated after 1540'.³⁷ The 'presumably' should be removed. The expert on Dutch early-printed books, Dr C.P. Burger Jr., had already observed that it might well be a far later edition, and his view has proved correct.³⁸ The work is an anonymous publication by Willem Gailliart, probably produced between 1561 and 1565 when all his books appeared without an imprint. Although the works of Franck could appear in Emden without any impediment, the town had such a bad reputation with the Dutch authorities of the time as the supplier of 'heretical' books that the publisher obviously thought it was better to suppress the place of origin.³⁹

³⁶ VPT, fig. 26 (p. 55). – For an enumeration of the typefaces used by Lambrecht, see now Machiels, *op. cit.* (n. 30), pp. 15–16. A list of the typographical material in his English products is to be found in F. Isaac, *English and Scottish Printing Types, 1535–58, 1552–58*, collected and annotated by F. Isaac (Facsimiles and Illustrations, issued by the Bibliographical Society, 3; Oxford 1932): Hugh Singleton, *Rome at the Sign of St. Peter* (1553/4), figs. 116 and 117. The Italic and Roman types (figs. 118 and 119^a) given by Isaac are, however, with the exception of the '80' (= 82) Roman (VPT 25), wrongly reported to have been used by Lambrecht. They belong to the material of another printer.

³⁷ NK, vol. 3, part 3, p. xiv.

³⁸ C.P. Burger Jr., 'De Nederlandsche vertalingen van de werken van Sebastiaan Franck', *Het Boek*, 17 (1928), pp. 215–17 (p. 216: 'perhaps from the Emden period, but perhaps later still'); K. Kaczewsky, *Sebastian Franck Bibliographie. Verzeichnisse von Francks Werken, der von ihm gedruckten Bücher sowie der Sekundär-Literatur* (Wiesbaden 1976), no. A III; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, in duplo, 1558–83', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Níco Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310–31 (p. 327).

³⁹ The only up to date bibliography of Emden publications is now to be found in A. Pettegree,

Another Emden publication (NK 3932), which also has no chronological place in Nijhoff-Kronenberg, is an edition of the *Testament* of Anneken [Jansdr. de Lind] from Rotterdam, written to her son shortly before her execution. Although the piece (a gathering of four leaves) explicitly states: 'Na Ghedrucket, na een olde gedruckte Cope, die gedrukt geweest is int jaer ... 1539' (Reprinted after an old printed copy which was printed in the year 1539), Dr Kronenberg saw, in her own words, 'a deliberate attempt to mislead' in this statement. She thus placed this reprint of the last letter of the Anabaptist martyr before the undated edition NK 3933. She does not mention a printer, but rightly rejected the attribution in BB A 138 to Dirck vanden Borne in Deventer.

In this case the bibliographer was too suspicious. The sequence is indeed the one given on the title-page: NK 3933 is the first edition of 1539 or 1540 and NK 3932 is a later reprint. The printer was Gillis van der Erven (Ctematius), a native of Ghent who had been living in Emden since 1554 or 1555. His involvement emerges from the typeface used: a 73/4 mm Schwabacher with the peculiarity that some capitals come in two different shapes. The printer seems to have run out of capitals over the years and was obliged to increase his supply in about 1558 with material from another typeface, a slightly smaller Textura.⁴⁰ The number of replacements gradually increases until, in the end, seven or eight capitals can be found in two sorts in his material. Van der Erven also used this type case in more or less the same composition in order to set an edition of Menno Simons' previously unpublished 'first ban book', *Een lieffelijcke vermaninghe ...*,⁴¹ printed without a date but probably issued shortly after his death (1561). This unusual combination of types indicates the time at about which NK 3932 must have appeared: c.1562.⁴² It is surprising to see that in Emden not only the broad-minded Gailliarts⁴³ but also Van der Erven, printer to the Dutch congregation and even at one point a member of the Calvinist-orientated church consistory, was occasionally prepared to carry out an order for the Mennonites.

Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism (Oxford 1992), pp. 252 ff.: Appendix: 'Books printed in Emden, 1554-1585'. For Franck's *Paradoxa*, see no. 104.

⁴⁰ F. Isaac, 'Egidius van der Erve and his English printed books', *The Library*, 4th S., 12 (1931-2), pp. 336-52, gives reproductions of the typeface in illus. 5 and 6. A substitute capital G can be seen in illus. 5.

⁴¹ Horst, op. cit. (n. 29), nos. 73-4.

⁴² For this attribution, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'De drukker van Menno's eerste Banboek', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 18 (1992), pp. 119-21.

⁴³ In 1562 Willem Gailliart was interrogated by the Emden consistory on suspicion of having printed a greatly enlarged edition of Menno Simons' *Fondamentboek*. Although he was clearly guilty, the matter appears to have had no further consequences for him. See Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 16), pp. 51 ff.; *id.*, art. cit. (n. 38), pp. 315-16.

Certain works by another Anabaptist leader, David Joris, have also been wrongly included in NK. These are nos. 1233-6, four anonymously printed tracts which came from the press of Ludwig Dietz in Rostock. He was David's last printer and received his orders from Basel, where the Dutch sectarian had settled after years of persecution. In about 1550 Dietz printed some forty tracts for him – including the ones just mentioned – which were collected in three large volumes.⁴⁴

Besides the places to which I have referred, there was another town where books were published which have been wrongly included in NK: Kampen. It is there that we must probably seek the printer of *Dat Evangelie der Armen* by Cornelis Cooltuyn, one of the most important originally Dutch Protestant works of this period. In my 'Oldenborch' article, cited in n. 1, I have already attributed NK 1014, *Van den olden ende nieuwen God*, to the same unidentified press. The printers of Kampen were Steven Joessen, who started out in 1551, and Peter Warnersen, who presumably began printing a little later. Joessen probably produced NK 441, *Een profitelijck ende troostelick boecxken van den gheloove ende hoope*, while Warnersen may have been the printer of Hans Sachs' *Een schoone Disputatie van eenen evangelischen schoenmaecker ende van eenen papistighen coorheere* (NK 3828), of which the only known copy in Hamburg has unfortunately been lost.

It is not yet possible, however, to distinguish between the early work of these two (or maybe three) printers with any certainty since they only worked with a few very common typefaces and were cautious enough not to use any initials or other, easily recognizable, ornaments in risky publications. They give the impression of having both used the same matrices for their material or of having acquired their cast type from the same foundry. A further problem facing investigators is that Warnersen left many of his publications undated, while Joessen, too, sometimes took the precaution of omitting both his name and the date. That makes it hard to follow the development of the contents of their type cases and consequently to reach well-founded attributions. Although we have no certainty, therefore, it nevertheless seems sure, partly on account of the language used, that these books were printed in the north-eastern Netherlands where the choice in this period is particularly limited, especially if, as in this case, Deventer and Nijmegen must be excluded.

This also applies to NK 3937, a reprint of the *Theologia Duytsch*. In view of the lack of suitable photographic material I have been unable to determine where it was printed, but, judging from some of the linguistic forms in the title and from a reproduction of that single page, the work was published in the east, very probably

⁴⁴ For these publications, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to the "arch-heretic" David Joris. Prolegomena to a bibliography of his works', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 163-209 (p. 170, n. 3, pp. 187 ff., p. 205); quoted hereafter as VB 'Printers'.

in Kampen and after 1550.⁴⁵ The same origin and perhaps even dating can be given for NK 3984: *Der siecken troost*. A publication by Peter Warnersen of an entirely different nature, a signed leaf with two valuations from 1539, was almost certainly also printed after 1540, despite the date given by NK 4010.

As the last publication in this group with dates which are considerably later than has previously been supposed, I should mention NK 675: *Die daden, werken en(de) leerijnghe ons heere(n) Jhesu Christi [...] ende [...] des Paus [...]*. Although recently still described as being of 'c.1525',⁴⁶ Dr Kronenberg had already suggested 'on second thought' the possibility that it was an edition of after 1540.⁴⁷ This is undoubtedly correct. The printer was probably Jan Wijnrijcx or Wijndricx in Antwerp, who obtained the authorization to print in 1550.⁴⁸ He published various school books and pamphlets, but his business was apparently unsuccessful and his name no longer appears after 1554.⁴⁹

We have now seen that Dr Kronenberg was mistaken about the date of publication of a number of Dutch Protestant writings and that she tended in many cases to date them too early. Of the 121 publications which she mentions in her systematic index under the heading 'Luther – Voor en tegen de Hervorming – Nederlands' at least fifty-five would appear to fall outside the limit of her work, the year 1540 – and this is taking no account of possible small differences of a couple of years or so.⁵⁰ On closer inspection this number could increase still further: the lack of suitable photographic material or the absence of sufficient significant elements in the printed matter itself means that it is not always possible to establish the year of publication with any certainty. Elsewhere, too, in the work of Nijhoff-Kronenberg one is strongly tempted to place question marks beside the dates given.

The revised dates of publication now show that after the very first years, Dutch Protestant literature was published mainly in Antwerp. When in 1523 the *Summa der*

⁴⁵ Described by Becker, art. cit. (n. 21), pp. 180-1, with a reproduction of the title-page. NK mentions three woodcut initials (D, M and S), which I have not seen but which may help to identify the printer.

⁴⁶ Johnston, art. cit. (n. 5), pp. 161-2, with reproduction.

⁴⁷ NK, vol. 3, part 3, p. xiv, with reference to her article 'Uitgaven van Luther in de Nederlanden verschenen tot 1541', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 40 (1954), pp. 1-25 (p. 3). The book is a translation or adaptation of *Les faictz de Jesus Christ et du Pape*, cf. Bujanda 1985, op. cit. (n. 19), no. 426; *Index de Paris* 1551), or of the German translation which appeared in 1546.

⁴⁸ Van den Branden, art. cit. (n. 12), p. 33, no. 139.

⁴⁹ Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 251.

⁵⁰ Johnston, art. cit. (n. 5), p. 155 reaches a total of 170 publications for the period between 1520 and 1540, including Anabaptist books and 'ouvrages totalement détruits' – but adds that editions in Latin and French have not been counted.

Godliker Scrifturen was prohibited by the authorities in the north, the publisher responsible, Jan Seversz, had to flee, and the Corver printing-office in Zwolle ended its activities. At this point Antwerp became by far the largest producer. Thirty years later, however, with the arrival of printers from the southern Netherlands who had emigrated from London, Emden turned into its most redoubtable competitor. In 1558 the execution of Frans Fraet provisionally put an end to all activities in this profitable but, as it appeared, dangerous domain in Antwerp.⁵¹ For the next ten years the Emden publishers had little to fear from rivals. Thereafter their production dwindled rapidly owing to the restrictions imposed by a magistracy which was forced to yield to Spanish threats. Printers in such towns as Wesel, Steenwijk and Homberg now saw their chance. After yet another decade the market was almost entirely monopolized by the swiftly growing book production of the northern Netherlands.

NOT IN NIJHOFF-KRONENBERG

If we regard the removal of the 'post-incunable status' of the publications discussed as a loss, there is also an element of gain. In my previous article I mentioned two editions of Guilelmus Gnapheus' *Een troost ende spiegel der siecken* which are not described in NK. Both have the fake Oldenborch imprint and the date 'M.DXXXI'. The first is produced by Adriaen van Berghen and probably dates from 1531 or the year following, the other is printed with the Lettergieter Pica Textura as it was used by Mattheus Crom between 1539 and 1543.⁵²

The two previously mentioned editions of *Een cort onderweys*, missing in NK, are also by Adriaen van Berghen. The same printer also published a clandestine edition of a translation of Justus Menius' *Een schoon onderweys van christelijcke huys-houdinge* [...] *Oeconomia Christiana*, 'met een soon Prologhe' (with a fine preface) by Martin Luther. The title-page has a woodcut border which shows Adriaen to have been the printer and, judging from the state of the primary typeface, the book did not appear later than 1532, thus shortly after the German original of 1529.⁵³ Another unknown Luther translation was discovered recently in Wolfen-

⁵¹ With a brief revival in the 'Wonderjaar' (Annus mirabilis) 1566; see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Gillis Coppens van Diest als ondergronds drukker, 1566-67', *Het oude en het nieuwe boek. De oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen 1988), pp. 143-63.

⁵² VB 'Oldenborch', pp. 178 ff., with reproductions of the title-pages (and see notes 46-7), and p. 269.

⁵³ Ghent, UL (Acc 1372; Machiels, op. cit. (n. 29), M 408). The title border is reproduced in NAT, Adriaen van Berghen VIII 28 en X 41. The book appears in the Louvain *Index* of 1546; see Bujanda 1986, op. cit. (n. 19), no. 130 (pp. 185-6), where the title of the original German edition is also given.

büttel: *Een christelicke oprechte uitlegghinghe des vijfsten boecks Mosi* [...]. This Deuteronomy commentary, too, appears to have been printed by Adriaen van Berghen, as we see from elements such as three initials from his larger Gothic alphabet. The title border is also used in a combined edition of two other Bible commentaries by Luther: Jonah and Habakkuk. This book, long thought to have been lost (see NK 01335-6), but which has now come to light in the Herzog August Bibliothek, can thus also be attributed to the same printer.⁵⁴

In about 1540, furthermore – and this was altogether unknown until recently – Adriaen van Berghen carried out various commissions for David Joris, who had then just fled from the northern Netherlands and had temporarily encountered generous hospitality among prosperous friends in Antwerp. In 1536 the printer was banished from the town, but his firm seems to have continued to function on a limited scale. We now know that various tracts were printed for the ‘arch-heretic’: copies survive of eight of them and a ninth is known from a transcription.⁵⁵ The production of these prohibited treatises following his earlier condemnations may have been the reason why Adriaen was executed in The Hague in 1542.

Two tracts from the earliest period of David Joris’ literary activity are entirely missing from Nijhoff-Kronenberg. They can be ascribed on typographical grounds to his first printer, Albert Pafraet in Deventer who was later to stand trial for this and other work.⁵⁶ *Hoort die stemme des Heeren. De bruloft des lams is bereyt*, which Dr Kronenberg would not have known, is perhaps the earliest of the two. This tract has hitherto been attributed to Bernhard Rothmann, the preacher and spokesman of the Anabaptists during their short-lived kingdom of Münster. It was supposedly there that it was printed in 1535.⁵⁷ Now, however, it emerges from later editions of

⁵⁴ For these discoveries, see U. Kopp, ‘Ein unbekannter und andere niederländische Lutherdrucke von c.1528 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel’, *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 4 (1979), pp. 47–52.

⁵⁵ A. van der Linde, *David Joris. Bibliographie* (s-Gravenhage 1867), hereafter quoted as vdL, nos. 164, 165, 167, 168, 177, 180, 183, 184 and 199. The only known copy of no. 164, in Hamburg, was lost in the Second World War; a transcription survives in the Mennonite Library (on loan to Amsterdam UL). For these editions, see VB ‘Printers’ (n. 44), pp. 183 f., 207–9.

⁵⁶ Albert Pafraet was arrested in July 1544 and subsequently stood trial before the Court in Arnhem. He admitted having printed various forbidden booklets which were shown to him. He got off lightly; after spending five months under arrest before his trial came up, he was condemned to public penance and to meet the costs of his imprisonment. Once he had paid these he could resume his business. Cf. VB ‘Printers’ (n. 44), pp. 172 f., 206.

⁵⁷ See B. Rothmann, *Die Schriften Bernhard Rothmanns*, ed. R. Stupperich (Die Schriften der Münsterischen Täufer und ihrer Gegner, 1; Münster 1970), pp. 119–25, where the full text is given; B. Haller, ‘Bernhard Rothmanns gedruckte Schriften. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis’, *Jahrbuch für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte*, 78 (1985), pp. 83–102, no. XI (p. 101); *id.*, *Der Buchdruck Münsters 1485 bis 1583. Eine Bibliographie* (Münster 1986), no. 67.

the text that David Joris was the author, and the emotional exuberance of the style of writing suggests that it was composed in about 1536, when he had become aware of his vocation as a prophet.⁵⁸ *Hoert, hoert, hoert. Groot wonder, groot wonder, groot wonder. Siet op dye berge(n)* (vdL 163) must have appeared at about the same time – an edition which, for some reason, Dr Kronenberg did not include in her bibliography.⁵⁹ Yet she must have known this unique copy of the book, since two other tracts (vdL 1 and 166) in the volume are indeed described by her (NK 3277 and 3279, respectively).

Three other early publications by a Dutch Anabaptist author, Menno Simons, were rightly dated in ‘1539 or slightly later’ by Dr Kronenberg. Thus far nobody had managed to identify the printer, but it now appears that nos. 3522-4 came from Antwerp, the last two from the press of Mattheus Crom, and the first, presumably printed a little later, in about 1542, by Hendrick Peetersen van Middelburch.⁶⁰ That the Anabaptist leader, like his rival David Joris, should have had to seek a printer in Antwerp, indicates the difficult situation, both political and economic, in which the printing trade found itself in the northern Netherlands in these years.⁶¹ Here we see Crom taking the place of his banished colleague Adriaen van Berghen.

Another camouflaged publication of about the same time is *Vanden ouden ende nieuwen Mensche. Allen Christen menschen nootsakelick te weten*, signed at the end ‘Te Wesel doer Donatum Cor’.⁶² It had been assumed that the existence of a printer of this name could be concluded from this, but the assumption was never confirmed.⁶³ That we are here dealing not with a colophon but with a pseudonym of the author appears from the signature ‘Per Donatum Cor’ (without ‘Vesaliae’ or any other

⁵⁸ The typographical analysis has been published in an earlier number of *Quaerendo*; see VB ‘Printers’ (n. 44), pp. 173 ff.

⁵⁹ This absence is all the more remarkable since David Joris himself called it his ‘first book’; cf. his testimony on this point quoted in the note to vdL 163. It is not clear, however, whether the statement refers to the writing or the publication of the work. It is generally agreed that the text was composed in the course of 1536.

⁶⁰ Menno Simons, *Van dat rechte Christen gheloove* (s.a.) – NK 3522 (= Horst, op. cit. (n. 29), no. 42 and fig. 22); Menno Simons, *Die oorsake waerom dat ick M.S. niet en late te leeren* (s.a.) – NK 3523 (= Horst, no. 46); Menno Simons, *Verclaringhe des christelycken doopsels* (s.a.) – NK 3524 (= Horst no. 44 and fig. 24). For these attributions, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 16), pp. 38 ff., 73.

⁶¹ For a survey of this nadir in the history of (northern) Netherlands book production, see P. Valkema Blouw, ‘A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden’, *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50, 253-98 (pp. 226 ff.).

⁶² The only known copy, from the Willems, Six and Mensing collections, is in Amsterdam UL, shelf-mark 2008 F 14.

⁶³ J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachbereich*, 2nd enl. edn. (Wiesbaden 1982), p. 481. The indication of Johannes a Lasco as author must be a mistake.

indication of place) in the surviving Latin edition of the book.⁶⁴ The two books, both undated, can be attributed on typographical grounds to Mattheus Crom in his later years, 1539-43.

CONCLUSION

As I have already observed, a substantial part of Dutch Protestant literature produced in the early stages of the Reformation – almost half the titles described – has been dated too early. We thus see that the six publications selected in the first volume of *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* as the earliest examples of this literature are provided, both there and in NK, with dates running from 1522 to 1531.⁶⁵ It now appears that all these were published by Frans Fraet and that they should consequently be dated in 1551 or later. This makes a considerable difference in establishing the progress of the Reformation in the Netherlands – at least in so far as the printed word played a part. And that it did indeed have an important influence is something we know from the various heresy trials.⁶⁶

But, we may wonder, is it not possible that other editions of these books existed, which have rightly received an early dating but have since been lost? Indeed, in any investigation into sixteenth-century printed work we must always take account of the probability that the material at our disposal is incomplete. Although we may still hope that copies of unknown publications will turn up, it remains certain that a part of the literature that was once available has vanished. Dr Kronenberg had to establish that of the fifty theological works in the vernacular which the canon Jan van der Haer presented to the Court of Holland with his entire library in 1531, over half could no longer be found.⁶⁷ At least where the first decade of the Reformation

⁶⁴ *De novo et veteri homine. Institutio vere Christiani hominis, compendiosa & utilis (s.l.a.n.)* – Copy: Xanten, Stiftsbibliothek, shelf-mark 3109 B 4; H. Foehl, *Katalog der Stiftsbibliothek Xanten* (Kvelaer 1986), pp. 181, 636 (with a reproduction).

⁶⁵ Pijper, op. cit. (n. 22), pp. 1-26: *Refutacie vant Salve Regina* 'c.1524'; pp. 27-107: *Vanden olden ende nieuwen God, geloove ende leere* 'c.1524' (reproduced with the text of the German original); pp. 109-25: Balthasar Friberger, [*Articulen*], 'Wittenberch, Melchior Lotter, 1524/5'; pp. 127-35: *Een schoon exposicie wten 67. Psalm* 'c.1522'; pp. 137-249: Guilelmus Gnapheus, *Troost ende spiegel der siecken* '1531'; pp. 251-72: *Van den Propheet Baruch* 'c.1524'.

⁶⁶ Clear statements were made on the matter above all in the famous Louvain heresy trial, the proceedings of which were published by C.A. Campan in his edition of Francesco de Enzinas, *Mémoires*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles/La Haye 1862/3). See also W. Bax, 'De Leuvensche martelaren en vervolgden van 1543', in *id.*, *Het Protestantisme in het bisdom Luik en vooral te Maastricht, 1505-1612*, 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1937-41), vol. 1, pp. 170-216.

⁶⁷ M.E. Kronenberg, 'Nederlandse drukken in de catalogus der librye van het Hof van Holland (1533/34)', *Het Boek*, 31 (1952-4), pp. 22-40 (p. 30).

is concerned, with all its burning of books, we must be very cautious about drawing conclusions which rest on the printed material still available.

It seems sure, however, that the picture is less unfavourable for later years. This can be deduced from the lists in the *Indices librorum prohibitorum* which were drawn up in Louvain in 1546 and 1550. There, besides a number of Bible editions, 53 prohibited publications in Dutch are listed, and in only ten cases was Bujanda unable to indicate a copy. Of the books assumed to have been lost, moreover, one has since come to light in a Dutch library.⁶⁸ Taking account of the fact that these were publications which the authorities then regarded as particularly dangerous and which they thus prosecuted with great energy, the loss, for this period, was far smaller than earlier views might have led one to expect.

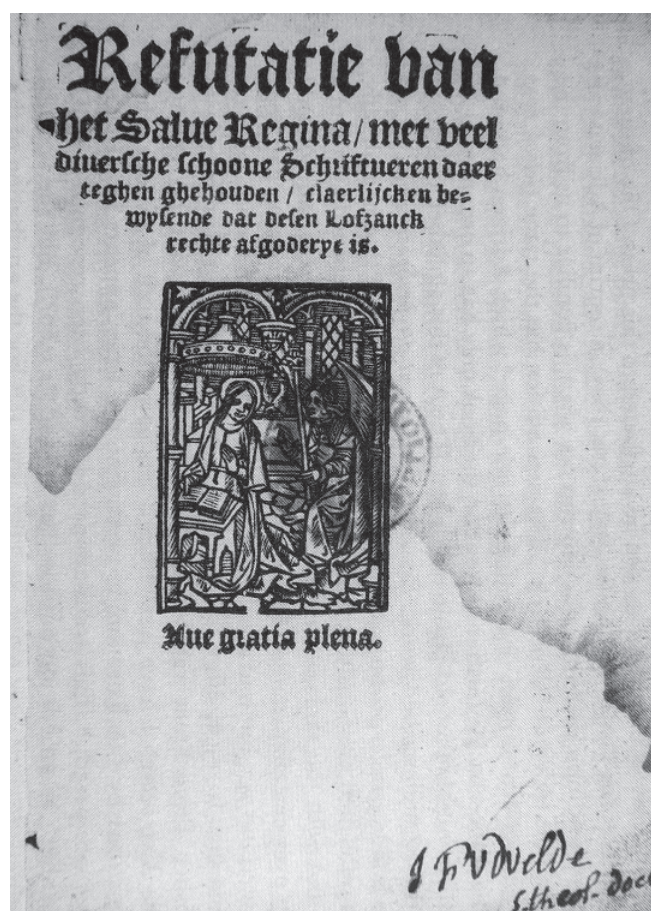
We should also observe that, of all these editions which have been dated too early, not a single title is to be found in the lists of prohibited books of 1546 and 1550. Christiaan Sepp (1820-90), the Leiden church historian and Mennonite minister, had already expressed his surprise at this, but assumed that the Louvain professors did not have the necessary means to lay their hands on all such 'heretical' publications.⁶⁹ We must now assume that there was a different reason: most of them had not yet appeared in that period. Frans Fraet's output only came into existence after 1550 and a number of his publications are accordingly first mentioned in the *Indices* of 1558 and 1570.

We now await those 'lost' publications which may one day come to light in foreign libraries.⁷⁰ Discoveries can still be expected in the German-language area in particular, but profitable research might also be performed in Scandinavia. The rarity of the material means that every new discovery can contribute to our knowledge of the literature which conditioned theological developments in the Netherlands at the time of the Reformation.

⁶⁸ Bujanda 1986, op. cit. (n. 19), nos. 124-76. The book which was found subsequently is no. 169: *Scutum Fidei. Den Schilt oft Wapen des geloofs* ([Antwerpen, Mattheus Crom, 1539/43]), preserved in the Royal Library, The Hague.

⁶⁹ See the introduction in C. Sepp, *Verboden lectuur. Een drietal Indices librorum prohibitorum toegelicht* (Leiden 1889).

⁷⁰ In Holland the holdings of libraries have been investigated so thoroughly that one depends on chance discoveries such as that at Boskoop, in a hole in the wall of a church, or under the floorboards of an old dwelling such as that in Delft a few years ago. Very occasionally a confiscated book might appear as a document in the proceedings of a trial. Some time ago, for example, I discovered in the Rijksarchief (State Archive) in Arnhem a copy of Herman Bonnus, *Eine korte Vormaninge der Christliken lere* ..., printed in Wesel by Symon Steinberghen (Steenbergen), who was to settle in Deventer in that same year of 1557. The discovery has since been published in W. Stempel, 'Zum Buchdruck in Wesel zur Zeit der Reformation', *Standfester Glaube. Festschrift für J.E.G. Goeters* (Köln 1991), pp. 129-48 (pp. 142 ff.).



1

([Antwerp, Widow of Hans II van Ruremunde, not before 1542])
(NK 3788 - Scan from the original publication)

2

([Ghent, Hendrik I van den Keere, not before 1588])
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 507; NK 4170)

WILLEM SILVIUS, CHRISTIAEN HOUWEEL

AND ANTI-SPANISH PROPAGANDA,

1577 to 1579



Whoever tackles the activities of Antwerp printers in the sixteenth century must beware of the use of spurious imprints. In order to distract the authorities' attention and to set them on the wrong track, a fictitious place of publication might be given on the title-page or in the colophon. This method was particularly popular in the 1530s and 1540s; at a later date a preference was shown for pseudonyms without any mention of a town or for complete anonymity. Elsewhere in the Netherlands we come across fantasy addresses such as 'In Eutopia' or 'In Campis Elysiis', but printers in Antwerp in this period – especially those who worked for the English market – used above all the names of existing towns, often with a slightly altered spelling – Parishe, Emdon, Monster, Nornburg and so on. Dr M.E. Kronenberg has given a number of examples of this sort of camouflage in an interesting paper.¹

What nobody has yet noticed is that later in the century again an Antwerp printer hid repeatedly behind fake foreign addresses. He selected towns from various countries: mainly France, but also England ('Londres') and the northern Netherlands. The man in question was Christiaen Houweel (Christianus Hauwelius),² an almost entirely forgotten figure. Only three books by him are mentioned in bibliographies, printed for different publishers in Antwerp: Hendrik van der Loe, Philip Nutius (Nuys) and Jaspar Troyens in 1580, 1579 and 1576 respectively.³ As far as we know not a single book was published in his own name. For someone who worked as an independent printer for almost ten years, from 1575 to 1584, this seems a meagre production – especially when we consider that the certificate he obtained from Plantin at the beginning of his career⁴ states that, besides his na-

¹ M.E. Kronenberg, 'Forged Addresses in Low Country Books in the Period of the Reformation', *The Library*, 5th S., 2 (1947), pp. 81-94. Examples can also be found in C. Clair, 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books', *The Library*, 5th S., 18 (1963), pp. 275-87.

² A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), p. 89.

³ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), hereafter cited as BT, vol. 1, p. 505 and 2, p. 364: nos. 2164, 5420 and 6210.

⁴ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent

tive Flemish, he was reasonably fluent in four languages and was even competent in Greek. He was clearly by no means the least among his colleagues and evidently had a good training from his master Philip Nuys, for whom he also worked as a corrector.

Houweel, who came from Eeklo, a town in East Flanders, was about twenty-seven when on 18 November 1575 Plantin, as the 'architypographus' of the central government, gave his opinion on the man's capacities in the aforementioned certificate. In that same year he was entered as a master-printer in the Saint Lucas guild in Antwerp.⁵ From then until 1584 he is recorded as a bookseller in the account books of the *Officina*.⁶ His business was in the Pandstraat, a short street in which Lucas (II) Bellerus settled in 1585.⁷ There was not necessarily any connection, but it might have been in the same building in which our printer had lived, for, in the course of 1584/5, Houweel moved to the Kerkhofstraat near the Sint Andrieskerk. His profession was now given not only as bookseller but also as bailiff of the villages Burcht and Zwijndrecht.⁸ He clearly had qualities which were acknowledged outside his own specific trade. Since another Antwerp printer, Joachim Trognesius, appears to have been working with Houweel's material in 1588, it is most likely that by that time he had entirely withdrawn from the world of printing.

Apart from the fact that he was a Calvinist, these are all the biographical details to be found. Information about what he printed is, as we saw, equally scarce. Yet the external appearance of the three books of his described in *Belgica Typographica*⁹ shows that he was a very capable printer the quality of whose work held its own against that of other printers in Antwerp. This makes it all the more puzzling that so few of his editions should be known, above all when we consider the vast

1881), pp. 37-8.

⁵ *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde [...]* *Les Liggeren et autres archives historiques ...*, eds. P. Rombouts & T. van Lerius, 2 vols. (Antwerpen/'s-Gravenhage 1864-76; repr. Amsterdam 1961), vol. 1, p. 259.

⁶ From 24 March 1576 to 27 June 1584. For these entries, see Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Arch. XVII, f. 411 and Arch. XLI, f. 30.

⁷ Rouzet, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 11.

⁸ J. van Roey, 'Het boekbedrijf te Antwerpen in 1584-1585', *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520-1589)* (*De Gulden Passer*, 66-7; Antwerp 1988-9), pp. 419-33 (pp. 420, 430).

⁹ BT 2164: Ph. de Mornay, *Tractaet ofte handelinghe van de kercke* (Antwerpen, J. Troyens, 1580); BT 5420: Cicero, *De officiis libri tres [...]*, *De amicitia, et de senectute dialogi. Paradoxa ...* (Antwerpen, H. de Loe, 1579); BT 6210: Lucanus, *De bello civili libri decem* (Antwerpen, P. Nutius, 1576). — For De Mornay's *Tractaet*, see also *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as *BB*, vol. 4, p. 408, no. M 250 bis.

number of publications which appeared in the city in the years around 1580.

It thus seems likely that Houweel printed more than can be deduced from the few works he actually signed. How can this be established? Because of the lack of any other information we can only expect a result from a bibliographical analysis. We must look out for other publications from the period, anonymous or issued in the name of some publisher, which were printed with Houweel's material. We know that, besides typefaces which were often in use at several presses, it is especially ornaments which can serve as a means of identification – at least whenever the printer did possess them. This is indeed the case here: the three books mentioned contain a series of woodcut initials which make it possible to recognize anonymous work as coming from Houweel's press. This also applies to a title vignette which he used, for although this (probably metal) arabesque ornament appears in a large number of variants (in the Low Countries, but above all in Germany), his specimen has enough characteristic features for us to distinguish it from the others.¹⁰

The vignette is to be found on the title-page of a fourth signed book from his press: Noel de Barlaimont's *Propos communs ou colloquies* (1576) – a reprint which is supplemented by a Latin translation by Cornelius Valerius, professor at Louvain and the author of a number of school books (illus. 1). The work was issued by the Antwerp publisher Antonius T(h)ielens and, as the colophon states, is printed on Houweel's press.¹¹ This occurrence of the ornament in a work signed by him makes various other attributions possible, for in 1579 he used it in no fewer than six pub-

¹⁰ This vignette has usually been regarded as a woodcut. The many copies in use among printers showing often very slight differences suggest, however, that this was a cast ornament. These were metal casts in relief, mounted on wooden blocks placed between the lead of the matter. They were issued by printing a wooden or metal negative in a bed of molten lead which was just about to solidify. A similar technique of casting ornaments for typography was apparently already in use before 1500; see A.J. Dunston, 'Venetian "woodcut" capitals', *Studies in Bibliography*, 30 (1978), pp. 136-44. In the second half of the sixteenth century a large production of such ornaments developed, notably in Germany. They made their way across the whole of Europe. In the Netherlands Plantin was the first printer to purchase several of them (see G. Glorieux, 'Bandeaux et fleurons chez C. Plantin', *Ex Officina Plantiniana*, op. cit. (n. 8), pp. 213-35). In about 1580 we also come across copies of the design in question among printers in the southern Netherlands such as Andreas Bax, Joannes Withagius and the widow Smits in Antwerp, Joannes Masius in Louvain and Rutger Velpius in Mons.

¹¹ Noel Barlamontius, *Colloquia Gallica, Cornelio Valerio Ultrajectino interprete Latino. Propos communs ou Colloques ...* (Antwerpen, Ant. Tilenius, 1576; colophon: 'Exc. Christianus Hauweel'. 8vo). Copy: Ghent, UL; cf J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter cited as Machiels, no. B 100.

lications: BT 37 (Kn 507),¹² BT 4027, BT 4619 (Kn 505) and Kn 438, 491¹³ and 492.¹⁴ Some of the title-pages only have a date, while others have as a fictitious address 'Leyden, par Gregoire Philerene', or even 'A Douay, de l'imprimerie de Jean Bogard' (illus. 2). The treatises, which are mainly in French, are about current political affairs: discussions about internal conditions or the peace talks in Cologne. A striking external feature of these publications is that they have the date on the title-page in Roman numerals with a horizontal line over it. This unusual practice is characteristic of Houweel in this period.

A further even more effective means of recognition is to be found in Houweel's woodcut initials. The design of this attractive alphabet was found most appealing for several decades and a number of sets were issued. Plantin was probably the first to use one in 1556, and was soon followed by Tavernier and others,¹⁵ both in the Low Countries and in places such as Emden. The blocks of these Roman capitals measure 22 x 22 mm and their ornamentation consists of botanical forms and a single bird. The early replicas, presumably all from the same workshop, are splendidly cut; later imitations are usually far coarser. The great precision with which the originals were initially copied can be confusing: it may need an experienced eye to observe whether we are dealing with an impression of the same block or of one that looks deceptively like it. For the purpose of attributions we must, of course, limit ourselves to impressions which are identical in all respects.

The four signed works by Houweel provide a total of eight letters of this alphabet: A, C, G, H, O, P, W and S (illus. 3). Anonymous work with one or more of these initials can thus be included in the production of this printer, at least when the types used correspond and the year of publication falls within the period of his activities. If we start with the A, we see that this letter, together with the P and the

¹² W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1890-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, vol. 1, pt. 1.

¹³ P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. 1978), hereafter cited as Geurts, pp. 88-9.

¹⁴ Op. cit. (n. 13), pp. 89, 141, 155, 162, 175, 193, 209, 217, 246.

¹⁵ In 1555 Plantin was already using a few of these initials in the form in which they were originally designed: in a square frame and with 'black' Roman capitals. A year later he first had the letters cut open and then removed the lines of the frame, whereby the blocks obtained their definitive appearance. For illustrations, see S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials. The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin. A Complete Catalogue* (New York 1974), nos. 23, 22 resp. 20-1, and M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographia Plantiniana III: Ameet Tavernier, Punchcutter (1522-1570)', *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 17-76, fig. 53 (p. 60). When the *Officina* was liquidated in 1562, the set, together with Plantin's other initials, went to Willem Silvius. For further details, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559-62', *Quaerendo*, 20 (1990), pp. 167-206 (especially pp. 205-6 [= Appendix IV]).

S, appears in *Pour-tombeau de Don Ian* (Kn 382), a broadsheet which appeared in 1578 with four not exactly flattering sonnets on the death of Don Juan of Austria, governor in the Netherlands for King Philip II of Spain since 1576. The author was the poet-warrior Charles de Navières, a French nobleman who was staying in Brussels at about this time in the train of William of Orange.¹⁶ The fourth sonnet begins with the L of the alphabet, which we thus also meet.

The initial C brings us to a book which Houweel printed, on this occasion without his imprint, for a fifth Antwerp publisher, Jacob Henrycx (Henricius). This is Josias Simler's *La république des Suisses* (1579), BT 4355-6, a description of the administrative system of the Swiss cantons which came to serve as an example of the form of government of the Seven Provinces.¹⁷ Part of the edition is dated 1580. For the same Henrycx our printer, again anonymously, produced in 1579 an edition of the *Dialogus de pace* (BT 4287, Kn 495) by Gaspar Schetz van Grobbendonck, a valuable work with independent views on a then highly controversial subject. The original edition had appeared in Cologne shortly before.¹⁸ In this reprint we come across Houweel's A and the so far unknown T of the alphabet.

In the present state of research the G and the H do not put us on the trail of any further publications. We are more successful with the above-mentioned initial L, which also appears in an important work published with the title *Recueils d'Aretophile ...* ('A Lyon Par Nicolas Guerin, 1578'), Kn 243 – thus with another spurious French imprint.¹⁹ The author was very probably Frédéric Perrenot, Sieur de Champagne, a brother of Cardinal Granvelle. Few men were so well informed about the background of the international politics of the time and the detailed description of the Spanish Fury which he gives here offers us the best contemporary account of this dramatic event.

For our purposes this last book is also of importance, since, besides the L, it also contains the I of the alphabet. This, in its turn, makes other attributions possible: we thus find the same letter in an account of an armed attack on the English government in Ireland: [Capt. Stuckley], *Brief discours de l'entreprise faicte sur Irlande par*

¹⁶ For Charles de Navières, whose activity as a poet was largely concentrated on occasional verses, and his temporary position at the Court of William of Orange, see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The bookbindings of William of Orange', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 81-124 (pp. 107-14).

¹⁷ See A.A. van Schelven, 'De staatsvorm van het Zwitserisch eedgenootschap den Nederlanden ter navolging aanbevolen', *Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles/Paris 1947), pp. 747-56.

¹⁸ BT 6707. The anonymous printer can be identified as Godfried von Kempen in Cologne.

¹⁹ H.-L. & J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise. Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon au 16e siècle*, 12 vols. (Paris 1895-1921; repr. 1964-6), vol. 10, pp. 359-61, with a reproduction of the title-page.

aucuns rebelles de la couronne d' Angleterre ... ('A Londres 1579'), Kn 399.²⁰ Houweel's use of this fictitious imprint was presumably intended to emphasize the authenticity of the report. A second publication from this year in which the initial appears is *Discours contenant le vray entendement de la Pacification de Gand* (BT 936),²¹ written by someone who shared William of Orange's desire to subordinate religious differences to the common struggle. The extensive argumentation contains a number of interesting ideas and includes a defence of the principle of a complete separation between Church and State. As in the case of so many pamphlets, the author is unknown.²²

Of the remaining letters the O is to be found in BT 4619 (Kn 505): *Verclaringhe ghedaen by jonckeren Olivier vanden Tymple [...] gouverneur [...] binnen der stadt Bruessel [...] nopende den [...] inwendighen twist vanden lande* (1579), a tract without an imprint in which Houweel's title vignette appears again. The P, finally, is used in *Advertissement à ceulx du pays Bas* of the same year, an anonymous report (BT 206, Kn 423) which has been attributed, probably wrongly, to J.F. Le Petit. To this publication I shall be returning.

This, however, is by no means all that we can ascribe to the press. To begin with, the M provides a number of new titles. The letter does not appear in one of the books in which Houweel signs himself as the printer, but we find it both in *Advij's van eenen liefhebber des Nederlandts* (1579), BT 37, Kn 507,²³ and in *Sommaire declaration des griefs dangers ...* (Leyden 1579), Kn 491, Machiels N 250, two publications which have already been mentioned as containing his title vignette. The initial also appears in BT 287 (Kn 375): *La proposition de monsieur de Bellievre ambassadeur du roy de France ...* (1578), and in various publications with fake foreign addresses, such as BT 220 (Kn 506): 'Imprimé à Lyon, 1579';²⁴ Kn 358-9: 'Reims, de l'Imprimerie de Françoise du Pré, 1578';²⁵ Kn. 360: 'Rouen, Pour Jean Ysoret, 1578';²⁶ and Kn 438: 'Douay, de l'Imprimerie de Jean Bogard [...] 1579' – this last address having been taken over

²⁰ A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926); 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London 1986-91), no. 14255 ['Paris?'].

²¹ Machiels, no. N 209

²² 'It is a defence of William of Orange's position according to which the Pacification of Ghent was concluded with the purpose of a united struggle against Spain [...]. From that point of view the religious peace is the only solution to the problems.' (Geurts, p. 81).

²³ BB, vol. I, p. 32, no. A 216, note; Geurts (n. 13), p. 110. The piece is very favourable to Anjou.

²⁴ BB, vol. I, pp. 31-2, no. A 216.

²⁵ Geurts (n. 13), pp. 78, 221. This pamphlet, too, shows a preference for Anjou, as does the following one (Kn 360); see *ibid.* p. 77.

²⁶ BB, vol. 3, pp. 868-9, no. L 623 (Anvers?); Geurts, pp. 77, 222, 264.

from the printer who had issued the original edition. The pirated edition also has Houweel's vignette on the title-page and, besides the M, includes the N of the alphabet which we have not encountered previously.

There are another two initials of which we cannot say with any certainty that they belonged to Houweel and thus whether he printed the publications in which they appear. One of these is the R in BT 4148-9 (Kn 362, 365-6) and in BT 4486 (Kn 510). This last piece, *Testament de Pasquill impotent & vieil homme*, Par le Pape ad-voué, & imprimé à Rome ..., is a satirical poem addressed to the Spanish king²⁷ and printed in a typeface unusual for the Netherlands: Granjon's third St Augustin.²⁸ The Italic appears in various publications by our protagonist, but it has yet to be established whether he was the only printer at the time, besides Plantin and Silvius, who owned it. If he was not, he was certainly among the very few.

Another initial which cannot yet be definitely ascribed to Houweel is the V which appears in BT 4444 (Kn 367)²⁹ and in Kn 349: *Lettres d'advertissement a la noblesse et aultres deputez des estats generaulx du païs bas ...* ('A Francfort, L'an 1578'). This last work is an edition, now with a fictitious German address, of letters from the camp of Don Juan which had already been published in France. They are here reprinted and provided with replies intended to refute their content.³⁰ On the title-page of BT 4444 we again find the aforesaid Italic of Granjon.

A further tract printed by Houweel is BT 3972 (Kn 512): *Petit traicté servant d'instruction à Messieurs les Estatz ...*, this time with a fake address in the southern Netherlands: 'A Gand, chez Jean Mareschal', 1579. Attempts have been made to identify the printer in that town,³¹ but the types are those of Houweel and the typography shows such a likeness to his style of book design that there is every reason to ascribe this publication to him. We thus also meet the E of his alphabet, which appears again together with the M in BT 4614 (Kn 440).

One of the letters still missing from the alphabet can be found in Flavius Josephus' *Twintich boecken vanden ouden geschiedenissen der Joden* (Antwerpen, Jasper Troyens,

²⁷ BB, vol. 3, pp. 421-2, no. H 229. Lucas d'Heere has been mentioned as a possible author.

²⁸ A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308, [= *id.*, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing* (Amsterdam 1970), pp. 260-71], no. 13 (fig. 12); *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press 1628*. A Facsimile with an introduction and notes by H.D.L. Vervliet (Amsterdam 1967), p. 34, no. 44.

²⁹ *Tweede supplicatie aen sijne Hoocheyt [...] byde Protestanten*, Geurts (n. 13), pp. 79, 183, 232, 244-5 and 254-5.

³⁰ Geurts (n. 13), p. 79; F. Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliographie Gantoise. Recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs de Gand (1483-1850)*, vol. 7 (Gand 1869), p. 17, no. 14741, ascribed the publication to Gualt. Manilius in Ghent; BT, vol. I no. 4444 gives Plantin as a possible printer.

³¹ Vanderhaeghen, op. cit. (n. 30), vol. I (Gand 1858), p. 225, no. 319.

1580), BT 1648. The publisher had most of the book printed by his fellow townsman Niclaes Mollijns, but he appears to have given the gatherings Ff-Ll⁶ to Houweel.³² In that section we find his initials A and C, and on f. 173v. also the B – so that, apart from the uncertain letters R and V, only the D, F, K, T, W, X, Y and Z are now missing. Houweel may not even have had the last three: they appear so seldom as initial letters that by no means all printers had money to spare for them. We also see that Houweel's D was probably lost because he here replaced that letter with a damaged woodcut of Ameet Tavernier³³ which he seems to have taken over or borrowed for the occasion either from Tavernier's successor Gerard Smits or from the widow of the two men.

By means of their ornamentation we have thus been able to ascribe a significant number of publications to Houweel. The question is now: does their typography confirm these attributions – are the types identical to those that appear in this printer's signed publications? On closer investigation we see that six Roman typefaces are used there: VPT³⁴ R 16 (only capitals), R 17, R 20, R 26 and R 34, and a Long Primer which is difficult to identify – a worn typeface which could be Garamont's. We also have the Italics VPT IT 3 and IT 8 besides the aforesaid St Augustin of Granjon – Johnson, art. cit. (n. 28), no. 13 – and an old 'Aldus' Bourgeois Italic with upright capitals,³⁵ and finally the Lettersnijder Texturas VPT T 20 and T 30.

In the group which appeared anonymously we now come across all the Romans other than R 34, supplemented with Granjon's 'St Augustin Gros Œil', a new typeface which was to have a great success.³⁶ Besides VPT IT 3 and IT 8 we find, of the Italics which appear in Houweel's work, the St Augustin of Granjon and, as

³² W.C. Poortman, *Bijbel en prent*, 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1983-6), vol. 2b: *Boekzaal van de werken van Flavius Josephus in de Nederlandse taal*, pp. 209-10, with a reproduction of the title-page (Troyens is given as the printer of the work). At the end is added: Flavius Josephus' *Seven boecken van die Joetsche oorloghe ende destructie van Jeruzalem* (BT 1645). This, as we see from the colophon, is a reissue of the edition of 1564 by Claes van de Wouwere with a new title-page and preliminary matter: a gathering of six leaves also printed by Nicolaes Mollijns.

³³ Flavius Josephus, op. cit. (n. 32), f. 198v. The damage was visible already at an early stage when the block belonged to Tavernier; see, for example, the impression in Franco abbas Affligeniensis, *De gratia seu beneficentia Dei lib. XII* (Antwerpen, A. Tavernier for J. Bellerus, 1565), BT 1182, on f. 1.

³⁴ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT.

³⁵ Johnson, art. cit. (n. 28), pp. 296 f. and fig. 12); also in *id.*, *Selected Essays*, op. cit. (n. 28), pp. 269 f.

³⁶ A typeface with a large x-height which was very popular throughout Europe for almost two centuries starting in 1569. Cf. A.F. Johnson, *The Type-Specimens of Claude Lamesle. A Facsimile of the first edition printed at Paris in 1742 ...* ([Amsterdam] 1965), pp. 5-7 and no. 34.

a new acquisition, a French Great Primer Italic, probably also by Granjon.³⁷ The old-fashioned 'Aldus' typeface no longer appears in these publications. Finally Lettersnijder's Augustin Textura (VPT T 20) is used in Dutch publications in quarto, together with T 3 and T 39, the latter having replaced the antiquated T 30. In view of all this similarity of types and ornaments there can be no doubt that we are dealing with one and the same press.

HOUWEEL WORKS TOGETHER WITH WILLEM SILVIUS

It certainly seems surprising that a young printer, recently established independently and hitherto only working for third parties, should have managed to acquire such a large share in the political writings published in the Low Countries. Such a success is striking, even when we consider that in 1578 and 1579 the demand from all sides for printing capacity was immense. The world of printers was experiencing a boom. Never before had the various parties produced propaganda on such a scale or had so many pamphlets appeared in so short a time. The rapid development of events was reflected in a stream of treatises, disputations, demonstrations, remonstrances, manifestoes and other political matter.³⁸ As we might expect, the political discussion was concentrated in Antwerp, the administrative centre of Brabant, so that the printers there were the first to benefit from this vast demand.³⁹

But that so recent an arrival as Houweel should have printed so much raises the question of how he could establish the relations which helped him to receive so

³⁷ Not in Johnson, art. cit. (n. 28). For this typeface, also ascribed to Haultin, see *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), 16: *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini* (1567), p. 4, no. 23.

³⁸ G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London 1975), *passim*. There is an extensive amount of literature on these years which were so crucial for the Netherlands: see the analytical bibliography in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (AGN), vol. 6 (Haarlem 1979), pp. 438-43. For a recent historical survey of the period, see *ibid.* pp. 215 ff.: G. Janssens, 'Van de komst van Alva tot de Unies, 1567-1579', and S. Groenveld, H.L.P. Leeuwenberg et al., *De kogel door de Kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden 1559-1609*, 2nd edn. (Zutphen 1983).

³⁹ As a result of the political developments the publication of pamphlets shifted to the northern Netherlands after 1580 and their quantity diminished drastically. From 1577 to mid-1581 Knuttel describes 44, 67, 110, 36 and 21 publications respectively. These numbers do not include pieces in manuscript, later reprints and certain German news letters. C.E. Harline, *Pamphlets, printing and political culture in the early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht 1987), Table I (p. 4), did not make this distinction and thus reached higher figures. Such statistics cannot, of course, be accorded an absolute value, but, based on the extensive collection of the Royal Library in The Hague, they do give an indication of how the production developed in this period. The years 1578 and 1579 stand out. The pamphlet catalogues of Petit (Leiden) and Van der Wulp (Ghent) give the same picture.

many orders. As a publisher he was altogether unknown. I have already pointed out that not a single book appeared in his name. And after the immense turnover of these two years he went on, in 1580, as he had done before – evidently satisfied, as he had been previously, with an existence which depended on orders from colleagues in the book trade.⁴⁰ He was apparently not an ambitious man. So how did he see a chance of cornering so important a part of the political printing orders in those two years? He was not without rivals, for others, too, must have seen this activity as an attractive source of income. Is it possible to account for Houweel's unexpected success?

In 1579 there appeared a political publication, which has already been mentioned incidentally, in which Granjon's St Augustin is used and which can also be recognized by other features, such as the initial P, as a product of Houweel. The Royal Library in The Hague owns a special copy of this *Advertissement à ceulx du pays Bas* (BT 206, Kn 423): the title-page bears a carefully written inscription 'Ex dono Guli. Silvij.' (illus. 4).⁴¹ These words in this place must have a significance. It was most unusual to furnish a publication with such a dedication if the donor was not involved in it in one way or another, as author, editor or eventually as publisher.

On closer inspection there appear to have been further examples of collaboration between the two printers. In BT 4614 (Kn 440, illus. 5), for example, *Rapport faict par le seigneur Guillaume vanden Hecke*,⁴² with the imprint 'En Anvers. Par Guillaume Sylvius, Imprimeur du Roy. l'An 1579', we encounter not only Houweel's E and M, but also his aforesaid vignette on the title-page. The Pica founts are Tavernier's Roman VPT R 26 and his Italic IT 8; for this body Sylvius, like Plantin, always used Garamont's Cicero Romain and Granjon's third and last Pica, his Cicero Currens.⁴³ In another publication, with a similar imprint, *Deux lettres de feu*

⁴⁰ What he later did for others as a jobbing printer is outside the scope of this study.

⁴¹ Kn 423. This unusual inscription attracted attention at an early stage; see the auction sale catalogues of C.J. Michiels II (Antwerp 1781), no. 460, Van Rijmenans (Ghent 1842), no. 5897 and Vergauwen II (Brussels 1884), no. 508. These mentions may well refer to the same copy. The attribution to Plantin in BB, no. L 47 and L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle. 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), no. 1909, is incorrect as, probably, is the authorship of J.F. Le Petit given by the same authorities.

⁴² *Rapport faict par le Seigneur Guillaume vanden Hecke tresorier, & maistre Cornille Aertssens secretaire de la ville de Bruxelles [...]*. The report is about an attempt supported by Orange to keep the provinces of Hainault and Arras in the Union. BB, vol. 3, pp. 410-11, no. H 9; Machiels, H 59.

⁴³ Johnson, art. cit. (n. 28), no. 12. For the two Pica types owned by Sylvius, see *The Leiden 'Afdrucksel'. A Type Specimen of the Press of Willem Sylvius in its last days*. A facsimile with an introduction and notes by P. Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983), nos. [8] and [9].

Don Jehan d' Austrice, interceptes ... (1578), BT 1657,⁴⁴ we have, besides Houweel's I, an ornament at the end owned by Silvius himself: an arabesque vignette which he had already been using for many years.⁴⁵ It also appears in the Dutch edition, *Twee brieven van wylen don Jan van Oostenrijck* (BT 1658, Kn 381), issued with the imprint 'T'Antwerpen, by Willem Silvius', without any further address. There two of his calligraphic ornamental letters are used – as well as Houweel's unmistakable initial H.⁴⁶ Just like the two publications mentioned previously, these works plead for the unity of the Netherlands in the struggle against Spain.

Although Silvius is given as the publisher, both the ornaments and the typefaces prove that he was not the printer of these pamphlets. The same applies to the numerous other publications mentioned earlier, which appeared either without an imprint or with a fake address. The differences between the printing materials of Houweel and Silvius – the latter's founts are known to us from the *Afdrucksel* –⁴⁷ are too great for any other conclusion to be admissible.

We see, finally, that Silvius also placed his vignette on the title-page of BT III (Kn 388), *Lettre escripte par Monseigneur le duc d' Anjou ...* (s.l. 1578). This, too, must thus have been a publication of his, and again Houweel appears to have been the printer, even if there could be some doubt at first sight. Apart from his M on p. 5 (f. A4r.) we find an entirely different M on p. 1 (f. A2r.) – evidently an initial of his fellow townsman Jan van Waesberghe. Now, it is most unlikely that Silvius would have used two printers to produce a work of 24 pages, so we must seek another explanation. We then see that both ornamental letters were used in a single printing: the two pages on which they appear are part of the inner forme of the first gathering. Houweel thus needed two initial M's at the same time – and he only possessed one which fitted into a quarto book. This obviously led him to borrow the missing one from a friend and colleague.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ For a more extensive description, see BB, vol. 3, pp. 604-5, no. J 23, where J.F. Le Petit is suggested as the author of the two sonnets included. Geurts (n. 13), p. 82.

⁴⁵ Glorieux, art. cit. (n. 10), no. F 4B

⁴⁶ BB, vol. 3 p. 605, no. J 24. The two French sonnets are here replaced by a poem by Lucas d'Heere: 'Epitaphie of graff-schrift van Don Jan van Oostenrijck'. Geurts, p. 82.

⁴⁷ The *Leiden Afdrucksel*, op. cit. (n. 43), gives a full list, with specimens, of all the founts which were sold at the liquidation sale of the firm in 1582. We may assume that the inventory cannot, or can hardly have, differed in 1578/9.

⁴⁸ Although in this case no other explanation seems possible, we must, normally, be particularly cautious with the assumption that printers borrowed one another's ornaments. If we encounter woodcuts belonging to a colleague in printed matter, there had usually been either a previous transference of the material or a collaboration whereby two printers each saw to a part of the publication. This second possibility occurred far more frequently than emerges from the title-page and the colophon. For a striking example, when a publisher set three different printers to work on

Silvius would presumably have solved the problem in a different manner. He would have adapted the first line by transposing the text in such a way that it would retain the same content but begin with another letter. A publisher, possibly in agreement with the author, could get round the problem in this simple manner without having to ask a colleague for help. Why did this not happen here? The most acceptable answer seems to me to be that Houweel did not wish to make such a change on his own responsibility, without informing his employer – who could not be reached at short notice. It has generally been accepted that Silvius only left Antwerp between 16 March 1579, when he received payment there for the last decree he had produced as municipal printer, and 11 May of the same year, when he matriculated at the Academy in Leiden.⁴⁹ Almost two years earlier, however, on 8 June 1577, he had been appointed printer both to the States of Holland and to the Leiden Academy at a salary of 300 Flemish pounds per year. The engagement started three weeks later when he took the oath on 28 June. He received an indemnity of £ 400 for the removal of his ‘menaige ende druckerije’ (household and press), and, for the organization and expansion of his bookshop, £ 2,000 credit.⁵⁰

It would seem most unlikely that, after paying these very considerable sums, the States would have contented themselves with a two-year delay before Silvius started carrying out the tasks to which he had committed himself: the establishment of his press in Leiden and the formation there of a university bookshop. It is even less likely that he would have neglected the chances offered him by this distinguished appointment in order to print what appeared in his name in Antwerp in 1577 and 1578: seven or eight municipal decrees of considerable brevity and a few political writings which, as we shall see later, he had mainly produced by others. The current view that Silvius only moved to Leiden in 1579 cannot, therefore, be correct.

There is documentary evidence which supports these conclusions. Silvius is stated still to have been in Antwerp on 1 November 1577⁵¹ but, as we see from a letter from the humanist Bonaventura Vulcanius dated the 22nd of the same month, his wife was already living with her family in Leiden.⁵² Vulcanius would have known

a single book which bears his name alone, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 15), pp. 185 ff.

⁴⁹ On Silvius' Leiden period, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 445 ff.; M. Schneider, *De voorgeschiedenis van de "Algemeene Landsdrukkerij"* (s-Gravenhage 1939), pp. 11 ff.; for further bibliography, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 201-3 and, for certain additions, Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 15), pp. 198 ff.

⁵⁰ See Briels, op. cit. (n. 49), pp. 445-6 (with a misprint: £ 340 instead of £ 300) and appendix (e).

⁵¹ R. Fruin, 'Kritische studiën over geschiedbronnen, 2', in *id.*, *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 8 (s-Gravenhage 1903), pp. 413-14.

⁵² '... Ita enim Datheni ad illum literae inscriptae erant. Non dubito quin eas iam acceperit, nisi forte adhuc Leydae apud uxorem Sylvii haerent ...'. Bonaventura Vulcanius to Arent Cornelisz at

this since he was working as a corrector and translator for Silvius at the time.⁵³ Shortly before Silvius had bought the house 'In de drie Coningen' (In the three Kings) in the Maarsmansteeg⁵⁴ and, after selling his establishment in Antwerp, he hung out the sign 'In den gulden Engel' (In the Golden Angel), the name of his firm. About one year later, on 25 October 1578, he was enlisted in the night watch under the command of Jan Willemsz, which could only have occurred if he had settled in the city for good.⁵⁵ Another significant fact in this connection is that Plantin should refer to Silvius in his account books since the end of 1577 as 'libraire d'Anvers' rather than 'libraire et imprimeur à Anvers' as he had done earlier.⁵⁶ This, too, implies that the printing-office was no longer in Antwerp.

SILVIUS AS PRINTER TO THE STATES GENERAL

A further proof of Silvius' departure in the autumn of 1577 is to be found in the course of events leading to the publication of the *Sommier discours* (BT 4373, Kn 305).⁵⁷ The reason for issuing this sensational work was the confiscation of a packet of letters from Don Juan, the compromising content of which was admirably suited to the propaganda campaign against the Governor and thus against the Spanish King. Partly owing to the insistence of William of Orange the decision was taken to publish them together with an accompanying text written for the occasion by Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde. On 9 September 1577 the States General gave the printing order in Antwerp to Silvius. He was to issue 300 copies, and was accorded a privilege for a period of four years, together with permission to publish

Delft, dated Antwerp, 22 November 1577 (Archief van de Kerkeraad der Hervormde Gemeente te Delft, inv. no. 112). The letter is reproduced in J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, 'Bonaventura Vulcanius en Leiden', *Varia historica aangeboden aan [...] A. H. Byvanck ...* (Assen 1954), p. 164.

⁵³ As we see, for example, from a letter dated 27 November 1577 from Champagney, addressed to Vulcanius at Silvius' house in Antwerp. See R. Fruin, 'Kritische studiën over geschiedbronnen, I', in *id.*, *Verspreide geschriften*, vol. 7 ('s-Gravenhage 1903), pp. 12-23; 'De catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling der Koninklijke Bibliotheek (1890)', p. 17.

⁵⁴ That Silvius did indeed purchase the house as early as 1577 appears from the act of transference reproduced in Briels, op. cit. (n. 49), p. 449, letter (h).

⁵⁵ Gemeente Archief (Municipal Archives) Leiden, Aflezingboek E, f. 13v.: 'Mr. Wm Silvius Inde 3 coningen'.

⁵⁶ PMM, Arch. XLI, f. 36r. See M. Lefevre, 'Libraires belges et relations commerciales avec Christophe Plantin et Jean Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 41 (1963), pp. 1-47 (p. 11).

⁵⁷ Geurts pp. 64-6. For this publication, see Fruin, op. cit. (n. 51), pp. 15 ff., who observes: 'I would like to study them from a historical point of view in order to show how the two [...] manners of approach, the bibliographical and the historical one, disagree with one another'.

translations in Dutch, Latin and Spanish at his own expense.⁵⁸

Within a week the States General, who wanted to circulate the book abroad as quickly as possible, urged the printer to hurry.⁵⁹ Silvius was thus obliged to farm out the work to certain colleagues. A bibliographical analysis shows that the first part, Marnix' text, was printed by Gillis van den Rade and that the next part, the letters (including a number in Spanish), was printed by Plantin.⁶⁰ At the beginning of October the book (BT 4373, Kn 305) was ready.⁶¹ In the meantime, however, it had emerged that too few copies had been printed, for work immediately started on a new edition (BT 4374, Kn 306). The decision to do this was taken when Plantin still had the type standing so he could use it again. Van den Rade, on the other hand, had to compose Marnix' *Discours* anew. Subsequently there appeared an expanded edition, with a revised text and a greater number of letters. This time Silvius printed the text himself, under the slightly altered title *Discours sommier* (Kn 309). He then entrusted the letters section to Houweel: in the new privilege at the end, dated 13 October, we find his L, and elsewhere an N from another smaller woodcut alphabet he owned.⁶² When the demand again proved to be greater than expected the two printers saw to a second issue to which 'la Confirmation & Rati-

⁵⁸ For the text of this agreement, see *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, ed. N. Japikse, vol. I: 1576-1577 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 26; 's-Gravenhage 1915), pp. 228-9, 9 Sept. 1577. Only the French *Discours* of Marnix was then at stake. A little later Silvius asked for consent for editions in no less than seven languages, including English; see *ibid.*, p. 238, 12 Oct. 1577. A day later the States accorded him these approbations on condition that the editions did not cost more than six stivers apiece. In the meantime he had sent a few copies of the French text to Cecil Lord Burghley, petitioning him for an English privilege to protect himself from pirated editions; see C. Clair, 'Willem Silvius', *The Library*, 5th S., 14 (1959), pp. 192-205 (pp. 200-1). In the end, apart from the French and the Dutch editions, all that appeared was a German translation (Kn 315), which Silvius himself printed in Leiden, but with his Antwerp imprint.

⁵⁹ *Resolutien*, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 233, 17 Sept. 1577. Only some time later was it decided to add the letters as an appendix to the pamphlet (*ibid.* p. 234, 24 Sept. 1577).

⁶⁰ The parts have separate signatures and their own pagination; the title-page has one of Silvius' devices. The text opens with an initial C, which bears a deceptive resemblance to one of his own blocks (the property of Plantin until 1562, but not in Harvard, op. cit. (n. 15)). It is in fact a replica being used by his colleague Gillis van den Rade. The letters include, in Harvard's numbering, Plantin's initials 12 Y and 29 N¹, together with the A of his smallest calligraphic alphabet.

⁶¹ Only on 5 October could the States General send a copy to Philips. Their annoyance at Silvius' delay is mentioned in a letter from Champagney to Vulcanius of 27 November 1577 (see n. 53).

⁶² The initial, easily recognizable by a characteristic damage of the letter, appears on p. 156 of Simler's *République des Suisses*. An spurious octavo reprint dated 1577 (Kn 308) exists of the original edition of the *Sommier discours*. It has both Silvius' imprint and a well-cut replica of his printer's device. This reprint may have come from France.

fication de l'Edict perpetuel' was added (BT 926, Kn 307).⁶³

At first sight this state of affairs seems surprising. Why should our printer have involved other colleagues in the execution of this important order? Their assistance naturally had to be paid for and inevitably diminished Silvius' earnings from the publication. He must have felt cornered: he was obviously unable to produce the first edition as quickly as he should. In view of the three printing-presses he owned⁶⁴ there is only one acceptable explanation for this: he could not use his own printing shop at the time. We must assume that his presses were in the process of being shipped to Leiden, or had perhaps even arrived but were not yet ready for use. The haste with which the States General wanted the publication to be completed thus obliged the printer to give part of a lucrative order to others. For an expanded new edition, on the other hand (or at least, as we saw, for part of it), he could again use his own material which had at last once more been installed.

Something similar happened in the case of the Dutch translation, the *Cort verhael*, which seems to have appeared at almost the same time. The first edition (BT 1730)⁶⁵ also came from the press of Gillis van den Rade, while Silvius used his own press for the reprints. Here, however, the situation is complicated by the fact that sheets of the two editions were mixed.⁶⁶ Van den Rade was also involved in a reprint of *De Pacificatie van Ghent* which the States of Holland must have ordered shortly after and in which we again encounter various of his initials.⁶⁷ The work appeared with the address 'Ghedrukt tot Leyden, inde drye Coninghen, Anno 1578' (Kn 269) – the only occasion on which the original name of Silvius' recently purchased house appears on a title-page.

All these facts make it difficult to doubt that Silvius had moved to Leiden be-

⁶³ On 21 December 1577 the States again ordered 200 copies of the 'justificatie tegen don Juan'; see *Resolutiën*, op. cit. (n. 58), p. 240.

⁶⁴ The information in Silvius' type specimen, published at the liquidation of his press, shows that he had three printing-presses at his disposal in Leiden. See *Leiden 'Afdruksel'*, op. cit. (n. 43), p. II.

⁶⁵ Geurts, pp. 66-7. BT 1728 is printed from the same matter but has a corrected title-page on which 'rechte' has been changed to 'gherechte'.

⁶⁶ Exactly how this production went requires a special analysis which I have not undertaken in the context of this investigation. The use of Silvius' large Leiden device (reproduced in Briels, op. cit. (n. 49), p. 453) suggests, however, that most of the copies were distributed from Leiden.

⁶⁷ Kn 269; J. Machiels, 'Overzicht van de gedrukte uitgaven van de Pacificatietekst', *Opstand en pacificatie in de Lage Landen ...* (Gent 1976), pp. 122-35, no. 14. The edition is augmented with the *Confirmatie des Conincx* and the *Commissiën*. – This piece includes five initials belonging to Van den Rade. At the beginning of the text, however, a large ornamental P of Silvius appears which we also encounter in publications of his in Antwerp in 1577 and in Leiden in 1581. Already at an early stage in his career, Silvius prompted printers who worked for him to use ornamental letters and other woodcuts in his possession; cf. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 15), p. 193 and the illustrations 2 and 3.

fore the beginning of 1578. It thus appears all the more remarkable that his new employers should have made almost no use of the services of their printer in the first two years. The Antwerp municipal decrees late in 1577 and the following year are printed with Silvius' own material, and thus, as we saw, in Leiden.⁶⁸ He did not start printing for the Academy in 1578/9, however, and, as far as we can see, he only produced three publications for the States of Holland in that period: the aforesaid reprint of *De Pacificatie van Ghent*, a broadsheet⁶⁹ and the edition of a *Sommiere verclaringhe* against the peace proposals in Cologne (Kn 400) 'ghedruct deur [...] bevel van mijnen Eer. Heeren' (printed on the orders of my honourable gentlemen). As in earlier years nearly all the States' printing orders went to Albrecht Hendricks or Maritgen Simons in Delft, the town where the sessions were held.⁷⁰ This was only to change in 1580. Then Silvius started to print a series of official publications some of which were set and printed three times in that year (at least with that date). Only then did a production get under way which we might expect from a printing-house of that calibre. What was published, besides, was only partly the work of Willem Silvius: he died that summer and was succeeded according to an earlier agreement with the States by his son Carel.

We must thus ask what the reasons were for which the Dutch authorities hardly used their new printing-office for two whole years – and consequently also what this can have meant to Silvius. After the removal of his printing shop he obviously soon started to assemble the supplies necessary for the academic bookshop he was about to open. This probably obliged him to create new international connections and, among other things, to visit the Frankfurt Fair. In addition to this he had to settle his affairs in Antwerp, liquidate his publishing stock in so far as it was not suited to the objectives of his new business, and come to agreements with his fi-

⁶⁸ This applies to BT 2725, 2790-1, 2820, 2822-3 (printed from the same matter), 2832, 2846-7, 2858, 7340 and 7349. The publications BT 2767, 2770 and 2859, also with Silvius' imprint, are reprints or pirated editions. The first two are probably by the Antwerp printer Mattheus de Rissche, and the third possibly by his colleague Mattheus Mesens.

⁶⁹ An edict in which the property and goods in Holland and Zeeland of residents in Artois, Hainault, Louvain, Mechelen and other towns again under Spanish rule were declared to be forfeited. It ends with the words: 'Ghedaen inden Haghe den [in manuscript: 17en] Decembris anno 1579' ('Done in The Hague on [in manuscript: 17] December 1579'). – There are copies in the municipal archives in Delft and Leiden. According to a note on the Leiden copy it was proclaimed there on 27 December 1579.

⁷⁰ Certain official publications in this period from the press of Albrecht Hendricksz are mentioned in P.A. Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Eerste afdeeling. Verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam* ..., 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1858-61), vol. I, nos. 204 & 210, and in L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. I, no. 265. – For the ordinances printed by Maritgen Simons, see Tiele 193 and Petit 284.

nanciers in that town. In the previous years he had contracted some large loans, partly on account of the Spanish Fury in November 1576 when he was forced to pay immense sums to the plundering soldiery in order to rescue his family and his business. When the firm was liquidated in 1582, there remained, besides other commitments, several thousand guilders of debts to backers in Antwerp – a considerable sum in those days.⁷¹

Silvius thus had to divide his attention and his presence between his new and his former residence. After he had sold his house in the Sleutelstraat in Antwerp he rented working and storage space in the Pandstraat (at Houweel's establishment?) and then, for a brief period, in the Korte Klarenstraat.⁷² During his absence his son Carel looked after the business in Leiden and it was to Carel's name that the firm's account was transferred in Plantin's books on 27 July 1579. We can conclude that from that day on he was also formally responsible for the book trade and, in the meantime, had presumably come of age in the eyes of the law.⁷³

The weight of these activities cannot, however, have been the only reason why Silvius remained almost invisible as printer to the States. In the light of the expenses that had been incurred to draw him to Leiden it seems odd that his press should hardly have had anything to do. We could imagine that the lack of orders was a frustration for the man himself after what he might have expected from his creditable appointment, particularly since, in this very period, the States General gave a great many orders to their new printer in Antwerp, Plantin. Plantin was officially appointed on 29 April 1578 after he had already done some work for the States on Silvius' departure. Silvius thus saw that he had been superseded, but he did not give up his earlier position without a fight and made various attempts, however fruitless, to stand up for what he thought were his rights.⁷⁴ He did indeed

⁷¹ For a list of these commitments, see Gemeentearchief (Municipal Archive) Leiden, RA 53 [= Schatboek (Vonnissen van preferentie) 1580-9], ff. 49v.-158r.; also to be found there, with further details, in RA 52 [= Minuut B, van vonnissen van voortgang, A¹: 1576-92], ff. 164r.-168r. The most important entries are also mentioned in Briels, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 451-2, n. 10.

⁷² H.L.V. de Groote, 'Drukte Willem Silvius te Antwerpen ca.1565 "De maniere van bouck houden ghemaect by Jan Wadington ende Noel N."?', *De Gulden Passer*, 48 (1970), pp. 107-11 (p. 110); the author owes this information to Dr Lode van den Branden.

⁷³ Rouzet, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 201. Carel's date of birth is unknown, but his father settled in Antwerp in 1559 as an independent printer. We can assume that he was then recently (re?)married and that his son was born at about this time.

⁷⁴ Plantin had already carried out official commissions, for example on 28 March for Kn 338-9. His appointment was obvious after Silvius' business had left Antwerp and the delays of the *Discours* as a result of the move. Silvius was not, however, immediately ready to accept this decision. As 'printer to the King' (an appointment which dated from 1559) he submitted a complaint. To this 'claim' the States gave a negative reply on 28 June, which they justified by saying that an agreement had in the meantime been reached with Plantin. On 19 September a new remonstrance

have every reason to lament the loss, because, in their efforts to retain national unity, the States General soon had one work published after the other. Plantin was kept fully occupied.

The only other information we have about Silvius' dealings with the authorities is an event that occurred in about September 1577, when he served William of Orange at the siege of Breda by forging a letter which caused the city to surrender a few weeks later.⁷⁵ It has been assumed that Silvius became accidentally involved in the episode on his way between Leiden and Antwerp.

SILVIUS AS WILLIAM OF ORANGE'S AGENT?

Geertruidenberg, where William of Orange had pitched camp, was indeed on the road leading from Leiden to Antwerp. But it seems most unlikely that a printer, even the printer to the States, could expect to be received by the Prince without an invitation. It is more probable that Silvius had been summoned in connection with the current edition of the *Discours* in which Orange was personally interested.⁷⁶ Other publications which the Prince wished to have printed may also have been discussed. Already in the first years of the Revolt William of Orange had proved himself to be aware of the importance of the printing-press for the struggle for freedom. A number of political writings and appeals to the people had appeared on his orders and at his expense.⁷⁷ Subsequently this form of propaganda faded into the background for a while – probably because the profits were thought to be too low when compared with the costs and because the means available were needed elsewhere. During the rapid developments in the course of 1577, however, the time seemed ripe for new initiatives in this area. The public success of the *Sommier discours* must have acted as a stimulus.

from Silvius was sent for advice to the Chamber of Petitions, while on 29 October further arguments were received. Finally, on 15 February 1579, as a result of a new request from Silvius, the Chamber of Petitions was 'instructed to liquidate his claims and to give advice'; see *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, ed. N. Japikse, vol. 2: 1578-1579 (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicaties, 33; 's-Gravenhage 1917), pp. 510, 786.

⁷⁵ For this interesting incident, see T. Croiset van Uchelen, 'Willem Silvius as writing-master', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 158-78 (pp. 164-6). The original account is in Pieter Bor Christiaensz, *Oorsprongk, begin ende vervolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen, beroerten en borgerlyke oneenigheden ...*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam 1679), pp. 856-7.

⁷⁶ For the intense involvement of the Prince in pamphlets which appeared in 1577, see Geurts pp. 64 f, 70.

⁷⁷ For William's leadership and personal share in the propaganda at the beginning of the Revolt, see Geurts, p. 41 and P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Cologne printer works for Orange', forthcoming. [A Cologne printer working for William of Orange: Godfried Hirtzhorn Jr, 1568-72', *Quaerendo*, 25 (1995), pp. 3-23. Eds.]

This may be the explanation for the remarkable fact that Silvius was hardly active as a printer in Leiden but was indeed employed as a publisher in Antwerp. Although we have no documentary evidence it would seem logical to assume that he was relieved of his duties in order to advise the Prince and his counsellors in their plans for future actions and to form a link in a publicity campaign against Spain and her supporters. The choice was obvious: as an experienced printer and publisher he was better informed than anyone else in William of Orange's circle about the various aspects of book production and distribution. He had all the necessary knowledge and experience to give guidance in this area and, commuting between Antwerp and Leiden, to supervise the results. In other respects, too, he had the necessary qualities: he was born in the northern Netherlands, was a convinced Protestant, and had an academic education. As had already emerged from his appointment, he also enjoyed the confidence of the Prince. They had in fact met far earlier. In his days at Louvain Silvius had given lessons of Italian calligraphy to various of the Prince's young relatives⁷⁸ and at the beginning of his career in the book trade, in 1560, he dedicated to the Prince his edition of the great map of Zeeland by Jacob van Deventer.⁷⁹ It would have been hard to find anyone better qualified to act as a technical intermediary between the leaders of the Revolt and the politicians in the South whom they hoped to involve in the formation of public opinion.

These plans met with the complication that Leiden was an unfortunate choice as the base from which such a propaganda campaign should be launched. The distance from the centre of the political struggle was too great; communications were laborious and uncertain, and valuable time could be lost. One danger was that it would be impossible to react quickly enough to what opponents in the south might publish. A solution to that problem would have to be found in good time although it was impossible to foresee how intensive and violent the pamphlet war would become.

Because of these considerations it was decided not to situate the printing process in the north but in Antwerp. As the centre of that part of the Netherlands which was most prosperous and of major political importance it seemed the most suitable city. The propaganda struggle between the various parties had its centre there, supported by the presence of a large number of printing-offices. Nor was it difficult – in contrast to Leiden – to find French-speaking compositors. This was an important factor in view of that part of the population which the propagandists were

⁷⁸ Croiset van Uchelen, art. cit. (n. 75), pp. 174 ff.

⁷⁹ *De kaarten van de Nederlandsche provinciën in de zestiende eeuw door Jacob van Deventer afgebeeld ...*, introd. B. van't Hoff (s-Gravenhage 1941), Pl. 17-18 and p. 8; A. de Smet, 'De plaats van Jacob van Deventer in de cartografie van de 16e eeuw', *Liber amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (*De Gulden passer*, 61-2; Antwerpen 1985), pp. 461-82 (pp. 470 f).

particularly eager to reach. Another point in Antwerp's favour was that Silvius had long lived in the city. He was altogether at home there and had numerous personal relationships, which extended to administrative circles: despite his appointment and his departure for Leiden he was retained as municipal printer for the whole of 1578.

It thus looked as though Silvius had left the city on the Schelde too soon. He could have done more work of greater value there than in his new place of residence. But to that there was a solution. He was on good terms with the young printer Christiaen Houweel, whose firm had a sufficient capacity and large enough equipment to give a suitable form to all sorts of publications. A collaboration developed whereby this typographer, together with the official printer of the States General, Plantin, obtained in the next two years a large share in the ever growing stream of anti-Spanish pamphlets and other political publications of the Orange party.

How the activities were divided in practice and if, for example, Silvius took part personally in the printing, is impossible to establish, although we can conclude from the design of what was produced by the press that he probably gave instructions on the matter. This is also suggested by the fact that, as we saw, he made his own typographical material available: the presence of his ornaments in these Antwerp publications is hard to explain other than by the assumption that Silvius himself had a part in the production. This would mean that he acted as a technical intermediary between his employers in the north and, on the one hand, their representatives and pro-Orange politicians in Antwerp (and possibly with the Prince himself when he was in the south) and, on the other, with the world of printers in the city. That none of his material should appear in most of the publications is not, of course, a reason to assume that he was not involved in them. The contrary is proved by the copy of *Advertissement à ceulx du pays Bas* which he presented with a dedication in his own hand: the only initial that appears there belongs to Houweel.

RECAPITULATION

It will have been clear that this article rests on two substantially different elements. The first part is about the hitherto unknown fact that a significant number of the pamphlets which appeared in 1578 and 1579 by the party of William of Orange actually came from Houweel's press, despite different, even foreign, addresses or the lack of any imprint. This ascertainment is based on a bibliographical analysis of the material with which they were printed – both typefaces and ornaments. Consequently a figure who has so far appeared as rather obscure can at last be given a clear place in the history of the Antwerp book trade. We now know what part he played there, especially in 1578/9, and about his activity as a jobbing printer in the

preceding and ensuing years. At the same time bibliographical data show that there was a collaboration between our printer and his colleague Silvius. Finally, we saw that the latter hardly printed anything for two years in his own firm other than a small quantity of brief decrees for Antwerp and two or three publications for the States of Holland.

The reconstruction of Silvius' principal activity in this period, the other part of this article, must provisionally be regarded as a hypothesis. In an investigation into prohibited books we often see that the information to be derived from typographical material (and the publishers' stocks which can be reconstructed from it), however useful, appears inadequate if we try to connect it with further reaching historical conclusions. Documentary evidence about clandestine printing-presses is always scarce. When we study their history, typographical analyses are consequently essential, but only exceptionally do these give a complete picture of the functioning of a secret press. The background of its life and production often remains concealed and we can only guess, for example, at the identity of important figures such as managers and financiers. The few facts that can be recovered yield little more than as logical a reconstruction as possible of the course of events, without it being possible to prove its accuracy.⁸⁰

In this case we can seek support for the picture sketched in the character and the nature of the writings printed by Houweel's press in 1578/9. If Silvius acted as an agent for Orange and the States of Holland in those years, it should be possible to deduce this from what was printed: the published texts and the political views they contain. Indeed, all the publications turn out to be anti-Spanish: some of them are savagely so, and their main target is Don Juan. A number contain appeals to unity in the struggle against Spanish domination and to the continuation of the policy of the Pacification of Ghent. Some of them are particularly concerned with religious freedom;⁸¹ others are aimed more or less sharply against the peace talks in Cologne. Various texts are manifestly pro-French and propagate the appointment of the Duke of Anjou as protector. Although this idea was supported in these years by William of Orange we may wonder whether French interests were not at work here. Houweel could have obtained orders from more than one party.

There is yet another side to the matter which suggests the direct involvement of a superior authority: the financing. It is inconceivable that all these publications

⁸⁰ As an example of such a reconstruction, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50, 253-98 (pp. 281 ff.), in which an attempt is made to discover in what circumstances and under what management this unknown press was working in Emden.

⁸¹ As in the two petitions addressed by the Calvinists to Matthias and the Council of State (BT 4148-9 and 4444). They were drawn up on the orders of the Synod of Dordt, an initiative which was supported by William of Orange.

should have been financed by Silvius himself, let alone by Houweel. Only in very exceptional cases, such as when a pamphlet attracted a great deal of public attention (as might be expected from the *Cort verhael*), could a printer be tempted to produce political writings at his own expense. Normally speaking these works were soon outdated and were too dependent on temporal circumstances and a limited market for there to be much profit. Behind most of these publications, therefore, we can assume that there was a patron who was prepared to bear the expenses. In view of the extent of the production of Silvius and Houweel this must have been authorities or a group of men who were both wealthy and determined.

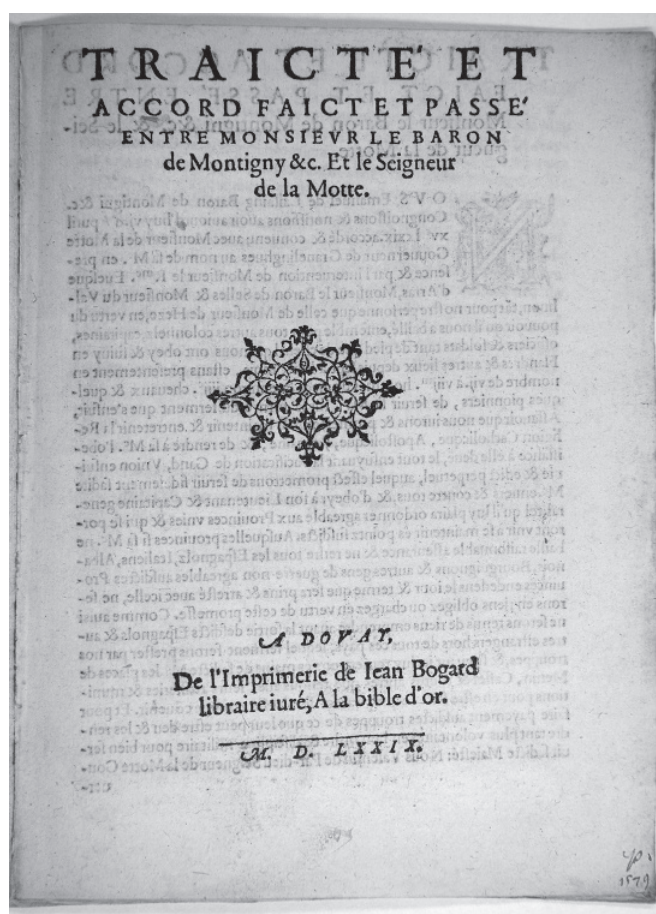
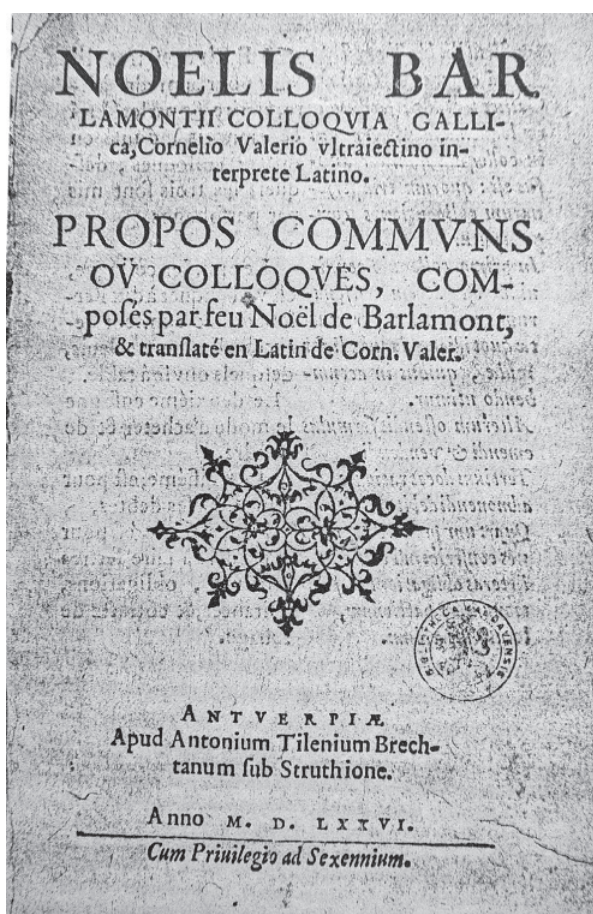
Such a consideration brings us almost inevitably to the leadership of the Dutch Revolt: the States of the liberated provinces and their chief, William of Orange. As we saw, there are indications that the Prince himself took an active part in discussions of these matters – but even when his own involvement is not visible, we can assume that the action occurred with his approval and support. What is certain, at all events, is that he was personally in contact with Silvius. It would have been strange had this type of warfare not been discussed by them.

The traditional view that Willem Silvius only went to Leiden in the middle of 1579 thus appears to be only partially correct. His press and his bookshop made the journey as early as 1577, but he himself remained active in Antwerp – in matters of greater weight than what was previously regarded as his only task there: the printing of municipal decrees. We can assume that his matriculation at Leiden University on 11 May 1579 marks the end of his stay in the southern Netherlands. After that date no more publications were produced by Houweel's press as the result of their collaboration: Houweel's services were no longer needed.

We do not know whether Silvius relinquished his work in Antwerp because the double task was too heavy for him (he died less than a year later). The States of Holland may no longer have been prepared to do without their printer, or there may have been a preference in Antwerp for a younger man with a printing-office of his own. That was Gillis van den Rade, the printer of the Antwerp Protestants, whose first orders from this side were probably the *Remonstrantie* to the States General and the *Requeste* to the Prince of 26 July 1579, and who subsequently printed the Prince's *Sendtbrief* of 1 August (BT 4891, 4886). Until he left for Franeker in 1585, where he became printer to the university and the States of Friesland, he issued almost all the writings of Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde and his men.

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was typeset, it turned out that the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels also has a pamphlet inscribed 'Ex dono Guliel. Silvij' in Silvius' own handwriting. In this case, it is a copy of the 1578 *Lettres d'advertissement* (with a false address, 'A Francfort') already mentioned. (I am most grateful to Ms Anne Rouzet for kindly bringing this item to my attention.) This is also a product of the collaboration described: the types are Houweel's, as is the initial V on f. A3, while the O on f. A2 belongs to Silvius' middle-sized calligraphic alphabet. The combination of material from both printers with Silvius' inscription supports my hypothesis concerning his role in the propaganda-war of 1577/8.

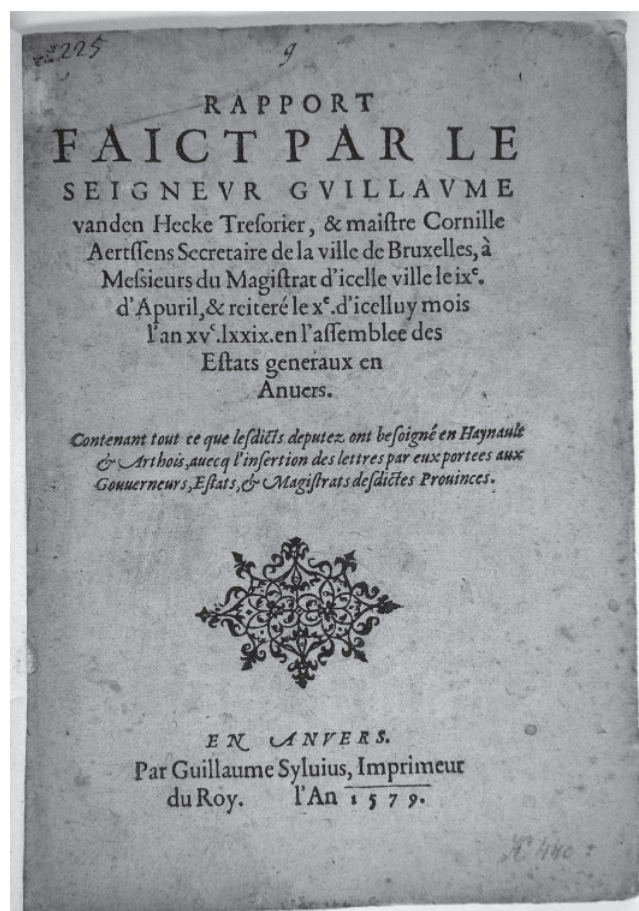
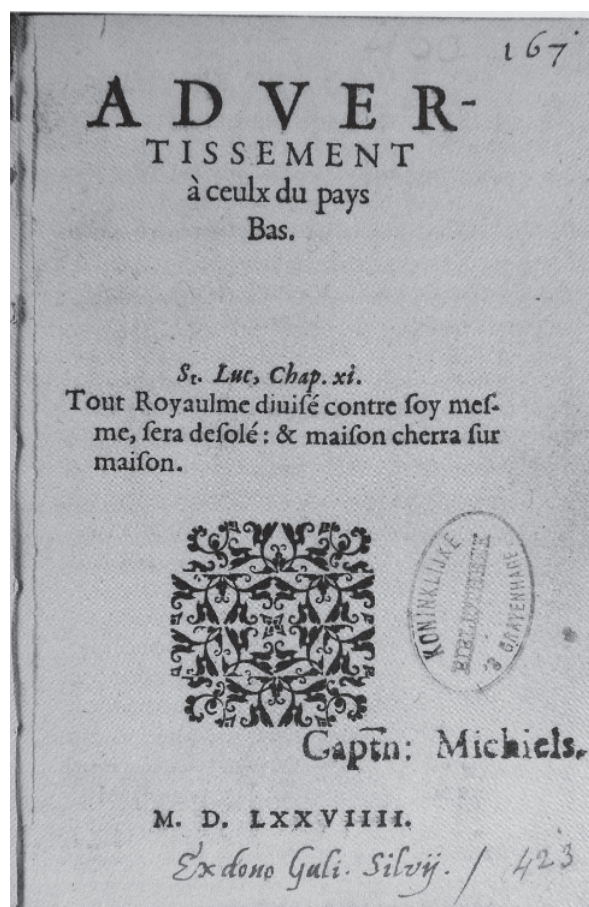


- I
Noël de Barlaimont. *Colloquia* (Antwerpen, Antonius Tilenius [*in fine* exc. Christianus Hauweel], 1576)
(Scan from the original publication)
- 2
Traicté et accord (Douay, Jean Bogard [= Antwerp, C. Houweel], 1579)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections, Pfl. C5xx)



3

Woodcut initials of C. Houweel for his 4to-editions (the attribution of R and V is uncertain. D is from Ameet Tavernier)
(Scan from the original publication)



4
Advertissement (s.l.s.n. [Antwerpen, C. Houweel], 1579)
 (Scan from the original publication)

5
Rapport ... (Antwerpen, Willem Silvius [pr.: C. Houweel], 1579)
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. C5xxx)

A COLOGNE PRINTER WORKING FOR
WILLIAM OF ORANGE: GODFRIED HIRTZHORN Jr.,
1568 to 1572



Just over a century ago a first serious attempt was made in Holland to solve a literary historical problem with the help of bibliography as a method. In 1892 J.F. van Someren published an article in which he undertook a typographical investigation in order to establish the identity of the printer of the 1576 edition of the famous *Biëncorf* by Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde ('Marnix').¹ From the many similarities with the typographical material belonging to the Emden publisher Goossen Goebens, the librarian from Utrecht rightly concluded that this edition, the third of the book, was produced by Goebens' press. The result was slightly less felicitous when, in order to confirm the traditional view that the original edition, too, had been printed in Emden, he also attributed the two previous issues to this printer. Comparison of typefaces and initials turned out to be less simple than had originally appeared,² besides which the author committed the error of using watermarks as an indication of where a work was printed – something which cannot be done with Dutch books from the sixteenth century.

The scholar also seems to have assumed that Marnix would have had to give his permission for the *Biëncorf* to be reprinted and that Goebens, or a fellow-publisher, must therefore have reached an agreement with him. Van Someren used the relationship he had deduced between Marnix and the Emden publishers as an argument to ascribe another book supposedly printed in Emden to this writer: the anonymous *Description de l'estat, succes et occurrences advenues au País bas au faict de la Religion* (1569) – an extremely important historical source for events in the troubled year of 1566 that witnessed the offering of the Petition of the Nobles to Margaret of Parma, the governess for King Philip II of Spain, with, *inter alia*, a plea for greater religious tolerance, its lukewarm reception, and the ensuing iconoclastic riots.

With this theory Van Someren rejected the conclusions of two studies which had

¹ J.F. van Someren, 'Wesenbeke of Marnix? Historisch-bibliographische studie', *Oud-Holland*, 9 (1891), (I) pp. 73-105; *ibidem*, 10 (1892), (II) pp. 66-80.

² The author (in his first article (I), see previous note, p. 84) thus wrongly saw the principal typeface of the second (1572) edition of the *Biëncorf* as being identical to that of the Dutch edition of Hoorne's defence. He also thought the initials in the first (1569) edition of the *Biëncorf* were the same as those in H. Bullinger's *De Openbaringhe Jesu Christi* (1567), an unsigned publication by Willem Gailliart. This claim (Van Someren, op. cit. (n. 1 (I)), p. 82) is also wrong.

appeared on the subject over thirty years previously. They had been written as the result of an edition of the aforesaid *Description*, together with yet another work, in a volume entitled *Mémoires de Jacques de Wesenbeke*, prepared by Charles Rahlenbeck.³ The authors of these two studies were the former state archivist R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink and Robert Fruin, who was then still at the beginning of his impressive career as a Dutch historian.⁴ Although they both accepted Rahlenbeck's attribution of the authorship to Jacob van Wesenbeke, the town pensionary of Antwerp and collaborator in William of Orange's propaganda campaign, each historian independently rejected his choice of Dillenburg as the town where the books were printed. Instead, they opted for Cologne, albeit without being able to indicate the press. They also established that two other works, *Deduction de l'innocence de Philippe [...] comte de Hornes* (1568) and *Corte Vermaninghe [...] opt vonnisse teghen [...] Anthonis van Stralen* (1569), were equally by Van Wesenbeke and were issued by the same press.

Van Someren now came to reject the ascription both to Van Wesenbeke and to Cologne. For him there was a direct connection between the authorship and the town of publication: not only did he believe there were textual reasons for regarding Marnix as the author of the *Description*, but he also based his view on the fact that he thought the book had been printed in Emden. Even when he was subsequently obliged to admit Van Wesenbeke's authorship, he continued to insist on that city as the place where the book was published. And the same also had to apply to the two other publications which – here he agreed with the two historians – were also, he believed, produced by the same press as the *Description*. He regarded these publications, too, as having been printed in Emden and 'thus' as being the work of Marnix.⁵ Although he had some moments of doubt on account of Van Someren's acknowledged skills as a bibliographer, Fruin ultimately stuck to his original view and continued to propose Cologne,⁶ a conviction which was shared by various other scholars, including the bibliographer T.I.J. Arnold in *Bibliotheca Belgica*.⁷

³ *Mémoires de Jacques de Wesenbeke*, avec une introduction et des notes par C. Rahlenbeck (Collection de mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de Belgique, 5; Bruxelles/la Haye 1859).

⁴ Both articles appeared in 1859 in *Algemeene Konst- en Letterbode* and were reprinted in R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Studiën en schetsen over vaderlandsche geschiedenis en letteren*, vol. I (Amsterdam 1863), pp. 255-81.

⁵ Van Someren, art. cit. (n. 1: (I)), pp. 79-86: 'De drukkerij van Marnix' Biëncorf'.

⁶ Fruin reacted to Van Someren's article in *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, 3rd S., vol. 7 (1893), pp. 222 ff.; reprinted in his 'Kritische studiën over geschiedbronnen, I', in *id.*, *Verbreide geschriften*, vol. 7; 's-Gravenhage 1903), pp. III-40: 'Wesenbeke of Marnix?'. For Fruin's final assessment of the place of publication, see *ibidem*, p. 126, n. 4. Van Someren replied to this with 'Wesenbeke of Marnix? Wederantwoord aan Prof. R. Fruin', *De Navorscher*, 43 (1893), pp. 619-29.

⁷ *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as *BB*, vol. 5, pp. 851-5.

The situation has remained unaltered. No further investigation has led to any other result: Cologne, usually accompanied by a question mark, is still considered the city where the books were published. There is, however, no more specific attribution and the origin thus in fact remains uncertain. Yet we do have an indication as to which printer had worked for Van Wesenbeke: although he could not establish his identity, Fruin himself gives his (Christian) name. For he quotes from a letter of March 1570, written from Cologne to Van Wesenbeke, in which mention is made of a clandestine press in that town run by a certain 'God.'⁸ We can conclude from the report that there was, or had been, a business relationship between this printer and the addressee.

This document provides the solution: the man named 'God.' in this context cannot be anyone but God[ert] or God[evaert] Hertshoren alias Godfried Hirtzhorn, *Lat.* Cervicornus, the third and last generation of a family of Cologne printer-publishers who had close connections with the Netherlands. Godert's mother was from the Netherlands, probably Brabant; he himself had lived in Antwerp for years, was perhaps born there, and married a woman from that town.⁹ When his father, after whom Godfried was named, ran into difficulties in Cologne in 1554 for printing a 'heretical' book, the son fled to Antwerp and obtained citizenship in 1558.¹⁰ At that time the young Godfried presumably represented the firm there, just as his father had once looked after the interests of his own father Eucharis.¹¹ After the death of

⁸ On 22 March 1570 Dirck Cater wrote to Van Wesenbeke: 'Ick hebbe op eerghisteren Augustijn [van Hasselt] ghesproecken die my syde dat God[ert] hem gheclaeht hadde wat onghelijck u.I. hem doet. Ick sydc hem dat hy klar soude omkeeren dat Godert een sterke rabaut was ...' (I spoke to Augustijn [van Hasselt] the day before yesterday and he told me that God[ert] had complained about the wrong you were doing him. I told him he should say instead that Godert was a great rascal ...). The letter is reproduced in full in *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau, supplément [...] La correspondance du Prince Guillaume d'Orange avec Jacques de Wesenbeke*, ed. J.F. van Someren (Utrecht/Amsterdam, 1896), pp. 2 f., [Lettre no.] II.

⁹ P.C. Boeren, 'Tilburgs kleingoed, II: Het drukkersgeslacht Hertshoren (Cervicornus)', *Het Boek*, 31 (1952-4), pp. 44-51 (p. 49). That Godfried junior was born in Antwerp is a supposition by the aforesaid author.

¹⁰ Stadsarchief Antwerpen (Antwerp Town Archives), Vierschaar 147, f. 41. See *Antwerpse Poortersboeken 1533-1608* (Antwerpen s.a.), vol. I, '4 March 1558'.

¹¹ It is difficult to follow Godfried senior's career because of the lack of signed works. He probably ran his father's branch in Marburg from 1535 to 1538 and subsequently represented his father in Antwerp where he was (re)married with Apollonia Boelen. He appears together with his wife in a list of members of the Dutch community in London in 1550 and 1551; see *Returns of Aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London ...*, pt. I: 1523-1571, eds. R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk (The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, vol. 10, pt. I; Aberdeen 1900). Like other Protestant colleagues, he probably left England in 1553 after the Catholic Queen Mary's accession to the throne and returned to Marburg. Whether the firm continued to work in Cologne in those years and who managed it and signed the editions has yet to be investigated.

Godfried senior in 1560 the son took over the management of the family business which could thus continue under the very same name.

The existence of two different printers called Godfried Hirtzhorn has long passed unnoticed and little information is available about the activities of either the father or the son.¹² Where the latter is concerned, Josef Benzing simply says: 'Seine Druckproduktion dürfte nicht gross sein',¹³ and indeed, the number of books which he himself published appears to have been limited. But he executed orders for Cologne publishers such as Theodor Baum, Maternus Cholinus and the Arnold Birckmann heirs (who had an important branch in Antwerp). Some of these publications have Godfried's imprint, but most of them do not bear his name and can only be attributed to his press on the basis of the typographical material used. The number of his products is thus considerably larger than what has hitherto been assumed. The production, as far as we know it, can be placed in the period running from 1561 to 1572, after which only a single book appeared in Godfried Hirtzhorn's name in 1577 and it is doubtful whether he himself was actually directly involved in the publication.

So although Hirtzhorn only signed very few books, there are enough of them for us to know the typographical material he owned. He appears to have had fairly large equipment with which relatively complicated publications could be printed, such as the *Explicationes in Acta Apostolorum* by Theophylact, the historian and archbishop of Ohrid in Bulgaria, a folio volume which he produced for the Birckmann heirs in 1568.¹⁴ The original text provided in addition to the Latin translation shows that he was also capable of setting Greek type.

¹² The existence of two generations with the same name emerges from the documents in the Municipal Archive of Tilburg; cf. Boeren, art. cit. (n. 9), *passim*. Biographical information, in so far as it is known, is given in A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), p. 37 (s.v. Cervicornus); cf. also W. Reuter, 'Zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Buchdruckgewerbes im Rheinland bis 1800 (Köln/Bonn/Düsseldorf)', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 8 (1958), p. 138. A recent article by S. Corsten, 'Kölner Drucker und Verleger in Antwerpen (15. und 16. Jahrhundert)', *Liber amicorum Leon Voet*, ed. F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer*, 61-3; Antwerpen 1985), pp. 189-204, does not deal with the Hirtzhorns.

¹³ J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2nd enl. edn. (Wiesbaden 1982), p. 244, no. 52.

¹⁴ A strikingly high number of copies of this work by an eleventh-century Bulgarian archbishop were handed in during the search for prohibited books in Kampen in 1570. Various convents and priests, the parish priest and a councillor appear to have owned this by no means inexpensive book; see F. van der Pol, *De reformatie te Kampen in de zestiende eeuw* (Kampen 1990; thesis), p. 184. The book trade in Kampen apparently acquired much of its stock from Cologne, which was easily accessible by boat.

GODFRIED'S DUTCH PUBLICATIONS

We are here concerned not with Godfried junior's entire production but only with his Dutch-language publications and especially with the political propaganda for William of Orange in the first phase of the Dutch Revolt. We shall not consider his further activities and our treatment of his materials can thus be limited to the typefaces and ornaments used in these books and pamphlets.

The first Dutch text published by the press in 1564 – we do not know who ordered it – was *Die blyde incomste, den Hertochdom van Braba(n)t [...] verleent*. The historical political rights of the Duchy of Brabant, which are there laid down and which the Spanish King Philip II had sworn to respect in 1549, were known as the most liberal in the Netherlands and even contained a clause allowing the inhabitants to rebel against their overlord if their privileges were violated.¹⁵ None of the other areas could appeal to such a right and, with the increase of the controversies, this 'rebellion article' assumed a particular relevance in 1564. That the *Incomste* should have appeared in print in that year was thus ominous, as was recognized by Granvelle's informant Morillon,¹⁶ who displayed his anxiety about the publication in a letter to his patron.¹⁷ Where the external aspect of the book is concerned (illus. 1), it was printed, strikingly enough, entirely in Roman. The press does not seem yet to have owned any Texturas, the typeface that was then in general use for Dutch-language publications. The absence of this face makes it unlikely that, as has been assumed, the firm should have produced any previous clandestine publications for the Dutch market.

A year later the supplies of the composing room appear to have expanded considerably. Hirtzhorn obtained a large order from the Birckmann heirs; the production of a Dutch Vulgate in Nicolaes van Winghe's translation. A fine reprint consequently appeared of this 'Louvain Bible' (so-called after the town where it was first published, in 1548), decorated with numerous woodcuts by the German artist Virgil Solis, which had already adorned other German Bibles. A part of the Dutch edition is dated 1565, while other copies have 1566 as the year of publication. This expensive enterprise, which must have meant about a year's work for the press, made it necessary to acquire typefaces suitable for Dutch books. Consequently we see an (originally French) Augustine Textura which was the current typeface

¹⁵ See above all H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De Blijde Inkomste en de opstand tegen Philips II', *Uit de wereld van het boek*, 1: *Humanisten, dwepers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw*, 3rd edn. (Amsterdam 1982), pp. 139–57, and the bibliography there listed.

¹⁶ Maximilian Morillon, vicar-general of the archbishop of Mechelen (Malines), an agent of Cardinal Granvelle whom he kept informed about developments in the Netherlands after his departure from the Low Countries.

¹⁷ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 15), pp. 144 f.

on this body suited to folio books in the Low Countries until about 1570.¹⁸ About the same time Godfried seems to have come into possession of two more *Texturas* which could be used for this order: a popular small face (VPT T 43, equally of French origin) for marginalia and suchlike and the old, but still much applied, *Lettersnijder Pica Textura* (VPT T 30) – the latter in a somewhat narrower and lighter southern-Netherlandish variant with a slender curved y.

In the same year of 1565 Godfried also used these types for a new edition of the *Blyde incomste*, now supplemented by two ‘additiën’, as the title-page announces. The book was evidently much in demand, for a reprint appeared less than a year later – a sign that matters such as the rights of the people and obedience to the King of Spain were still burning questions. That no less than three editions should have appeared in so short a time cannot only have been a commercial success for Godfried but must also have contributed to his reputation as a publisher.

Although new orders for political publications were not immediately forthcoming, Godfried did indeed receive an important commission for a Dutch-language edition of Martin Luther’s *Postillen* – an undertaking which could not be completed on account of the intervention of the Cologne authorities. In August 1566 the entire edition, so far as it had been printed, was confiscated when they raided the house of Philips van Wesembeke, a brother of Jacob, a notary and himself a Lutheran. This amounted to 1,500 copies in sheets running to the gathering Rrr which had already been packed in bales for transport to Antwerp.¹⁹ The title-page gives as place of publication the fake address ‘Franckfoort aende Mayn’,²⁰ but the printer was actually Godfried Hirtzhorn. The attempts of the princes Louis of Nassau and August of Saxony to persuade the local magistracy to release the confiscated sheets were futile.²¹ In this episode Philips van Wesen-

¹⁸ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT, type T 25 (pp. 130-1).

¹⁹ *Huyspostille op de Evangelien van de sondaghen ende de principaelste heylichdaeghen van het gheheel jaer, van Martinus Luyther ghepredickt, ende wt M. Jooris Roerers saligher gheschrevene boecken [...] ghetrocken [...] Nu eerst [...] wten Hoochduytsche inde Nederlantsche tale [...] overgheset* (‘Ghedrukt te Franckfoort aende Mayn’ [= Cologne, Godfried Hirtzhorn], 1566. 3 vols. in 1 binding. 4to). – Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (up to f. 393 incl.). Cf. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* ..., 22 vols. (Stuttgart 1983-95), hereafter cited as VD 16, L. 4899 (no printer is named).

²⁰ On 15 May 1567 Martin Lochler (Lecheler) asked permission in Frankfurt to reprint ‘ein Niderlandisch hausspostill, so hievor zu Coln getruckt [...] und gleichwoll daruff gesetzt, als ob es [the printing] hie zu Franckfurtt geschehen were’; see: *Die Eingliederung der niederländischen Glaubensflüchtlinge in die Frankfurter Bürgerschaft, 1554-1596. Auszüge aus den Frankfurter Ratsprotokollen*, ed. H. Meinert (Frankfurt a/M 1981), p. 147. This report confirms the existence of a Cologne edition with Frankfurt as fake address besides a reprint by Lochler which rightly gives the latter city as place of publication.

²¹ F. Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien und der niederländische Aufstand*, vol. 1 (Halle a/S/s-Gravenhage

beke was apparently behind those who ordered the publication, and may even have been one of them.²²

After the tensions of 1566 which erupted with the iconoclastic riots, a more stable political period began in which the government of the Netherlands tried to revoke the concessions which it had been forced to make in religious matters. In the spring of 1567 both the new measures taken in Brussels and the intervention of the King himself led to a sudden aggravation of the situation. Dissatisfied with what he regarded as an ineffectual approach to the problems, Philip II decided to dispatch troops under the command of the Duke of Alba with the object of bringing all those responsible for the unrest to justice. The shock which this last measure in particular caused among the population was immense. In April thousands of people decided to flee from the country before the threat of persecution. William of Orange left Antwerp in the same month – shortly after Jacob van Wesenbeke, who travelled to Dillenburg with a large number of official documents and was hospitably received by Prince John of Nassau. His departure was so hurried that he had to leave behind his wife, family and all his personal belongings.

The Prince had every reason to assist the town pensionary of Antwerp in his flight. He had already worked with him on various occasions and knew the qualities of the man who, when he was hardly twenty-two, had succeeded his father as the town's secretary. The services of so capable a supporter could turn out to be of great value in the future. Besides, Van Wesenbeke was aware of information which, if known to their opponents, might compromise a great many people: it was thus of essential importance that he should reach safety in good time.

JACOB VAN WESENBEKE AND WILLIAM OF ORANGE'S PUBLICITY

Jacob van Wesenbeke soon became one of the Prince of Orange's closest collaborators. At first he was mainly in charge of propaganda for the Revolt, but, as an agent of the Prince, he was soon intensively involved in organizing support for the resistance movement and assembling the necessary means. He travelled widely and, when he was not staying in Dillenburg, he would spend varying periods of time in different localities in the Rhineland, including Emmerich and Wesel.

The first publication in the production of which we know Van Wesenbeke to

1906), p. 345; referring to the City archive of Cologne, Ratsprotokolle, vol. 23, ff. 20 and 29 f. See also *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, ed. L. Ennen et al., vol. 4 (Köln 1875; repr. 1970), pp. 721 f. The sheets printed were supposed to be held until further orders but seem indeed to have been destroyed. This accounts for the exceptional rarity of the edition. As far as I know the copy in Wolfenbüttel (see n. 19) is the only surviving one.

²² The reference in past studies to Philips van Wesenbeke as Hirtzhorn's factor, based on this episode, is totally unfounded. The description of the book as a 'Luther Bible' is also wrong.

be involved is *La Justification du Prince d'Oranges* (Kn 159),²³ an impassioned defence of the Prince against Spanish attacks on his political position. William of Orange drew up the extensive disquisition himself with the help of the Calvinist minister Hubert Languet and of Jacob van Wesenbeke. The latter also saw to the printing of the book: a payment order in his name has survived 'zu trucken des herrn printzen excusationsschrift' (to print the apology of my lord the prince).²⁴ The French text as well as a Dutch translation, *De Verantwoordinge des Princen van Oraengien* (Kn 160),²⁵ appeared in April 1568, both without an imprint but produced by the press of Augustijn van Hasselt in Wesel.²⁶ In printing this work Plantin's factor was treading on dangerous ground, apparently behind his master's back. It was not the first occasion on which he assumed a freedom in the choice of what he printed which went way beyond Plantin's intentions with his branch,²⁷ but this time the Frenchman had every reason to be particularly annoyed.

After lengthy efforts, the future typographer royal had just obtained from Philip II his agreement to provide most of the financial support for his greatest undertaking, the publication of the Polyglot Bible, the famous *Biblia Regia*, on which he had already embarked. Large sums of money were at stake and Plantin naturally had to avoid anything that might jeopardise a subsidy gained with such difficulty. If it were to be known that he was implicated, however marginally, in publishing an apology for the King's most bitter opponent, Philip's support would undoubtedly be withdrawn – quite apart from the danger to which Plantin might be exposed personally. He thus had no alternative but to hastily forbid Augustijn to accept any further orders from that quarter, and it is consequently hardly surprising that all later manifestos for the Prince should have been produced by another press.²⁸

²³ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, vol. I, part I: 1486-1620.

²⁴ Van Someren, art. cit. (n. I: (I)), pp. 93 f.

²⁵ Reprinted in *Verantwoordinge, Verklaringhe ende Waerschouwinghe mitsgaders eene Hertgrondighe begheerte des [...] Princen van Oraengien*, ed. M.G. Schenk (Amsterdam 1933), pp. 23-81. On the *Verantwoordinge*, see also P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. 1978), hereafter cited as Geurts, pp. 26 f.

²⁶ For this branch of Plantin's firm, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90. For the titles of the two publications here mentioned, *ibidem*, p. 189, nos. W 13 and W 14.

²⁷ The books which Augustijn van Hasselt printed in 1567, the first year of his activity in Wesel, include a Reformed *Somme van de leere der sacramenten* and an edition of Petrus Bloccius' *Meer dan twee hondert ketterryen, blasphemien en (de) nieuwe leeringen, welck uut de Mine zyn ghecomen*, a fiercely anti-Catholic work which cannot have had Plantin's approval. See Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 26), pp. 164 ff., p. 186 (W 2) and p. 188 (W 9).

²⁸ In this connection we might wonder whether Augustijn's arbitrary behaviour did not influence

Shortly afterwards, in May, the defence of another rebel was published, the *Défense* (BT 1758)²⁹ of Antoine de Lalaing, Count of Hoogstraten. As one of the most prominent supporters of William of Orange he, too, was charged with treason to his King, but he, too, had managed to avoid prosecution by flight. At the end of his apology we find the information: ‘... avons soubscrit, a Cologne, ceste nostre presente Defense [...] le 25 d’Avril 1568’. This apology was thus composed in Cologne and the printer was undoubtedly Hirtzhorn. We do not know whether, and to what extent, Van Wesenbeke was involved in the production of this work, but it is generally assumed that he was.

It was not long before William of Orange published a new attack on the Spanish government: *Verklaers ende uutschrift des [...] Prince van Orangien etc. ende zijner Excellentien nootsakelicke defensie teghen den Duca de Alba ende zijne grouwelijcke tyrannye* (Mach. W 78; illus. 2).³⁰ With the same date, 20 July 1568, there appeared a French edition: *Rescript et declaration ...* (BB G 52, BT 4890) and a German translation, *Bekendnus ...* (BB G 59).³¹ This manifesto of the Prince provides an extensive justification of his policy towards Philip and a summary of the reasons which led him to take up arms. Each of the three publications has a fine engraving of the Prince’s escutcheon, and they are all polished products executed with the same care. Van Wesenbeke was closely involved in the publication, and possibly also in the composition, of the text: a document has survived in which the Count of Hoogstraten told him ‘das er das ausschreyben fürderlich woll trücken lassen.’³² This piece of propaganda was thus printed by Hirtzhorn in three languages and was soon followed by some more simply composed proclamations urging the population to rise up against Spanish rule.

Plantin’s decision to close his branch some months later. At that point he took back the French types and made over the printing-press, the remaining typographical material and his factor Augustijn to the Family of Love, whereupon the sect removed the press to Cologne. See P. Valkema Blouw, ‘Was Plantin a member of the Family of Love? Notes on his dealings with Hendrik Niclaes’, *Quærendo*, 23 (1993), pp. 3-23 (pp. 17 f.).

²⁹ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC, in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), hereafter cited as BT. – See also Geurts, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 32.

³⁰ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter cited as Mach. – Schenk (n. 25), pp. 99-116, provides a text which has been taken from a publication, also dated 1568, entitled *Verklaringhe ende uutschrift ...* (Kn 164; BB G 54). This, however, is a reprint, probably produced by the press of Willem Gailliart in Emden. Other pirate editions also appeared; see, for example, BB G 55 and G 56.

³¹ Various pirate editions of the French and German versions also appeared abroad; see, for example, BB G 53, G 57 (VD 16, no. o 835), G 58 and VD 16, no. o 834 (*Erklärung und Ausschreiben ...*).

³² *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la Maison d’Orange-Nassau*, ed. G. Groen van Prinsterer, vol. 3 (Leiden 1836), p. 244. See also Fruin, art. cit. (n. 6), p. 126 and Geurts, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 28.

One of these works is dated 31 August, a few weeks before the beginning of the campaign against Alva's troops under the command of the Prince of Orange and led on various fronts at the same time. The French edition is entitled *Lettres du Seigneur Prince d'Oranges, &c. A tous les sujets du Pais Bas* (BT 4885); the Dutch version does not have a proper title but starts on the first page with a greeting: *Willem byder gratien Gods Prince toe Orangien [...] Allen ghetrouwen ondersaten des Con. Mai. in den Nederlanden, Saluyt* (Kn 167a). The Low German translation, intended for the inhabitants of the border areas, has a similar opening.³³ The choice of words preserves the fiction that the revolt is not against the king but against the governors who are misinterpreting his policy.

These were immediately followed by *Waerschovvinghe des Princen van Oraengien aende ingheseten ende ondersaten vanden Nederlanden* (Kn 168a, Mach. W 80) and the French version *Advertence du Prince d'Oranges aux sujets et habitants du Pais Bas* (Kn 169, BT 4875). They both have 1 September 1568 as date of issue ('Gegeven in onsen veltlegheer' - 'Issued from our fieldarmy') and bear the motto 'Pro lege rege et grege' which we also find in an appeal by the Prince of Orange two weeks later: *Allen ende elckerlicken capiteynen, volck van wapenen ende anderen [...] krijchsluyden van Nederlant* (Kn 170a, BT 4880), in French *A tous capitaines, hommes d'armes, et autres [...] soldatz du Pais Bas* (Kn 170). These manifestos, too, are printed with Hirtzhorn's typographical material and thus show that, on account of his relationship with Van Wesenbeke, he had now conquered a firm position as printer to the Prince of Orange.³⁴

This, however, was by no means the end of the Prince's publicity campaign. On 18 September the same press produced a tart pamphlet, the French edition of which was entitled: *Copie des horribles points et articles, concluz par le Duc d'Alve & son nouveau Conseil de Douze* (Mach. N 86). It provides the text of a plan allegedly discovered in the apartment of one of Alva's councillors. On the basis of this dubious document the Governor was now accused of the most sinister intentions: he wanted to introduce a series of drastic interdictions the infringement of which was punishable by death. The Spanish side was particularly indignant about this unsubtle form of propaganda by their opponents and efforts were made to lay hands on the culprits. Morillon even suggested that anyone found in possession of a copy should be interrogated about

³³ After the only known copy (Copenhagen, Royal Library), described by C. Borchling & B. Clausen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, vols. 1-3 (Neumünster 1931-57; repr. Nieuwkoop 1976), no. 1980; VD 16, no. 0 827.

³⁴ The pamphlets were distributed free of charge. One morning, in Antwerp, a man was standing by one of the bridges and gave them to the passers-by (see *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 2 (s.a., but c.1865), pp. 425 ff. The number of copies printed must thus have been considerable, even if the number of surviving copies is minimal. The Spanish authorities were aware of the danger of this kind of propaganda, but did not manage to come up with an adequate answer to it in time. Various texts were composed, but none of them were actually published; see Geurts pp. 29 ff.

how he had obtained it. By tracing it back, he believed, it must be possible to arrive at the author and the printer. This impossible plan was characteristic of the impotence of the authorities when it came to protecting themselves from such writings. Even attempts to undermine the propaganda with counter-attacks were unsuccessful.

There is no doubt that a Dutch edition of this aggressive pamphlet was also issued, but no copy has hitherto come to light. An almost contemporary pirate edition, however, has indeed survived, *Copie van den puncten ende articulen, ghesloten by den Hertoghe van Alba ende synen nieuwen Raet van twelven*, also dated 18 September 1568 but not printed by Hirtzhorn.³⁵

Towards the end of the year Hirtzhorn produced two more appeals to the population to rebel against their rulers. The *Clachte des verdructe(n) Nederlandts over zijn slappe onghetrouwe ingheboerne die tot hen eygen verlossinghe niet en helpen* (BT 8616),³⁶ the French edition of which is entitled *Complainte de la desolee terre du País Bas ...* (Kn 172), reveals the Prince's disappointment at how little support he had received from the population in the campaign he had organized and, to a large extent, subsidized, and which had failed partly as a result of this lack of participation.

A month later *Getrouwe vermaninge aenden inwoonderen der Nederlanden*, a new appeal, was published, again in two languages³⁷ – pamphlets which, as the historian Pieter Christiaensz Bor reported, were dispatched and distributed all over the country, ‘alom gesonden en gestroit’.³⁸ Although the direct cause of this publication was dif-

³⁵ Geurts p. 37. The copy is in Amsterdam UL. A further pirated edition appeared as an appendix to the *Cort verhael op de middelen die de Cardinael van Lorainen [...] ghebruyct om groot te maken Zyn huys [...] daerinne wort verhaelt de oorsake vande binnenlantsche oorlogen inden conincrijcke van Vrancryck [...] Overghesedt uut de Fransoysche [...] tale [...] uut ghegheven door [...] Loys hertoch van Bourbon (s.l.e.n. [Emden?, Willem Gailliart?], ‘ghedruet int jaer 1568’)*. This text is followed, with a separate title-page, but running signatures (L⁴), by *Copie van den puncten ...* [etc.]. See Mach. K 17. Loose copies of this fragment are to be found in Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (RNA), and Utrecht, UL (cf. J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten [in de] Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Utrecht niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22), hereafter cited as Van Someren, no. 38). They were presumably also sold separately.

³⁶ Geurts p. 39 f. Reprinted, with a reproduction of the title-page, in *De Navorscher*, 55 (1905), pp. 126 and 132-8. The Dutch text is probably the original one and the French text a translation. It is also reproduced in P. Fredericq, *Het Nederlandsche proza in de zestiende eeuwse pamfletten uit den tijd der beroerten, met eene bloemlezing (1566-1600) ...* (Bruxelles 1907), pp. 18-23.

³⁷ *Getrouwe vermaninge aenden inwoonderen der Nederlanden, tegen de ydele ende valsche hopen daermede sy van hen verdruckers worden verleit (s.l.e.n. 1568)*. Reprinted in *De Navorscher*, 55 (see previous note), pp. 126-7 and 138-47, with reproduction of the title-page, and in Fredericq, op. cit. (n. 36), pp. 23-32. The title of the French translation is *Fidelle exhortation aux habitants du País Bas, contre les vains & faux espoirs dont leurs oppresseurs les font amuser* (Kn 171, BB E 21). It appeared after 11 November since it was written against Alba's edict on printing issued on that date; see Geurts p. 40.

³⁸ P.C. Bor, *Oorsprongk, begin en vervolg der Nederlantsche oorlogen, beroerten en borgerlijke oneenigheden ...*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam 1679), p. 255.

ferent from that of the *Clachte*, the tone is similar: both of them are clearly intended to provoke resistance against the Spanish government. As we have already said, the two works are very likely to have been by the same author.³⁹ At all events they were produced at about the same time by the same press.

In view of his other literary activities in this period there is every reason to assume that the author was Jacob van Wesenbeke. Shortly after the military failure of the campaign, he entered the Prince's service permanently. He was appointed councillor and was in charge of the publicity of the Revolt. His first great work on the subject had already appeared: *La déduction de l'innocence de [...] Philippe [...] de Montmorency [...] conte de Hornes [...] Contre la malicieuse apprehension [...] & tyrannique execution en sa personne ...* 'Imprimé au mois de Septembre 1568' (BB W 29; BT 4676). This defence of the executed count is a voluminous book in which numerous historical documents are reported and which is consequently an important source for our knowledge of the developments in 1566 and 1567.⁴⁰ At about the same time there appeared a Dutch translation of the work: *De beweysinghe vande onschult van mijn Heere Philips baenreheere van Montmorency, grave van Hoorne ...* (BB W 31; BT 4674).⁴¹

Only a few months later, in January 1569, another book by Van Wesenbeke was published, this time in his own defence before the charges advanced against him by the Council of Troubles. The work probably only appeared in French: *La défense de Jacques de Wesenbeke [...] contre les indeuës & iniques citations contre luy decretees* (BB W 33; Van Someren 44). It did not help the author: he was banished from the Netherlands for life and all his property was confiscated. Besides his own apology, he published a further work in the same year for the posthumous rehabilitation of one of his friends:

³⁹ Geurts, p. 40: 'Het lijkt er zelfs op dat de twee pamfletten van dezelfde auteur zijn.' (The two pamphlets even seem to be by the same author).

⁴⁰ '... ongetwijfeld het gewichtigste dcr geheele literatuur van verweerschriften, om den rijken voorraad van authentieke stukken, die er aan toegevoegd is' (... undoubtedly the most important among all the apologies on account of the rich supply of archival documents added to it). For the attribution to Van Wesenbeke and a discussion of the work, see Fruin, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 117 f., and Geurts p. 33.

⁴¹ Geurts, pp. 33 f. The expenses of the publication were probably covered by the Prince; see Fruin, art. cit. (n. 6), p. 118. — An undescribed variant of the Dutch edition exists in which the last half quire (pp. 673 ff.) has been replaced by 4 pages in a different typeface. The verso of p. 675, where the 5 pages of errata begin in the other copies, is blank. A number of impressions of the last sheet must have been lost and the remaining copies of the book were completed in this manner. Such a copy is to be found in Nijmegen, UL. — A reissue (BB W 32; BT 4675) of this remaining edition without the errata exists, dated 1579, in which the title-page and the last leaves of the preliminaries have been reprinted. A reissue of the French edition was produced in the same way in 1579 (BB W 30; BT 4677). The assumption in BB and elsewhere that this date rests on a misprint must be rejected. There are other examples of the remainders of publications from the 1560s which were again launched on the market during the political thaw of 1578/9.

*Corte vermaninghe aen alle christenen opt vonnisse oft advis [...] met grooter wreetheit te wercke ghestelt teghen Heer Anthonis van Stralen.*⁴² The victim, one of the burgomasters of Antwerp, had been executed shortly before on the orders of the Council of Troubles.

It is not difficult to establish that all these publications came off a German press. The Dutch publications have, besides the three Texturas mentioned previously, various German Fractura typefaces in the titles and headings: a Grobe Canon; the 'Grobe Fraktur Bapsts' (180 mm) and a Tertia Fraktur (116 mm).⁴³ There was no printer in the northern or southern Netherlands who owned all three of these typefaces at the time, but, as we see from his signed products, they appear together with other German typefaces in work by Hirtzhorn. The French-language publications have as a typeface, besides the Augustine and Philosophie Romans of Haultin and one of Granjons Pica Italics,⁴⁴ Tavernier's Long Primer Roman (VPT R 32) as the smallest type and Guyot's Ascendonica Roman (Double Pica; VPT R 17) for headings.

It is the initials, however, which make Hirtzhorn's work particularly recognizable. Together with a number of loose blocks, probably the early property of the press, he had four presumably complete series of them. Two display such a similarity that it seems likely that they were made by the same designer. It is probably work produced in Cologne and the accomplished technique with which they are cut points to the school of Anton Woensam of Worms. The largest set measures 32 x 30 mm and the medium one 24 x 22 mm. Both have heavy black capitals with various kinds of ornamental decoration. A third, smaller set with 'white' letters is less spectacular but can also be regarded as characteristic of this press. A fourth alphabet consists of German calligraphic initials of a design which was also used by other printers.

It is not yet clear whether this combination of typefaces and initials is only to be found in work by Hirtzhorn or also elsewhere. We ought to know this before we can establish the origin of the products with certainty: a reliable attribution is basically only possible when all the material of every likely press can be compared.

⁴² The only known copy of this work is in Utrecht UL, cf. Van Someren no. 43 and *idem*, art. cit. (n. 1: [I]), pp. 73 f. As far as I know no copy has ever come to light of a French edition which is supposed to have appeared according to the historian Charles Rahlenbeck; see Geurts, pp. 32 f.

⁴³ The names have been taken from Hieronymus Hornschuch, *Orthotypographia* (Lipsiae 1608; repr. 1940, ed. Otto Clemen, and repr. 1983, ed. M. Boghardt), pp. 40-2, where brief specimens of these typefaces are given.

⁴⁴ His 'Mediane Cursive pendante', as this typeface is called in Plantin's *Folio specimen*; see *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), p. 4, no. 27; A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308 (pp. 294 f.), no. 7 and fig. 6; also in his *Selected Essays on Books and Printing* (Amsterdam 1970), p. 263, *id.*

Unfortunately little groundwork has been done in this domain in Germany. A limited investigation into the work of other printers in Cologne, however, shows that there are so many differences that it seems reasonable, also in view of the historical context, to indicate Hirtzhorn as the printer.

Then, in August 1569, there appeared, in two languages, the book which, more than any other, has contributed to Van Wesenbeke's fame as a historian, the previously mentioned *Description de l' estat, succes et occurrences, advenues au País bas au faict de la Religion ...* (BB W 34), here, too, provided with a large number of items of evidence and historical documents. The title of the Dutch edition is *De beschrijvinge van den gheschiedenissen inder religien saken toeghedragen in den Nederlanden [...] soo die aldaer sedert [...] 1500 gebeurt zijn, ende besondere sedert dat Coninc Philips de tweede daer geregeert heeft* (BB W 35). Godfried Hirtzhorn was the anonymous printer of both editions, of which the Dutch one is dated 1559 because of a printer's error. Unfortunately only the first part of the work appeared in the two languages: the author presumably had the next part ready⁴⁵ but could see no way to having it printed. The German and the Latin translations which he hoped to publish did not materialize either. He himself lacked the necessary means and the Prince appears to have thought that, in the difficult financial situation in which he had been plunged after his military ventures, there was insufficient money for a matter which could only serve the cause of the Dutch Revolt marginally. Nevertheless he is said to have promised to make the publication of a two-volume edition in German possible.⁴⁶

Here, too, the value of the work resides largely in the many official documents which the author had taken with him on his flight and reproduced as an appendix. The documentary interest of this material induced Bor to include almost all the items in his *Oorsprongk, begin en vervolg der Nederlandsche oorlogen* (1679).⁴⁷ The importance of that reprint was due to the inaccessibility of the book. As early as in 1616 the Dutch original was evidently so hard to find that the Breda publisher Isaac Schilders resolved to publish the work anew in a (poor) translation of the French text (BB W 36-8). The number of copies of the original edition must therefore have been very limited – and this is understandable at a time when the paper used to print a book of any size formed a larger part of the costs than the wages of the compositors.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See Fruin, art. cit. (n. 6), p. 114. The author's hope that the missing part should exist somewhere in manuscript has so far proved vain. Geurts, pp. 33 f.

⁴⁶ Fruin, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 126 f.; Van Someren, art. cit. (n. 1: [II]), p. 67; Geurts, pp. 33 f.

⁴⁷ Bor, op. cit. (n. 38), pp. 49-120: 'Byvoegsel van authentieke stukken'.

⁴⁸ For the costs of printing a book in this period, see the data provided by L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A history and Evaluation of the Printing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols (Amsterdam/London/New York 1972), vol. 2, pp. 379-86: 'Costing'.

GODFRIED'S LAST PUBLICATIONS

In 1569 there also appeared, without an imprint, an apology in defence of a man from the southern Netherlands, Adriaen van Vossenhole. This Antwerp doctor and astronomer – he compiled a number of prognostications over the years – objected to the accusation that he had tried to persuade Christoffel Fabricius, a local minister who was executed in 1564, to abandon his resistance to his judges. Having emigrated to Cologne, he decided to defend himself publicly against the charge and wrote his *Apologia D. Adriani Vossenholii, dat is een verantwoordinge tegen de ghene die van hem in een boecxken gheintituleert: Historie ende gheschiedenisse Christophori Fabritj, &c, ghescreven [...] hebben ...* (s.l.e.n. 1569), BB V 137.⁴⁹ Although this book contains no ornamentation other than a number of typographical fleurons, Hirtzhorn was almost certainly the printer. The characteristic composition of these ornaments can be found in the very same form in other work by him, such as his *Explicationes* by Theophylact – as can all the typefaces used.

Finally we can attribute a few more political publications from later years to our printer. First there is the proclamation which the Prince of Orange issued for his second campaign. This *D. Guilielmi Nassauii principis Aurantii etc., Germaniam inferiorem libertati vindicantis ad ordines et populum denuntiatio* (Kn 194) is dated 16 June 1572, but the Prince had already seen the first copies of the printed edition on 30 May.⁵⁰ He had given his consent to the drafting of such a declaration earlier,⁵¹ but he now expressed his displeasure in the fact that Van Wesenbeke had had the work printed without waiting for the text to be approved. He consequently wanted to see the French and German

⁴⁹ The book in which Van Vossenhole was attacked, *Historie ende gheschiedenisse ...*, was originally published in 1564 by Dirck Buyter in Vianen a few weeks after the execution. The author is supposed to have been Joris Wybo, a fellow-minister of Fabritius in Antwerp. In 1565 a revised and expanded reprint, edited by Guy de Brès, was published by Goossen Goebens in Sedan. For these editions, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem Press in Sedan and Emden', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 253 ff. and the bibliography there listed.

⁵⁰ *Archives*, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 262, [Lettre no.] CXV; the Prince to Wesenbeke, 30 May 1572: 'Wesenbeke, J'ay par ce porteur receu vostre lettre du 22e jour de ce mois [...] J'ay aussy veu ce qu'avez fait imprimer de ma part pour faire semer au pays et servir d'exhortation aux habitans d'icelluy. Mais je vouldrois que ne l'eussiez divulgué devant me l'avoir communiqué, ainsy que je vous avois escript, principalement ce qui est en langue francheise et allemande.'

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 260. Van Someren thought that this referred to another political pamphlet, Henricus Geldorp's anonymously published *Hypodeixis* (Kn 189-90; Geurts, pp. 43 f.). This 'Indication of how the Netherlands should be liberated from the Spaniards', by a Dutch friend of Van Wesenbeke's, the former rector of the grammar school in Duisburg, is dated 17 April 1571 and is printed in Germany but not by Hirtzhorn. The Prince, however, in support of whose policy the work was primarily intended, did not think it should be published. It was thus put aside and was only distributed in 1574, with a date changed with a stamp.

editions before they were distributed. This probably resulted in their never being printed: no copies of them are known. The episode marked the end of Van Wesenbeke's work for William of Orange: the Prince had apparently had enough of the self-willed behaviour and the often too optimistic ventures of his councillor. With a not unkind but rather cool note he was relieved of his duties.⁵²

Van Wesenbeke's dismissal also meant the end of Hirtzhorn's activities for the Prince. With the progression of the Revolt the propaganda campaign shifted to the liberated cities in the northern Netherlands, particularly to Delft and Dordrecht. It was no longer necessary to look abroad for a printer who could inform the population about the military operations and urge them to continue to resist.

Hirtzhorn thus lost his Dutch orders but launched a pirate edition of *Translaet vande brieven van gratie ende pardoen generael, byde Co. Maiesteyt gegeven ...* (Van Someren 46) for which he took over the original imprint 'Geprint inde Princelijcke Stadt van Bruessele by Michiel van Hamont [...] 1570' (BT 2539/40) (illus 3). The types are the Dutch Texturas (VPT T 25 and T 30) which were used by many printers, but the headline of the title is set in a face which Van Hamont never used: the German Grobe Canon which we have already encountered in work by Hirtzhorn. The text, moreover, starts with his 'white' initial P, so there is no doubt that the address is fake. Hirtzhorn must have seen some advantage in reprinting an edict issued by the government in Brussels which made it possible for many emigrants to return home without too much danger. The year 1570 on the title-page is of the original edition, but the reprint must have been produced some time later. In contrast to his earlier and very meticulous printing the presswork is strikingly careless.

The last Dutch-language book 'Gedruckt tot Cuelen by Godefrido Hertshorn' appeared in 1577: *Laetus introitus. Die blyde incomst den hertochdomme van Brabant [...] verleent*. This new edition of the work is expanded with commentaries by the Antwerp jurist Juris Vivien who had also moved to Cologne in the meantime.⁵³ On the title page we have Hirtzhorn's printer's device⁵⁴ and there thus seems to be no reason to doubt its origin. Yet it remains surprising that nothing seems to have been published by him between 1572 and 1577, that he is no longer mentioned anywhere, and that, from a typographical point of view, *Laetus introitus* has remarkably little in common with his earlier publications. The printer's device, moreover, seems to have been recut. It is thus quite possible that Godfried had got rid of the press and limited himself to working as a book dealer and occasionally republishing an item

⁵² *Archives*, op. cit. (n. 8), p. 262, [Lettre no.] CXV.

⁵³ For this adaptation and its political significance, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 15), pp. 148 f.

⁵⁴ P. Heitz, *Die Kölner Büchermarken bis Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*. Mit Nachrichten über die Drucker von O. Zaretsky (Strassburg 1898), Pl. XXIX, no. 90.

from his stock of many years earlier. He may also have died in, or about, 1573. This cannot be ascertained, however. Biographical information about Cologne printers in the late sixteenth century is often strikingly scarce and the later destiny of the last Hirtzhorn remains a mystery.⁵⁵

With what has here been said, the picture of William of Orange's propaganda in the first years of the Dutch struggle for independence obtains a firmer outline. In this connection I would like to quote the words pronounced many years ago on the subject by Professor Herman de la Fontaine Verwey:⁵⁶ 'In no war, as Schiller had already observed, has the printing-press played such a decisive role. A century after its invention the art of typography proved its irresistible power as a double-edged sword in the religious and political struggles which we can follow day after day in the uninterrupted flow of pamphlets [...]. I hope that one day attention will also be paid to the bibliographical history of the pamphlets which might bring to light interesting information about the authors, the printers, their diffusion and so on.' This article has endeavoured to fulfil this wish for the initial phase of the Revolt.

Finally, a further point: in 1572 Hirtzhorn was involved in the publication of a book by an emigré poet from the southern Netherlands: *Verscheiden poetixse wercken* by Jan van der Noot.⁵⁷ This is a recently discovered reissue of his *Het Bosken*, printed in London, in which the original preliminary matter has been replaced by two gatherings with eulogies mainly dedicated to notables in Cologne. The author had left England and had lately been living in Cologne or its vicinity. He there pursued his habit of dedicating poems to people from circles which were capable – and, it was hoped, prepared – to provide some sort of reward for such tributes. This is the last dated Dutch book that can be ascribed to Hirtzhorn's press with any certainty. In the same year two other publications by Van der Noot appeared, but they are in German and by another printer. Even in the preliminaries printed by Hirtzhorn for *Verscheiden poetixse wercken* we come across occasional German linguistic forms. This could suggest that a German compositor had been employed: our printer may already have laid down his tools.

⁵⁵ On 20 April 1573 Godevaert jr. visited Antwerp, presumably for the last time, in order to arrange family affairs. Some weeks later he sent a proxy for that purpose; the authorization was passed in Cologne on 20 May 1573. See Boeren, art. cit. (n. 9), p. 50.

⁵⁶ In a lecture delivered in 1956. See De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 15), p. 139.

⁵⁷ Jan van der Noot, *Verscheiden poetixse wercken* (Keulen 1572). *Het voorwerk*, introd., publ. and expl. K. Porteman & W. Waterschoot (Leuven/Amersfoort 1990), *passim*. See also W. Waterschoot, 'Jan van der Noot's *Het Bosken* re-examined', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), pp. 28-45 (pp. 31 ff.).

THE 'PUNCTEN' (POINTS) ATTRIBUTED TO ALVA

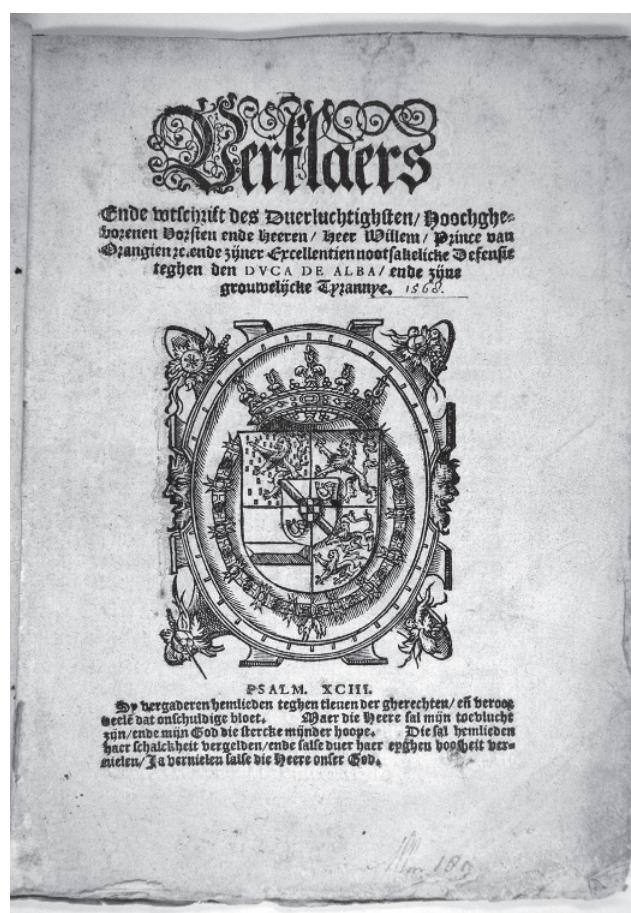
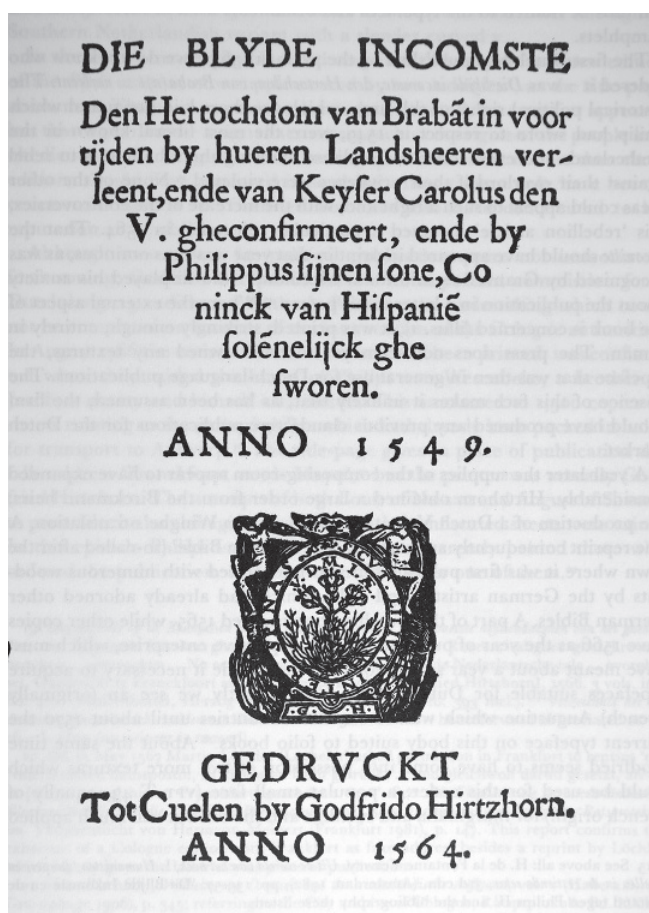
Only on rare occasions does the author of a bibliographical article receive such a welcome addendum to his work as Dr Anna E.C. Harvey-Simoni recently sent to me. After the appearance of 'A Cologne Printer Working for William of Orange', *Quaerendo*, 25 (1995), pp. 3-23, she brought to my attention another edition of one of the works discussed there: *Copie van den puncten ende articulen, ghesloten by den Hertoghe van Alba ende zynen nieuwen Raet van twelven* (Copy of the points and articles in an agreement between the Duke of Alva and his new Council of twelve; see n. 35 in the aforesaid article). The British Library has two copies of this unreported edition.⁵⁸ Remember that we are speaking of a work, believed to come from the circles of the Prince of Orange, that claims to provide the text of a Spanish plan for the definitive subjugation of the Netherlands. I have not found any Cologne edition of the original Dutch version of this pamphlet, but I saw a few other editions as well as a contemporary French translation, the latter from the press of the Prince of Orange's printer in Cologne, Godfried Hirtzhorn.

Among the Dutch editions reported in my article is one of eight pages, collating L⁴, bound after and continuing the signatures of another anonymous book: *Cort verhael op de middelen die de Cardinael van Lorainen [...] ghebruyct om groot te maken zijn huis* (Short account of the means that the Cardinal of Lorraine uses to expand the influence of his house) ([Emden, Willem Gailliart?], 1568).⁵⁹ The London copies are a variant of this supplement, which was apparently also sold separately, since it is repeatedly found alone. They are printed from different matter, now independently signed and collating A⁴. From the photocopies that Mrs Harvey-Simoni kindly provided, it is clear that A⁴ and L⁴ come from the same printing-office and show only differences in spelling.

This raises the question as to whether there actually was a Cologne edition of the Dutch text. It seems quite possible that the success of the Dutch edition published elsewhere led members of the Prince's camp to issue this piece of propaganda in French as well. It is no surprise that a publisher in Emden would have seen no advantage in it, but for political propaganda in the southern Netherlands other considerations apply. The existence of a Cologne edition in French therefore does not necessarily imply that the pamphlet also appeared there in Dutch. Perhaps there is no point in searching for such an edition.

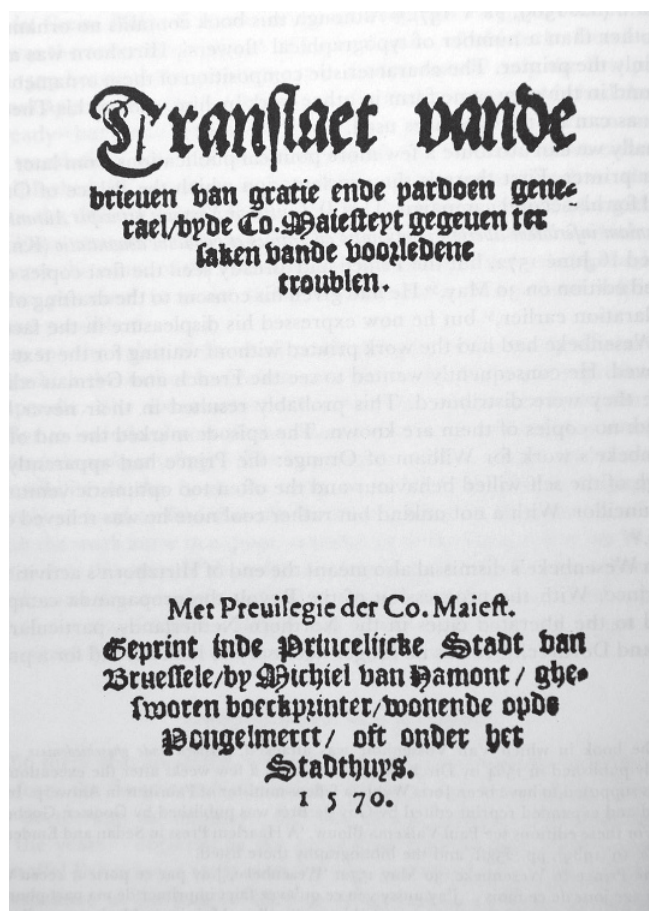
⁵⁸ *Short-title catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands and Belgium, and of Dutch and Flemish books printed in other countries, from 1470 to 1600, now in the British Museum* (London 1965), p. 5 s.v. Alvarez de Toledo.

⁵⁹ See the article cited above, in *Quaerendo*, 25 (1995), p. 15 and notes 35-6.



1
Blyde incomste (Cologne, Godfried Hirtzhorn, 1564)
 (Scan from the original publication)

2
 William of Orange, *Verklaers ende uutschrift*. (s.l.e.a. [Cologne, Godfried Hirtzhorn, 1568])
 (Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. A10ab)



3

Translaet vande brieuen van gratie (Bruessele, Michiel van Hamont [= Cologne, Godfried Hirtzhorn], 1570)

(Scan from the original publication)

PLANTIN'S CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES

1555 to 1583



If the identification of anonymous printed work is one of the most intriguing activities known to a bibliographer¹ – something to which many of those with any experience in the matter will subscribe – it must also be admitted that the Dutch book is a particularly fascinating object of research. In no other country was so much printed material launched on the market at such an early stage by publishers who concealed their identity for fear of possible persecution. They did so by means of anonymity, false names, fictitious addresses, predating and other measures. In the sixteenth century the Low Countries witnessed the appearance of many hundreds, and in the seventeenth century of many thousands, of books and smaller publications without an imprint or any other indication of their origin.

In the past such identifications were mainly conducted by incunabulists, but we now know that the origin of many unsigned products of the sixteenth century can also be established by bibliographical methods. As our knowledge of the typographical material owned by the many presses of the time has increased, an ever greater number of reliable attributions has become possible.² In the last ten years or so we have been afforded a greater insight into certain clandestine operations of Plantin – activities which took place in Kampen, Vianen, Wesel and Antwerp itself.³ The appearance of Leon Voet's *Plantin Press*, and the consequent availability

¹ 'It is just this fact, that there is always a chance of lighting on new problems and new methods of demonstration, that with almost every new book we take up we are in new country, unexplored and trackless, and that yet such discoveries we may make are real discoveries, not mere matters of opinion, provable things that no amount of after-investigation can shake, that lends such a fascination to bibliographical research.' R.B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, 2nd edn. with corr. (Oxford 1928), p. 5.

² Above all since the appearance of the standard work by H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT.

³ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt', *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984) pp. 247-72; *id.*, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90; *id.*, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *ibid.*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127; *id.*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibid.*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103; *id.*, 'Plantin's betrekkingen met Hendrik Niclaes', *De Gulden Passer*, 66-7 (1988/9), pp. 121-58; R. Breugelmans, 'Twee anonieme Leidse Plantijndrukken uit 1584', *ibid.*, pp. 163-70; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Was Plantin a member of the Family of Love? Notes on his dealings with Hendrik Niclaes',

of the impressive amount of information it contains,⁴ has made various sorts of new discovery possible.

The phenomenon is familiar enough: the publication of a bibliography immediately arouses renewed interest in the subject treated. The work gives an up-to-date survey of the field, provides a new frame of reference, and thus stimulates further research. In our case the survey of such a large and important list provides openings in various directions as well as the indication of possible connections and further related topics. Although these factors are less significant than the stream of information in the book itself, they, too, are of interest and can frequently lead to astonishing results.

In writing his standard work and tracing Plantin's publications Professor Voet based himself mainly on the sources held in the Plantin-Moretus Museum. These archives constitute a unique example of an entire administration set up in the sixteenth century and scrupulously kept up-to-date and preserved ever since. They include both the accounts and the office files of the *Officina*. We can assume that the many registers and folders still contain almost everything which the founder of the firm and his successors thought they should record and preserve. Plantin, however, was not only an enthusiastic publisher: he was also a particularly cautious and far-sighted man who was always determined to reduce as much as possible the risks entailed by his many initiatives. His prudent behaviour can be observed whenever he was on the verge of clashing with the secular authorities and the official regulations. He was a master in evaluating the possible dangers and in discovering the means of effecting a retreat whenever it seemed unavoidable.⁵

That prohibited activities always demanded the greatest caution in such dangerous times is obvious. Strict secrecy was necessary – and that meant that anything to do with clandestine publications had to be kept out of the account books, for what could be more incriminating evidence than one's own business records? Whatever information Plantin wished to retain in that connection would have been noted down in a provisional form. The fact that, with the exception of a few vague allusions in a letter, we should find no reference to these underground publications, does not mean that they never existed: the lack of any reports about them is simply a logical consequence of their clandestine nature.

Quaerendo, 23 (1993), pp. 3-23. – Cited hereafter as: VB (n. 3: 1984) etc. These articles contain a more extensive treatment of a number of the attributions I shall mention.

⁴ L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle, 6 vols. (Amsterdam 1980-3), hereafter cited as Voet PP.

⁵ In writing this article I have assumed that the reader is aware of the present state of research on Plantin as described in L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), hereafter cited as Voet GC.

It is thus understandable that, however complete his business records, no evidence should survive of the financial results of Plantin's work in this domain in his account books, and that the titles in question should also be missing in the lists kept by the firm of its own publications. But this was the very part of the archives on which Voet's investigation into Plantin's output was largely based.⁶ Consequently a not unimportant sector remains out of sight – a hiatus which the author could only occasionally fill in with the results of research performed elsewhere. Since then, however, bibliographical methods – namely the analysis of his typographical material – have made it possible to gain access to the invisible part of Plantin's production. This is a method which has yielded so many results in various fields in the last decades that any doubts about its value and effectiveness seem to have been dissipated. A summary description of the procedure can be found in an earlier article in this journal.⁷

Plantin's work is particularly well-suited to such an approach because he used French typographical matter at an early stage. With the exception of Willem Silvius, who entered into possession of a large part of the original inventory of the *Officina* in 1562,⁸ Plantin's colleagues in the southern Netherlands long limited themselves to the domestic typesets of Guyot and Tavernier. Plantin's publications are thus clearly distinguishable in their typographical appearance from what was printed elsewhere in the Netherlands in that period, and, because of their distinctive appearance, are often easy to identify. In practice this applies above all to the Dutch texts, since these were never, or hardly ever, printed in France. The recognizability naturally holds good above all for books containing initials from one of the numerous series owned by Plantin⁹ – even if he tended not to use them in publications which were politically dangerous.

In recent years this method has brought to light various new, and sometimes very surprising, facts about Plantin's activities, and has made it possible to ascribe to him a number of anonymous publications. His relations with colleagues such as Willem Silvius, heterodox authors such as Hendrik Niclaes and Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt ('Hiël'), and collaborators such as Augustijn van Hasselt and Lenaert der Kinderen, have thus become clearer. A number of these bibliographical results,

⁶ Besides the journals, Voet based himself above all on three manuscript catalogues in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (cited hereafter as PMM): MS 164, MS 296 en MS 321. For a survey of their content and the extent and value of the information they provide, see the 'Introduction' in Voet *PP*, pp. xxviii-xxx. MS 296 was a particularly rich source of data.

⁷ VB (n. 3: 1988/9), pp. 122 ff.

⁸ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius' remarkable start, 1559-62', *Quaerendo*, 20 (1990), pp. 167-206 (pp. 193 ff.).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

however, are reported in publications in which they are accompanied by a great deal of other information. They have consequently received less prominence than they deserve. In view of the place held by the proto-typographer in the history of the book and the existing interest in his life and work, I believe it is worth giving a survey of those anonymous editions which have recently been added to his output.¹⁰

The following list thus consists partly of a brief report of results which have already been published elsewhere in a more extensive form. In addition there is a certain amount of information about publications by Plantin which have not yet been recognized as his own work. The list is largely chronological. Further details published previously are to be found in the literature quoted.

PLANTIN'S EARLY PERIOD

1555, As far as we know, the first work which Plantin printed in secret (and consequently kept out of his business records) was Guy de Brès' *Le baston de la foy Chrestienne*, a book which appeared in 1555 with the fake address 'Lyon'. The attribution to Plantin was the work of Eugénie Droz, who observed that the typographical material used was identical to that in G.M. Bruto's *La institutione*, generally regarded as the first product of Plantin's press. The typefaces in both books are those of Ameet Tavernier, his 'Texte' (two-line Pica Roman, VPT R 16), Pica Roman (R 26) and Pica Italic (IT 8). In 1555 there was only one other printer working with these three typefaces: Johan de Laet, who was also in Antwerp. As far as we know, Tavernier himself only started printing in 1557. De Laet, however, can hardly be taken into consideration as the printer of these editions since he very rarely published texts in French. All he produced in that language were a few music books in collaboration with the musician Hubert Waelrant. On the other hand, the work fits perfectly into the production of Plantin's first phase, when, as a native Frenchman, he carried out various orders for his former compatriots.¹¹

¹⁰ I am here restricting myself to my own research. Supplementary information from other sources and a list of signed printed work are being assembled by R. Breugelmans, keeper of Western Printed Books at the Leiden University Library. At the request of Professor Voet he will publish a supplement to *The Plantin Press*.

¹¹ E. Droz, 'Christofle Plantin, imprimeur de Guy de Brès, 1555', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 57-72 (p. 64 ff., illus.). A little later Voet rejected the attributions in his GC, 'Additional Notes to volume I' (pt. 2, pp. 562-3 = Appendix 9) on grounds which I regard as inadequate. – Admittedly not all Mlle Droz' arguments are correct: unlike the French translation of the same year (Voet *PP* 1517), for example, the *De totius Africae descriptio* (Antwerp 1556) by Johannes Leo Africanus was not, as she claims, printed by Plantin, but by Gillis Coppens van Diest; cf. *Belgica Typographica, 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), hereafter cited as *BT*, no. 1874. This does nothing to detract from the accuracy of her attribution

The reason why De Brès' book could not have been produced by a French press is simply that Tavernier's typefaces never found a market in France. French printers would have had no difficulty in acquiring, in Paris, the far superior products of Garamont, Granjon and Haultin, and had no need to search for typographical material elsewhere. A publisher, or, as may have been the case here, the author himself, did indeed sometimes employ a printer in the southern Netherlands, and we consequently encounter the typefaces of Tavernier or Guyot in books in French. Where Plantin was concerned, this was what occurred in his clandestine reprints of *Les amours* by Ronsard (PP 2151-2).

Although we have no evidence, this was probably how Plantin was approached when he was asked to print *Le Baston*: the author, after all, was from the southern Netherlands. But what, besides the typefaces, points unequivocally to Plantin, is a large, provisional, possibly woodcut, initial D printed on the verso of the title-page.¹² This unusual initial can later be found in exactly the same state in the inventory of Willem Silvius,¹³ who had bought all the ornamental letters of the *Officina* at the liquidation sale in 1562. The appearance of this unusual block in the material of the man who acquired all the initials from Plantin's early period and subsequently used them regularly in his own printed work seems to be an irrefutable proof of Plantin's involvement in the publication of De Brès' book.

1556. Plantin printed anonymously for Joannes Bellerus in Antwerp his edition of Ant. Hulsius, *Stadium cursoris christiani* (BT 6012). The attribution rests on such features as the presence of six of Plantin's ornamental letters in the book.¹⁴

c.1556. I have already argued earlier in *De Gulden Passer* that Plantin printed the main work of Hendrik Niclaes, the leader of the sect known as the Family of Love, in or about this year. The work, entitled *Den Spiegel der Gherechticheit*, was a large order entirely financed by the prophet himself, as were a number of shorter works which Plantin printed for him at about the same time, *Psalmen unde Ledern* [...] and *Van den rechtferdigen Gerichte Godes*.¹⁵ That the external appearance of the book was so different from the rest of Plantin's production must be attributed to the wishes of his employer.

of *Le Baston* to Plantin. For further details, see VB (n. 3: 1986), pp. 172-3.

¹² See the reproduction in Droz, art. cit. (n. 11), p. 61.

¹³ In his edition of Lud. Guicciardini's *Descrittione* [...] *di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (Antwerpen 1567), BT 1360, on p. F2 and Dd [1].

¹⁴ VB (n. 3: 1993), p. 15, n. 43. The six initials belong to the two series, nos. 20 and 25, in S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials. The Woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin. A Complete Catalogue* (New York 1974).

¹⁵ Treated more extensively in: VB (n. 3: 1988-9), pp. 126 ff.; VB (n. 3: 1993), pp. 13 f.

1559. At the beginning of that year Willem Silvius received an order from Brussels to print the statutes of the princely Order of the Golden Fleece. The order was as honourable as it was remarkable, for Silvius had no past record as a publisher and was not even a member of the Saint Lucas guild – something which had become obligatory for printers a few years earlier. This was undoubtedly because he did not have a press of his own until 1562 and could thus not be admitted as a master printer. At the time he had to avail himself of the services of other printers in order to produce his publications.

In the summer of 1559 both the French original, *Les ordonnances de l'Ordre de la thoyson d'or* (BT 2257) and the Latin translation *Constitutiones Ordinis Velleris aurei* (BB C 876) appeared. The two books are printed with the utmost care on vellum.¹⁶ Because of this felicitous result Silvius acquired the right to call himself 'printer to the King',¹⁷ a distinction on which he prided himself and which he would sometimes still mention in his printed work after his appointment as printer to the States of liberated Holland.

This unusual course of events has given rise to a discussion about whether it was Plantin who saw to the production of the Golden Fleece publications, as he later claimed, or whether Silvius printed the edition with his own material, perhaps on the presses belonging to his colleague. Voet preferred the second possibility and did not include the books as the work of Plantin in his *Plantin Press*. The typographical appearance of the printed matter and our present knowledge of the history of his first inventory suggest another conclusion, however: that the two works were indeed printed by the *Officina* with material it had been using in those early years.

Subsequently much of the press' original inventory – probably the greater part – entered into the possession of Silvius at the liquidation sale.¹⁸ In order to buy it, he obtained a large loan from the city, which suggests that the magistrates were eager to keep his firm in Antwerp. We see that most of Plantin's typefaces and all his initials from his first period were later used by Silvius – a transition that has only been recognized recently. Nearly all of Silvius' typographical material had thus originally belonged to the *Officina* and determined the appearance of its publications until April 1562.

Most of Silvius' publications before he had a press of his own were printed by Plantin. They were frequently joint publications in which the partners shared

¹⁶ VB (n. 8: 1990), pp. 170 f.; *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), hereafter cited as BB.

¹⁷ He is mentioned as such in Plantin's records from 1559 on.

¹⁸ VB (n. 8: 1990), pp. 193 f.

the financial responsibility.¹⁹ This applies to Voet PP 1134, 1178, 1581, 2117 and 2402, of which the copies with Silvius' address bear the name of Plantin in the colophon. But it applies, too, to Silvius' share in the edition of Jo. Laezius' *De poeticorum studiorum utilitate* (Voet PP 1504), in which this information is missing. Plantin also printed anonymously for his colleague the French version of the *Ordonnances* commissioned by the authorities in 1560 (BT 2436) and the reprint of two years later (BT 2437).²⁰

1562. The sale catalogue drawn up for the liquidation of the *Officina* contains three entries referring to a 'Historie van de noorwercxse [*sic*] landen'.²¹ Thirty-five reams, which corresponds in this case to about 460 copies, were auctioned, as well as a lot named 'figueren van noorwegen', apparently the blocks of the woodcuts in the book. There was also a quantity of cast type with which, as was stated explicitly, the book was printed. The references can only refer to Olaus Magnus' *De wonderlijcke historie van de Noordersche landen* (Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1562), BT 6274 (illus. 1). Although Plantin's name is never mentioned in the book itself and the typeface does not appear in any of his other works – he had probably only just acquired it – there is no doubt that we are here again dealing with a book printed at the *Officina* for Silvius, who had also translated it. He had clearly not yet taken delivery of the edition, or at least of this part of it, when the press was declared bankrupt, and thus had to buy his own publication at the auction. That cost him 70 guilders, after which the book could appear with the statement 'uut onser druckerye' (from our printing-office), dated 10 July 1562,²² since Silvius had indeed recently come into possession of a press of his own.

Plantin was also engaged in another book for Silvius when fate struck, namely Silvius' hitherto most ambitious undertaking, the texts of the *Spelen van sinne* (BB S 224), produced at the time of the renowned Antwerp 'Landjuweel' of 1561, a dramatic contest organized by the Antwerp chamber of rhetoric De Violieren, in which fourteen Brabant chambers participated. Silvius wanted to make a spectacular edition of it. He had a fine series of illustrations cut, and entrusted the first part, the morality plays, to Plantin (illus. 2). Plantin set to work on the production of the book, but here, too, he was interrupted by the intervention of the authorities. Silvius still managed to save the printed sheets from confiscation, perhaps with the help of the authorities concerned, but had to find another printer to complete the

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 182 f.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ PMM, Arch. 27, ff. 16v., 15v. and 43r. respectively.

²² VB (n. 8: 1990), pp. 180 f.

work. Gillis Coppens van Diest finished the first part, and Tavernier printed the second. The contrast between Plantin's share and that of Coppens is particularly striking, but, oddly enough, nobody has observed until recently that three different presses were at work.²³

The acquisition of a large part of Plantin's typographical material made Silvius independent of the services of others. Where Plantin himself was concerned, we know that he entered into partnership with the Van Bomberghens after the re-establishment of the *Officina*, and thus had very considerable means at his disposal. But for an occasional exception he would no longer turn his hand to joint publications. Both he and Silvius would work independently of one another, even if Plantin's account books show that they continued to trade with each other's publications on a large scale.

1561-3. I have already written in *De Gulden Passer* about Plantin's further collaboration with Hendrik Niclaes in his press in Kampen.²⁴ Under the name of Lenaert der Kinderen, one of Plantin's compositors, a New Testament appeared in 1562, followed in the next year by a complete Bible, both adaptations of Protestant translations. It was clever of Plantin to have retained a share in what was then the most profitable sector of the book market, namely the printing of Bibles. We can assume that the production took place on joint account. Hendrik Niclaes, moreover, also had his hitherto unpublished works printed there (Voet PP 1733-46 and 1746 bis) – editions which cannot therefore be regarded as Plantin's own products. In 1561, however, the same press issued a reprint of *Die Secreten van [...]* *Alexis Piemontais* (Voet PP 39),²⁵ which appeared with Plantin's Antwerp address on the title-page and was thus placed on the market from that city.

CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES AFTER THE RE-OPENING OF THE FIRM

1563-5. When the production two Bible editions, printed in Kampen, was completed, the press was closed down. Lenaert der Kinderen brought Plantin's typographical material back to Antwerp and Plantin allowed him the use of a part of the typefaces and the woodcut initials. With these he travelled to Emden and continued to print Bibles for a few more years, including two New Testaments which appeared under his own name in 1565. The fact that he also used material belonging to Willem Gailliart suggests that these activities took place in Gailliart's

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 185 f.

²⁴ VB (n. 3: 1988/9), *passim*; further literature is also mentioned. Some supplementary information is to be found in VB (n. 3: 1993), p. 4 f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-6 and illus. 3.

press. While he appears to have been operating relatively independently, Der Kinderen never became a burgher of Emden and he never had a press of his own.

Partly with his own material and partly with that of his host, Lenaert der Kinderen also printed two folio editions bearing a hitherto unknown printer's device: Christ as the fountain of life with the legend 'Comt ende drinct wt die fonteyne des levenden waeters' ('Come ye and drink from the fountain of the living water'). One of the two publications is a clandestine reprint of the highly successful 'Emden Bible' originally printed by Gailliart's colleague Gillis van der Erven, while the other is a translation of the *Sermonen*, to be preached on Sundays and feasts, by the German mystic Joannes Tauler. We can assume (but not prove) that this production, at least in part, was undertaken at Plantin's expense. Strikingly enough, we see in his account books that Der Kinderen in Emden was debited for some large amounts of paper but that the deliveries were never paid for.

In 1566 Plantin was directly involved in a publication of political significance, the 'Drie-miljoen rekest', an offer to the Spanish King Philip II to pay the sum of three million guilders as the price for religious freedom in the Netherlands. It was an initiative sponsored by both the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and was personally backed by prominent leaders of these groups together with a number of wealthy businessmen who declared themselves ready to contribute to this formidable sum. One copy survives of the original French text of the petition, printed on a large sheet of German 'lombard' paper, with the signatures of various distinguished participants and a statement of the sums they were prepared to subscribe. These include various names we know from the milieu of Plantin.²⁶

It is thus hardly surprising that Plantin should have been asked to print the work. The sheet is set in typefaces of Garamont and Granjon all of which can be found in Plantin's *Index characterum* of 1567 (nos. 1, 16, 17 and 22 in the facsimile edition of this specimen).²⁷ The combination of these typefaces appears nowhere else in the Netherlands at the time, and that the work was printed in the Low Countries, and not in France (which would have been possible with the same typefaces), is proved by the existence of a Dutch version of the text. This appeared, in the form of a large quarto gathering, in exactly the same four typefaces. The piece was intended

²⁶ The Hague, General State Archives (ARA), Royer collection, inv. no. 12 (H. de Brederode, Albrecht van Huchtenbrouck, Josue Halveringen de Hoffegen, Jacques de Huele, Maximilien de Bloys dit Coc, Louis de Nassau, Philippe de Marbays seigneur de Loverval, Marcus Perez, Bernart de Merode, Jean de Marnix et de Thoulouse, A. de Bergues and C. de Houchin).

²⁷ *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. II [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general editor J. Dreyfus (London 1972), no. 16: *Index sive Specimen characterum Christophori Plantini* (1567).

to be sent to all the towns and other centres of government in the Netherlands in order to gather support for the campaign.²⁸ As we know, however, the proposal was indignantly dismissed by Philip II, after which the money collected was spent on the armed struggle against him – something which, according to certain historians, was the secret intention of the plan all along.

At the end of 1566, a few days after the city of Valenciennes in the southern Netherlands had been openly accused of rebellion by the government in Brussels, the *Declaration du faict de ceux de la ville de Vallencienne* (BT 825, Kn 145) appeared.²⁹

The author of this pamphlet in defence of the town was the preacher Guy de Brès, who had settled there a little earlier. His *Le baston de la foy Chrestienne*, as we saw, had been printed by Plantin previously. The *Declaration* (illus. 3), too, is set in typefaces all familiar to us from the *Officina*. Besides two typefaces of Garamont, these include both the 'Philosophie' (Small Pica Roman) and the 'Coronelle romaine' (Minion Roman) of Haultin, a combination which, as far as we know, was owned only by Plantin in the Netherlands. Although it is theoretically possible that a French printer carried out the order, it is far more likely that De Brès from the southern Netherlands sent his apology in all haste to Antwerp, in the hope of having it distributed there. The work appeared too late to prevent the siege, however. A little later, on 15 January, the author's second apology for the town, now under siege, was published. On this occasion it was set in the typefaces used in Vianen by Augustijn van Hasselt,³⁰ who had moved to the north as Plantin's agent with a printing-press his employer had placed at his disposal in order to print Bibles, starting with a New Testament and a Psalter.

This episode has led to various misconceptions among Plantin's biographers. It was assumed that Plantin wanted to set up a branch in Vianen under the protection

²⁸ The Dutch version appeared with the heading 'Aen den Coninck' (to the King). Collation: A⁴ (A4 blank). This previously undescribed Dutch edition is preserved as an uncut sheet in the Noord-Brabant State Archive (Rijksarchief Noord-Brabant): RA Zevenbergen inv. no. 482. When the translation had already been printed it was revised at the request of William of Orange and his brother Louis of Nassau by the humanist Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, whose text became the official one. It is reproduced in P.C. Bor, *Oorsprongk, begin, en vervolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen, be-roerten, en borgerlyke oneenigheden [...]*, vol. I (Amsterdam 1679), pp. 43-50. See H. Bongers, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 42 f., 162.

²⁹ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1890-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn.

³⁰ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Le siège de Valenciennes et l'imprimerie clandestine de Plantin à Vianen en 1566-67', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, I (1971), pp. 3-19 (pp. 10 f.). For extensive information about these publications, see VB (n. 3: 1986), pp. 101 ff. (with the title-page reproduced) and pp. 171 ff. The attribution to Van Hasselt can be confirmed on typographical grounds.

of Hendrik van Brederode in order to print political pamphlets for the Revolt, or (according to another theory) prohibited books for the English market. It was also thought that the Protestant Van Bomberghens were involved in the plan and, finally, that the undertaking was an ill-calculated attempt to profit from the new developments in the turbulent year of 1566.

What in fact happened was different. In November Plantin sent a fully equipped press with three compositors and at least two printers to Kampen in the northern Netherlands. He entrusted the undertaking to Augustijn van Hasselt who, as the former manager of Hendrik Niclaes' press, had become a burgher of the town. The plan was to continue the successful Bible publication of 1562/3 in the favourable climate of a commercial city where, as had previously emerged, the authorities behaved with great moderation in matters of faith. In these very weeks, however, after it had come to light that violently anti-Spanish pamphlets had been printed in Kampen, the magistrates were threatened with intervention by the government and found it necessary to take strict measures against subversive publications. It is not clear whether Augustijn and his collaborators had already arrived in the town or whether they were still on their way, but it was no longer possible to settle in Kampen.

A prolonged stay in Vianen, where they had sought refuge under the protection of Hendrik van Brederode after this unforeseen setback, proved illusory, too. A few months after the press had been set up and production started, the town seemed on the verge of being invaded by government troops. Thanks to a hasty flight it was possible to salvage the already printed sheets, after which the editions in question were completed in a new press which Plantin had placed at Augustijn's disposal in the safe haven of Wesel. Augustijn could there start to build up a list which grew to what now appears to have been a total of seventeen publications within two years.³¹ In 1569 Plantin decided to close down his subsidiary branch. He took back his French typefaces and sold what remained of his inventory to the Family of Love. In the meantime the sect had settled in, or close to, Cologne, and was planning to issue a revised edition of the works of the founder, Hendrik Niclaes.

1567/8. We are now faced with the significant question of the extent to which the Wesel production can be ascribed to Plantin. The material used had once been his, as we see clearly from such features as the combination of the typefaces and the origin of what would seem to be the only initial which the press possessed.³² In a

³¹ For a list of Augustijn's Wesel publications, see VB (n. 3: 1986), pp. 184 ff.

³² The W from an alphabet which Plantin probably had cut in 1563. The date appears in the letter Q. See Harvard, *op. cit.* (n. 14), no. 12, where the W is the only letter the author was unable to find in the collection of the PMM and was thus unable to reproduce. For a reproduction of the block

letter to Hendrik Niclaes, moreover, Plantin wrote that he had supplied his agent with everything necessary for his press and that an agreement had been reached concerning both the costs and the financial returns of the firm.³³

Plantin was thus closely involved financially in the Wesel press – but did he actually run it himself? If we look at the list this seems unlikely. Certain publications would undoubtedly have met with his full approval, such as the two Erasmus translations, *Een Christelijcke [...] clage des Vreedts* and *Van de eendrachticheyt der Kercken*, both of which appeared in 1567. These editions suited his policy perfectly and it is quite possible that these texts had been dispatched from Antwerp.

Other publications, however, certainly cannot have been chosen by Plantin. They include the reverend Petrus Bloccius' *Meer dan twee hondert ketteryen, blasphemien en(de) nieuwe leeringen, welck uut de Misse zyn ghecomen*, 1567, an emphatically anti-Catholic tract, not to mention the bilingual edition of the *Verantwoordinge des Prince van Oraengien* of 1568. This fierce apology appeared at the very moment when Plantin was waiting anxiously for a declaration from Philip II confirming his readiness to contribute substantially to the costs of Plantin's Polyglot Bible, the future *Biblia regia*. We can hardly believe that he was prepared to risk losing such a subsidy by volunteering to print a political apology of the king's greatest opponent. Augustijn would seem in the meantime to have acquired so much freedom in accepting orders and compiling his list that we can talk of an independent position. Plantin was the owner of the firm, but obviously had to accept the fact that his agent was free to follow a policy of his own. While the activities in Vianen can thus be ascribed to Plantin's management, that is no longer so with the production in Wesel.

THE LATER YEARS

1577. For ten years, as far as we know, Plantin had no hand in publications which were politically dangerous. In 1577, however, Willem Silvius, 'Printer to the King', i.e. the printer of the government, received an order from the States General to print an acrimonious anti-Spanish work based on the contents of a collection of letters to Don Juan, the governor in the Netherlands for Philip II of Spain, which had been intercepted. The accompanying text was written by Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde ('Marnix'), the writer, diplomat, scholar and assistant to William of Orange, while Bonaventura Vulcanius, the humanist and Professor

from a Wesel publication, see VB (n. 3: 1986), illus. 5 on p. 108.

³³ *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin*, 9 parts in 8 vols., eds. M. Rooses & J. Denucé (Anvers 1883-1920), vol. 1, pp. 157 ff., no. 74. The letter, written at the beginning of August 1567, contains a passage which shows that he had given Augustijn 500 guilders' worth of paper, leather and ink and had advanced the money for travel and other expenses. See also VB (n. 3: 1986), pp. 100-1, n. 50.

of Greek and Latin in Leiden, was also involved in the publication. Silvius, who had just been appointed printer to the States of liberated Holland, had serious difficulties in carrying out the order with the speed required. His press was clearly already on the way to his new town of residence, Leiden, and in order to produce the work in time he had to apply to two colleagues. These were Gillis van den Rade for Marnix' text, and Plantin, who printed the text of the letters forming the basis of the publication.³⁴ The entire work then appeared with Silvius' imprint under the title *Sommier Discours* (BT 4373; Kn 305). Shortly afterwards the number of copies turned out to be insufficient and a new edition had to be printed (BT 4374; Kn 306). Van den Rade had already distributed the type and had to set his part all over again, but Plantin could use his standing type.³⁵

After that it was not until 1579 that further unsigned work was produced by Plantin's presses. At the time Plantin had succeeded Silvius and had just been appointed official printer to the States General in Brussels – something which guaranteed him a stream of orders. These were partly administrative, but above all they were works of propaganda. Never before had the political struggle been pursued on such a scale by way of the printing-press.

In contrast with the majority of the publications which Willem Silvius printed for the Orange party in the next two years (in collaboration with Christiaen Houweel, his colleague from Antwerp),³⁶ everything that Plantin produced for the States General bore his own imprint. It consisted of official publications commissioned by the true rulers of the Netherlands and which thus appeared under their responsibility. On a very few occasions, when the content was too savagely anti-Spanish, Plantin used the name of his son-in-law Frans van Ravelinghen or that of his brother-in-law Guillaume Rivière as a cover – a somewhat transparent camouflage since his relationship with the two men was common knowledge.³⁷

Apart from all these signed editions, we can also attribute a few publications without an imprint to Plantin's press. In the first place there is a petition *Aende Heeren ende goede mannen vanden Breeden Raedt der stadt van Antwerpen*, 'door de Coronellen

³⁴ For the genesis of this publication and its unusual printing history, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius, Christiaen Houweel and anti-Spanish propaganda, 1577 to 1579', *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 3-29 (pp. 19 ff.).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1. In the same year an enlarged and revised version appeared under the altered title *Discours sommier* (BT 926). Plantin was not involved in its printing.

³⁶ For this temporary collaboration, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 34), *passim*.

³⁷ As, for example, in Bartholomé de las Casas, *Tyrannies et cruautéz des Espagnols perpétrées ès Indes Occidentales* (Anvers, Fr. de Ravelenghien, 1579) ; Voet PP 926 ; BT 1813. Plantin also occasionally used the name of one of his employees, Cornelis de Bruyn (Voet PP 1916) or Nicolas Spore (Voet PP 1920).

ende de Capiteynen deser stadt' (by the colonels and captains of this town), of 20 October 1579 (BT 7371; Kn 509). The work is an appeal to the magistrates for more means with which to defend the city. Since, in the meantime, Plantin had also succeeded Silvius as the municipal printer of Antwerp, it was obvious that he should be asked to print the piece. This is proved typographically by the presence of Van den Keere's Pica Textura (VPT T 28) as a typeface, with the initial D from a calligraphic alphabet which Plantin alone possessed.³⁸ The gathering has no title-page, but only a caption title.

This is also the case with *Een trouwe waerschouwinghe aen de goede mannen van Antwerpen* (BT 6924; Kn 575), in which the same ornamental letter is used. Knuttel ascribed this undated appeal to 1581, since it 'tended to demonstrate that it was permissible to break completely with the King'. It is by no means ruled out, however, that such ideas occasionally came to the surface as early as 1579 and the similarity of the production to that of the earlier work suggests that 1579 was the year of publication.³⁹

Equally uncertain (1579 or 1580?) is the date of another appeal to the population, the text of which begins with the words *Goede mannen, het is nu hooghe tijt dat ghylieden eenmael besluyt oft ghy het Spaensche iock wilt teenemael aflegghen ofte niet* ('Good men, it is high time to decide whether to break free of the Spanish yoke or not'), BT 5854; Petit 298. This, too, is a gathering of no more than four leaves, the text of which, without any caption title, now opens with one of Plantin's elegant 'lettres cadeaux'.⁴⁰

The aforesaid calligraphic D also appears in a fourth publication without a title-page, *Ordonnancie by de Coninghinne van Enghel-landt [...] teghen de Malcontenten ende andere verraeders des voors. Coninckrijcks* (BT 1009 [= 5703?]; Mach E 29). This proclamation, issued on 15 July 1580, was probably translated shortly afterwards and issued as a bifolio. Here, too, the typefaces used suggest that it comes from the *Officina*.⁴¹

³⁸ Strangely enough this fine alphabet was unknown to Harvard, op. cit. (n. 14), although Plantin used it both in Antwerp and in Leiden. For a reproduction of the set, see M. Rooses' *Index characterum Christophori Plantini* (Antwerpen 1905), no. 29 (also in *Tijdschrift voor Boek- en Bibliotheekwezen*, 2 (1904), pp. 7-21).

³⁹ L.J. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), hereafter cited as Petit, vol. I, thus mentions this pamphlet twice, under no. 297 in 1579, and again in 1581 under no. 326.

⁴⁰ Namely the G of the alphabet, Harvard, op. cit. (n.14), no. 40.

⁴¹ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt vóór 1600, aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), hereafter cited as Mach. Besides various Texturas of Van den Keere, we also encounter a few lines at the end in Garamont's 'Vraye Mediane Romaine' (Pica Roman; cf. Plantin's *Folio specimen* no. 38) and certain words printed in a Fractura, his 'Augustine Allemande' (Fractura English; *ibid.* no. 31).

1579. In this same year a publication of a different nature appeared which can also be ascribed to Plantin: *Dat Nieuwe Testament* [...] ('Ghedrukt nae de copie van Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, [...] 1579').⁴² This 16mo pocket edition provides a version of the New Testament which was published in 1562 by Nicolaes Biestkens and was reprinted with his copy-imprint a year later, probably after his death, by an Anabaptist publisher in Franeker. The book was there set in the smallest available typeface, the Nonpareil Textura of Ameet Tavernier (VPT T 51). The Franeker printer had had this little typeface especially designed for his Bible editions and, as the man who had ordered it, probably obtained the punches as well. In 1565 the *Officina* bought cast type of this same face – probably all that Tavernier had been able to keep for his own use.⁴³ Plantin sent the cast type to Wesel where it was used by Augustijn van Hasselt for the printing of various books. When the press was sold to the Family of Love in 1569, the types returned to Antwerp.⁴⁴

The attribution of this 1579 *Nieuwe Testament* to Plantin is not only based on the fact that it is set in that rare typeface, but also on the fact that a few lines appear on the title-page in Van den Keere's Minion types (VPT T 50). Plantin purchased this almost equally small typeface in 1569, before it had actually been completed,⁴⁵ and it subsequently appeared regularly in his printed work. In these years he was the only man to own both miniature typefaces and can thus here be identified as the printer.⁴⁶ The edition is illustrative of his ambition to retain a prominent position as an international Bible printer, even where so-called 'Protestant' translations were concerned. After his past activities in this domain in Kampen,⁴⁷ Vianen, Wesel, and possibly even Emden,⁴⁸ he was now attempting to resume it in Antwerp, in

⁴² Two copies of this edition are known: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library) and Dendermonde, Belgium, St Pieters & Paulusabdij. My thanks are due to the librarian, E. van de Vyver, for kindly supplying me with information about this second copy.

⁴³ *Index sive Specimen*, op. cit. (n. 27), no. 45.

⁴⁴ There are indications that only two sets existed at about this time, the one belonging to the press in Franeker which had had the typefaces cut and the one owned by Plantin. The first set seems in the meantime to have come into the possession of the Emden printer Willem Gailliart.

⁴⁵ For the delivery contract dated 16 Juni 1569, see VPT, p. 172, note 2.

⁴⁶ The lack of any ornament or initial also suggests that it came from outside the northern Netherlands where this precaution was no longer necessary. The 'To the reader' ('Totten Leser') in which the former publisher proudly reported in 1563 that he 'had a very small typeface cut' ('doen maken van een seer cleyn letterken') has been reproduced with no alteration just as it was in the Kampen reprint in which Plantin had been involved.

⁴⁷ For Plantin's part in the Kampen production, see VB (n. 3: 1988/9), pp. 133 ff. and VB (n. 3: 1987), *passim*.

⁴⁸ For Lenaert's activities in Emden, see VB (n. 3: 1987), p. 113 ff. We can assume that the two New Testaments which he printed there in 1565 at Willem Gailliart's press (in octavo and 12mo

the very year in which publishers from the northern Netherlands were competing to capture the market in Dordrecht, Delft and Leiden. It would be Plantin's last publication of this nature.

In 1580 Plantin published the transactions of the peace negotiations which had been held (and failed) in Cologne in the previous year, the *Acta pacificationis*, Voet PP 1917. Only now do we know that, in the very same year, he printed, and presumably also published, another version of this work, in a larger format and furnished with extensive commentaries by the Dutch delegate, Aggaeus Albada, who had played an influential role as the spokesman of the States General. The annotated edition appeared with the address 'Lugduni [without: Batavorum], apud Andream Schutenum', in other words with Andreas Verschout. Verschout, from the southern Netherlands, had settled in Leiden in 1574, after the siege, had married there and, as has recently emerged, printed the *Nova poemata* of Janus Duza (Jan van der Does), a collection which appeared in 1575 with the imprint *In nova Academia nostra Lugdunensi excusum*.⁴⁹ In Leiden, as in Antwerp,⁵⁰ he is unlikely to have had a press of his own at first, but would have used the facilities provided by a colleague.⁵¹

It is now certain that this annotated edition (illus. 4) of the *Acta*⁵² was also printed by the *Officina*. The typefaces, Garamont's 'Parangonne' (Paragon Textura)

respectively), were produced on the orders and at the expense of Plantin. At all events it is striking that Plantin not only sent Lenaert a large quantity of paper – otherwise he had virtually no business dealings with heretical Emden – but that the delivery was never written off (and consequently never paid for)). As late as 1579 the entry of 112 guilders and 4 stivers was still open (PMM, Arch. 110, f. 8).

⁴⁹ The edition appeared at the expense of the Leiden town secretary Jan van Hout. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'De eerste drukkers voor de stad Leiden (1574-78): Jan Moyt Jacobsz en Andries Verschout', *Uit Leidse bron geleverd. Studies over Leiden en de Leidenaren in het verleden, aangeboden aan B.N. Leverland* (Leiden 1989), pp. 407-16 (pp. 410-12).

⁵⁰ His name appears neither in A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), nor in BT. For his further career in the Netherlands, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 508-13.

⁵¹ The first publication of his own appeared in 1577, a work in verse by Jeronimus van der Voort. The only known copy, at the time in Louvain, was lost in 1914; cf. BB, vol. 5, p. 747, no. V 39). In the same year he printed various by-laws for the city of Leiden. By then he clearly had his own press after having worked earlier with his Leiden colleague Jan Moyt. In the meantime, in 1576, Jan Moyt had to sell his press to a Rotterdam printer. See Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 49), pp. 410-12.

⁵² *Acta pacificationis quae coram Sac. Caesareae Maiest. commissariis, inter [...] Matthiae Archiducis Austriae [...] Ordinumque Belgii legatos, Coloniae habita sunt; fideliter ex protocollo legatorum Ordinum descripta et [...] annotationibus illustrata* (Lugduni [sic], apud Andream Schutenum [= Antwerp, C. Plantin, for Andries Verschout in Leiden], 1580. 4to.).

and 'Augustine romaine' (English Roman), together with Granjon's 'Texte cursive' (Great Primer Italic) and 'Bastarde', already prove it, while the use of Van den Keere's Small Pica Roman (VPT R 31) removes all doubts: Plantin was the only man to own that typeface at the time. The initial at the beginning of the text, moreover, is clearly a block from his inventory.⁵³ It is understandable that he did not wish to publish the commentaries under his own name, and we are familiar with his habit of using the name of a member of his family or a collaborator in such cases. On this occasion it was the name of a former employee: according to Plantin's business records Verschout had worked for him for a good six months in 1564, apparently for the special purpose of setting Latin.⁵⁴ He was probably now also involved in marketing 'his' edition of the *Acta* in the northern Netherlands.

1581. A special case is constituted by PP 2268, listed there as 'G. Sylvius, Apologia Auenari' [1582 or 1583], 'No copy known'. This title is taken from MS 296, f. 1r.: 'Apologia Auenari p G. Sylvius, 8o. lat. f[euilles] 10. st[uiuers] 3 ½'. Voet took the 'p' to stand for 'p[er]' and attributed the authorship to Silvius. That is incorrect, however. The letter stands for 'p[ro]' or 'p[our]' and thus indicates the Latin edition of the *Apologie* of William of Orange: *Apologia illustrissimi principis Willemi [...] principis Aulicae [...]*. (s.l., 'apud Carolum Sylvium', 1581), Kn 563 (illus. 5). This edition is indeed in octavo format and contains 10 sheets. The 'Scrutamini' device on the title-page is printed from the same authentic block used in the Dutch editions of the *Apologia*.⁵⁵ We can thus assume that we are dealing with an order which the young Silvius placed with his Antwerp colleague since his own composing capacity at the time was inadequate. That it was indeed printed by Plantin appears from typefaces such as Van den Keere's two-line Pica Roman Capitals (VPT R 13), a type owned exclusively by Plantin, and from the woodcut initials.⁵⁶

1581 (♣). An edition exists of the French *Apologie*, Kn 556 (illus. 6), which Plantin probably placed on the market without the knowledge of the younger Silvius. It could be one of the clandestine reprints which Silvius unsuccessfully tried to impede. Like the 'genuine' products of his press, it is a quarto edition. On the title-page we read, above the date 1581, 'De l'Imprimerie de Charles Sylvius', but this information is wrong. Of the typefaces used, Silvius only owned Garamont's 'Cicero' (Pica Roman), and not his 'Gros-romain Romain' (Great Primer Roman)

⁵³ Harvard, op. cit. (n. 14), the A of no. 12.

⁵⁴ From the beginning of February to 9 September. See PMM, Arch. 31 ('Livre des ouvriers'), f. IV.

⁵⁵ F. Vandeweghe & B. Op de Beeck, *Drukkersmerken uit de 15e en de 16e eeuw binnen de grenzen van het huidige België* (Nieuwkoop 1992): Silvius 8.

⁵⁶ Harvard, op. cit. (n. 14), 12 N, 17 Q, 19 A1 and S, and 20 P2.

as the typeface is called in Plantin's records, or even Granjon's 'Capitales sur 2 lignes de Cicero' (two-line Pica Roman Capitals) and his first 'St Augustin' (English Textura). These typefaces do appear, however, in Plantin's *Index*, under nos. 26, 22,2 and 25 respectively. We know of no other Dutch press which possessed this combination of French types. The edition also displays the quality we might expect of a product of the *Officina*: the printing is technically excellent and the book is decorated with a splendid woodcut of the Prince's arms. I have not found the very heterogeneous initials in the book anywhere else. It could well be that they were destroyed as incriminating material after this particular use.

There is also another reprint of the French *Apologie*, this time an octavo with 'A Delft' as the address and, again, 1581 as the date. This edition, too, is printed with French typefaces which were all owned by the *Officina*: nos. 26, 27, 31, 32, 35 and 36 of the *Index*. The book does not contain any decorations and its design is unpretentious – a cheap reprint as we would say nowadays. But the care devoted to the execution again corresponds to the standards set by the *Officina*. This edition, too, can consequently be attributed to it – unless, that is, it were ever to emerge that a press in France also owned this very same combination of typefaces.⁵⁷

We cannot exclude the possibility that one (or both) of these editions, which retained the date of 1581, appeared after Plantin had taken over the position of printer to the Leiden Academy and to the States of Holland from the youthful Silvius in 1583. He could not expect the Spanish Court ever to overlook the publication of such a personal attack on the King and, as regards these reprints, it would have been useless to refer to the authorities who commissioned them. There was thus every reason to conceal their origin and to make the work unrecognizable. In cases such as this predating was an established and secure ploy.

The case of a Latin edition of the ominous *Plakkaat van Verlatinge*, or Act of Abjuration, *Edictum Ordinum confederatarum Belgii provinciarum ...* ('Anno Domini 1581'), BT 7409, was different. This is certainly printed by Plantin, as is shown both by the typefaces and by the ornaments, even if we might wonder whether he published the translation in Antwerp or, later, in Leiden. The date on the title-page does not necessarily correspond to the date of publication here either. But the title vignette and the woodcut initial in the book are a decisive proof. They belonged to the material of the *Officina* and were never used in Leiden.⁵⁸ Plantin

⁵⁷ As far as I know the edition is not mentioned in any of the literature. The only copy hitherto known is in the Amsterdam UL. There also exists another, less rare, reprint of 1581 with the address 'A Delft', but in 4to; cf. Kn 554, Mach W 93. This imprint, too, is fake. As is evident from the typography, the anonymous printer was Gillis van den Rade in Antwerp.

⁵⁸ The initial is Harvard, op. cit. (n. 14), 20 P2; for the vignette, see G. Glorieux, 'Bandeaux et fleurons chez C. Plantin', *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (De Gulden Passer, 66/7; Antwerpen 1989), pp. 213–35, F 17 (p. 225).

acquired new sets of initials before settling there and this usually makes it possible to establish in which of his two firms any particular edition without an imprint was actually produced – something which cannot always be done by means of the typefaces alone.⁵⁹

1583. A recently discovered French edition of Hiël (Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt) can thus also be ascribed to the *Officina*. It is a *Déclaration de la revelation de S. Jean* by the former member of the Family of Love. We know that this Biblical commentary aroused the admiration of the distinguished Catholic theologian Benito Arias Montano, who spoke of it so appreciatively in his own commentary on the Book of Revelation.⁶⁰ He ordered a copy of the book in 1583, when it had probably just appeared.⁶¹

In that year Plantin also published, without a date, *In adventum ducis Alenconii Carmen Hexametrum*, autore J[anus] D[ousa] Junior – an occasional poem by the highly gifted twelve-year-old ('aetatis suae XIII') son of his homonymous father.⁶² The father was the curator of the Leiden Academy and had already had his own work printed by the *Officina*.

CONCLUSION

In this article it has been possible to supplement the output of Plantin with a good thirty publications. Yet it would be an illusion to think that we have thus traced down all the unsigned work Plantin produced in the period in question. Research into such a large production requires time, and not all the works printed by the *Officina* can be recognized as such with absolute certainty. The problems are not

⁵⁹ In this case, however, the use of Van den Keere's two-line Pica Roman Capitals (VPT R 13) on the title-page points clearly to Antwerp. For a set of ornamental letters used exclusively in Leiden but not mentioned by Harvard, see R. Breugelmans, 'Twee anonieme Leidse Plantijndrukken uit 1584', *Ex Officina*, op. cit. (n. 58), pp. 163-70 (p. 167).

⁶⁰ A. Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge 1981), pp. 94-6.

⁶¹ This French edition was discovered by J.F. Mailliard, 'Christophe Plantin et la Famille de la Charité en France. Documents et hypothèses', *Mélanges sur la littérature de la Renaissance, à la mémoire de V.-L. Saulnier* (Geneve 1984), pp. 235-53 (pp. 240 ff.). That it was published by the *Officina* emerges from the initial R from the alphabet Harvard 20. The edition of the *Voyage spirituel d'un jeune homme vers la Terre de Paix* by the same author, also identified by Mailliard and undated, was probably printed in Leiden some time later.

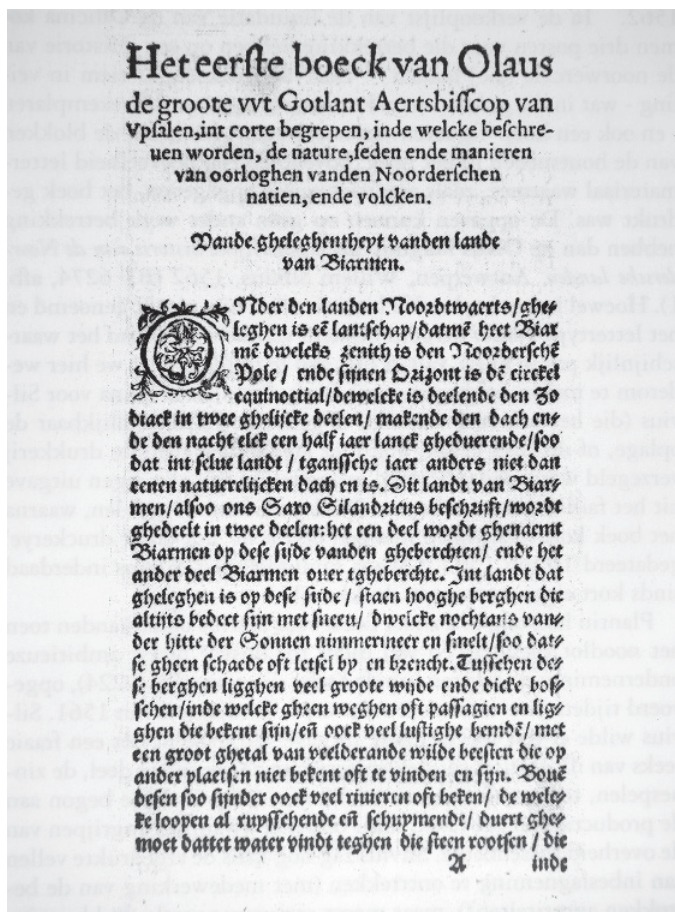
⁶² The only known copy is in Göttingen, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, in a composite volume which appeared at the sale of Abr. de Vries (Amsterdam, Frederik Muller 1864), no. 3802. I am most grateful to Marcus de Schepper for a photocopy of the edition. – Two of Plantin's initials prove its origin.

so great in the case of Dutch texts. The only other printer to use so many French typefaces was Silvius and we know his material well enough to be able to distinguish between the work of the two presses.

The main problem concerns the publications in French. In France the same typefaces as the ones belonging to Plantin were used on a large scale and the quality of the work of his colleagues there was not, or hardly, inferior to his own. Besides, Plantin regularly employed French compositors, and they remained true to their national habits in their style of type setting. A typically doubtful case is the *Lettre d'un gentilhomme de Haynault, a Monsieur de la Mothe, Gouverneur de Gravelines*. 1578 (BT 1887; Kn 390). This pamphlet is strongly in favour of Anjou, the brother of the French king whom many people in the south regarded as the ideal candidate to become the protector of the Netherlands. The typefaces used are Garamont's 'Gros Romain Romain' (two-line Double Pica Roman) and his 'Augustine' (English), with, on the title-page, a line in Granjon's 7 mm capitals. These are typefaces which were used regularly by the firm in Antwerp (*Index* 22, 24 and 2 respectively). Both the content of the publication and the typographical material are thus good reasons to ascribe the *Lettre* to the *Officina*.

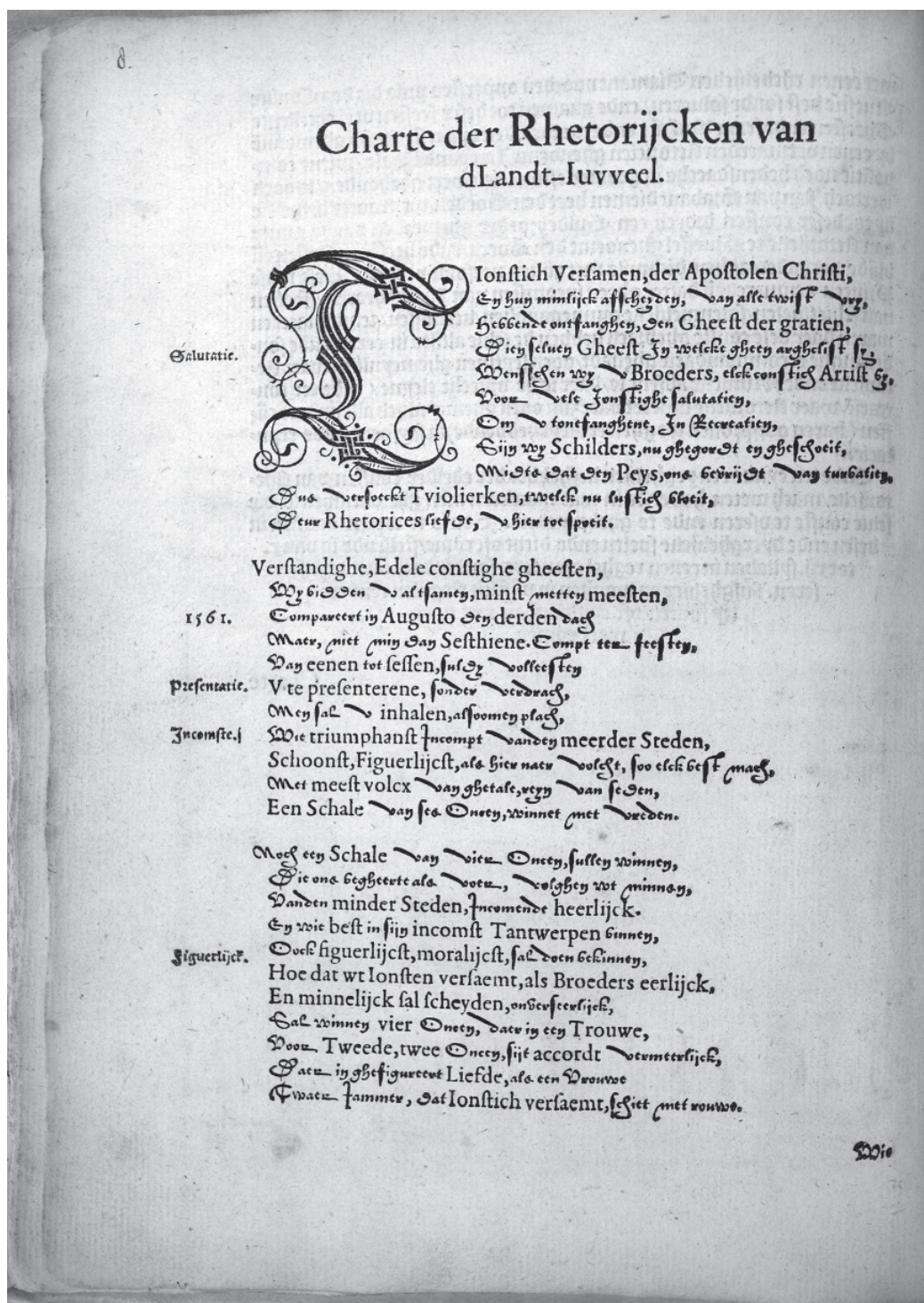
But there is one complication. The work opens with a fairly large, excellently cut ornamental M – an initial which does not belong to any of Plantin's alphabets. Nor have I found it in any other printed work. Should we imagine that Plantin acquired the block especially for this publication and did away with it after use? That does not seem impossible, but it is an unverifiable hypothesis and the attribution thus remains uncertain.

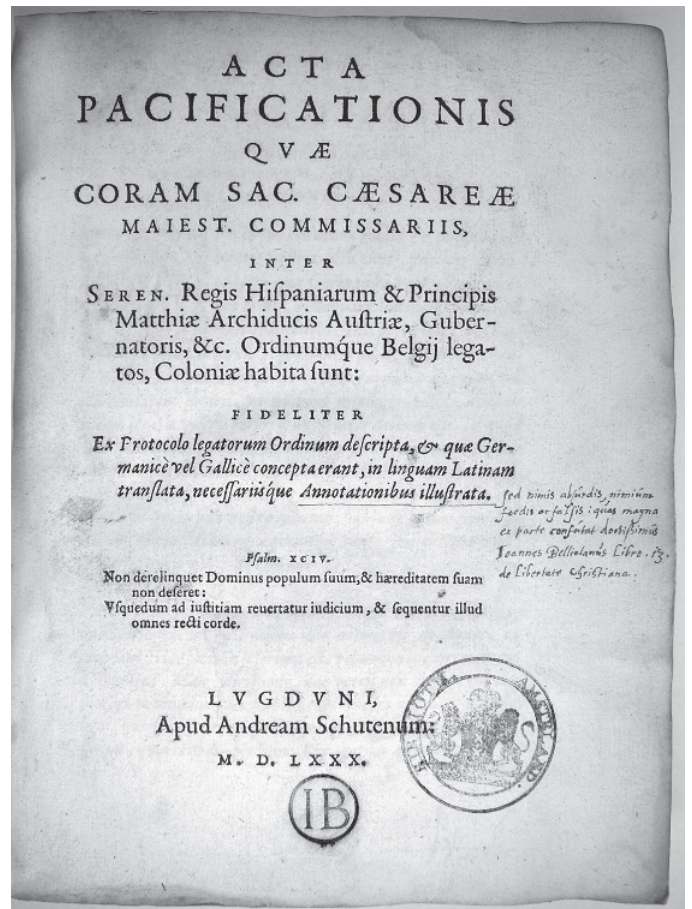
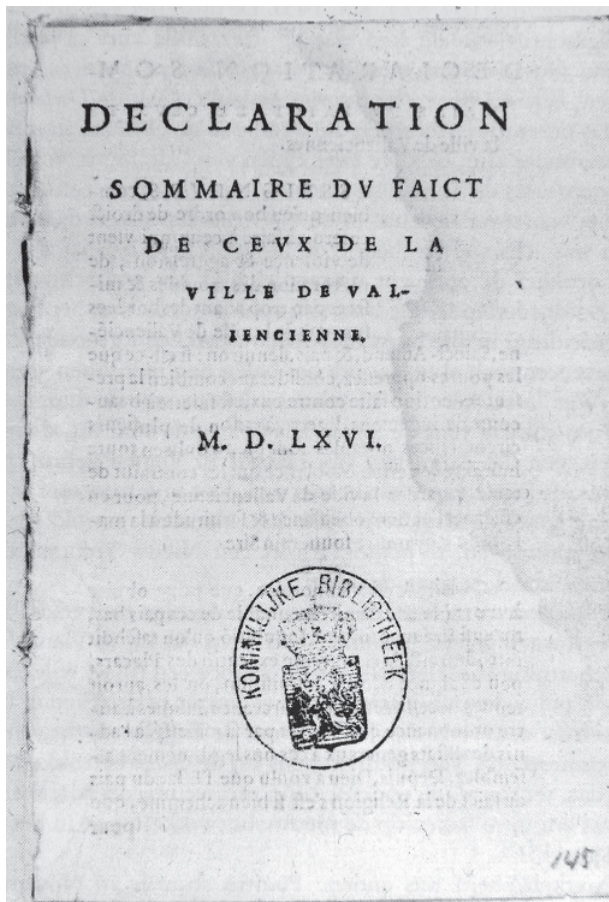
It was never the object of this article to deal with the anonymous works of the *Officina* in Leiden. There, too, the printer sometimes thought it more prudent to conceal his name, even if the problems were different from those in Antwerp. But a sensible man does not run unnecessary risks, and Plantin was always a master of the art of judging how far he could go as a publisher without incurring difficulties.



I

Olaus Magnus. *De wonderlijcke historie van de Noordersche landen* (Antwerp, [C. Plantin for] Willem Silvius, 1562), sign. A[1]
 (Scan from the original publication)



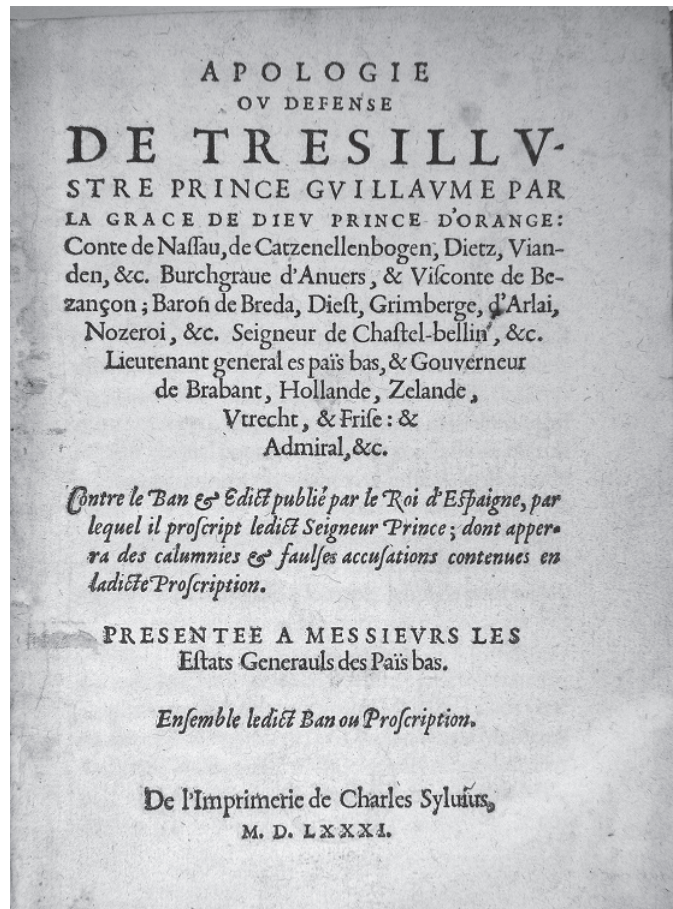
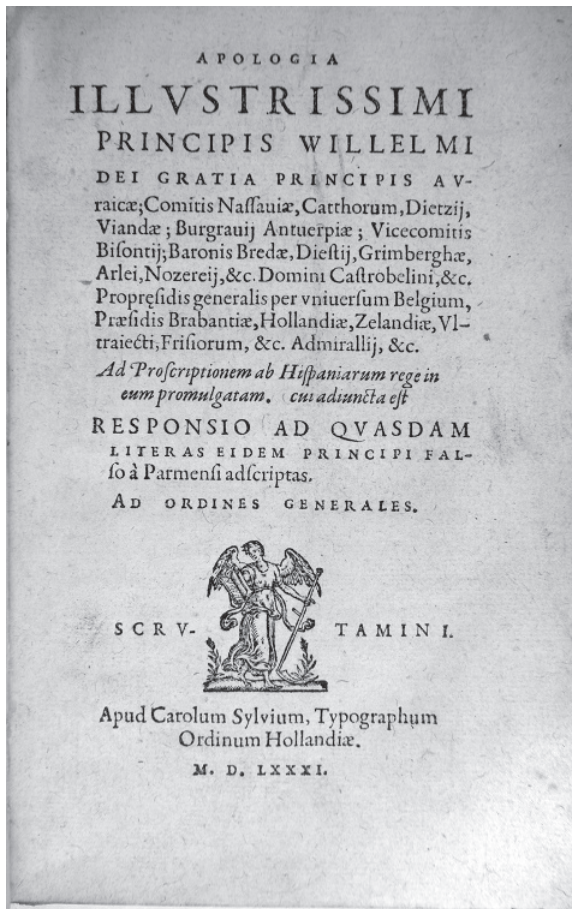


3

[Guy de Brès], *Déclaration sommaire* ([Antwerp, C. Plantin], 1566)
(Scan from the original publication)

4

Acta pacificationis [Ed. Aggaeus Albada] (Lugduni [= C. Plantin for] Andries Verschout, 1580)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. C14a)



5

William of Orange, *Apologia* ([Antwerp, C. Plantin] Carolus Silvius, Leiden, 1581)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. D 6aa)

6

William of Orange, *Apologie ou defense* ([Leiden], Charles Silvius [= C. Plantin], 1581)
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pfl. D 6ab)

A PRINTER IN FOUR COUNTRIES,
ALBERT CHRISTIAENSZ IN VIANEN, SEDAN,
EMDEN AND NORWICH
1565 to 1570



On a winter day at the end of January 1566 the printer Albert Christiaensz, living in the little Dutch town of Vianen, received a visit from a stranger who told him he was looking for a Protestant martyrology for a follower of the new doctrine. He adroitly gained the confidence of the printer and managed to persuade him to sell a copy of the work. On a second visit a few days later he even succeeded in extracting a note of the various other prohibited publications which the man could provide. The spy then handed over a detailed report of his investigations together with this list to the attorney-general of the Court of Utrecht who promptly forwarded the information to Margaret of Parma, the governess of the Netherlands under King Philip II of Spain. He had been ordered by her to watch the movements of a printer in Vianen whose clandestine activities were the source of serious anxiety in Brussels.¹ This documented report about the employment of an *agent provocateur* sheds an interesting light on the methods used by the government in its struggle against the alarming increase of underground publications.

The role of Vianen in the history of Dutch propaganda has been as important as it was short-lived. In the summer of 1563 the first printing-press was put into operation, but all activities in this domain came to a halt some time before 5 May 1567, when the town was occupied by troops of the Stadtholder of Gelderland. Owing to reports such as the one just mentioned, Vianen had acquired so bad a reputation among the authorities that the commander was ordered above all to arrest the printers working in the town.² They were suspected of having distributed in the

¹ This correspondence is reproduced in Appendix 3 of A. van Hulzen, *Utrecht in 1566 en 1567* (Groningen 1932; thesis Utrecht), pp. 126-34; the reports of the informer are also in H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Hendrik van Brederode en de drukkerijen van Vianen', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 3-41 (pp. 38 ff.).

² On the day before the fall of Vianen, Margaret wrote to the commanders of the troops about to occupy the town, Van Megen and Noircarmes: '... l'on s'assure des imprimeurs, que s'y trouveront y avoir imprimé tous ces meschants et malheureulx livres et aultres choses scandaleuses, que l'on a

previous months all sorts of subversive and seditious writings. Nor was this suspicion unfounded: as we shall see, one press in Vianen was deeply involved in resistance to the central government in Brussels. The fall of the town put an end to this and, for many years to come, to all other publishing initiatives. With the exception of a short interruption, it was not until the eighteenth century that another book was to appear with the imprint 'Vianen'.³

That the town did indeed have an important part as a centre of propaganda against Spanish rule had already been accepted by historians long before factual information became available about the nature and extent of the work of its presses. Relatively recently a first and fundamental article on the matter was published by H. de la Fontaine Verwey,⁴ who succeeded in indicating four books which appeared in the name of the first printer in Vianen, Dirck Buyter. These had been hard to discover since only a single copy of most of them had survived. Subsequently the author could add another two, equally rare, unsigned publications of the same press.⁵ He also mentioned a Lutheran New Testament printed by another publisher from Vianen, Goris Hendricksz: a reprint of a translation which had been issued previously by Jacob van Liesvelt in Antwerp and which had consequently acquired its reputation under the latter's name.⁶ To Goris' edi-

veu porter par le pays, pour en estre faict le chastoy exemplaire qu'il convient.'; cf. *Briefwisseling tussen Margaretha van Parma en Charles de Brimeu, graaf van Megen, stadhouder van Gelderland, 1560-1567*, ed. J.S. van Veen (Werken, uitgegeven door Gelre, II; Arnhem 1914), p. 527, no. 482. No answer to this letter has survived. The addressees had already advanced beyond Vianen in pursuit of Brederode's soldiers and the town was occupied by troops under the command of Duke Erich of Brunswick.

³ When he was in exile between 1583 and 1586, the Rotterdam publisher Di(e)rck Mullem printed various books in Vianen including works by the dissident ministers Caspar Coolhaes and Herbert Herberts and a revised edition of David Joris' *Wonderboek* with the false date 1551; see J. Smit, 'Dierck Mullem en zijn gevangenschap als medeplichtige aan den aanslag van Cornelis de Hooghe tegen de veiligheid van den Staat, 1583', *Het Boek*, 24 (1936-7), pp. 101-8; *id.*, 'Nogmaals Dierck Mullem', *ibid.*, 25 (1938-9), pp. 65-6; P. Valkema Blouw, 'Printers to the "arch-heretic" David Joris. Prolegomena to a bibliography of his works', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 163-209 (pp. 192 ff.). Not until 1713 did Joannes Kannevet again publish a book in Vianen; cf. J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *The-saurus 1473-1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid. Dutch printers and booksellers. With places and years of activity* (Nieuwkoop 1989), pp. 31, 279.

⁴ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), *passim*. For a recent discussion of the role of Hendrik van Brederode and Vianen, see A. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London 1990), pp. 126 ff., with bibliography.

⁵ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Over enige boeken te Vianen gedrukt tijdens het "voorspel"', *Opstellen door vrienden en collega's aangeboden aan Dr. F.K.H. Kossmann ter gelegenheid van zijn vijf en zestigste verjaardag en van zijn afscheid als Bibliothecaris der Gemeente Rotterdam* ('s-Gravenhage 1958), pp. 20-34 (pp. 23 ff.). A copy of Thomas à Kempis' *Navolginghe Christi*, which the author was unable to trace, is now to be found in the Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent in Utrecht.

⁶ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 21 ff.

tion of the Bible I shall return when describing the work of our protagonist, Albert Christiaensz. In addition to this, we know from the *Chronika* of the Family of Love,⁷ the sectarian movement of the prophet Hendrik Niclaes, that his former collaborator Augustijn van Hasselt, acting as the factor of Christopher Plantin in Vianen, had run a press there from the end of November 1566 until the fall of the town. The history of this enterprise has now also been investigated more thoroughly.⁸

De la Fontaine Verwey extensively elucidated the political background of the activities of the various printers and pointed to the special importance in this matter of the lord of Vianen, Hendrik van Brederode.⁹ A member of the most ancient Dutch nobility, he came from a family known for its wilfulness and pride. As his father had done before him he, too, the greatest landowner in the area of Holland, adopted a particularly independent attitude to the central government in Brussels. Denying his feudal duties, he behaved like the sovereign ruler of the area under his control. He thus claimed the administration of justice, struck his own coins, and assumed the liberty of according privileges to his printers. The government could hardly agree to this usurpation of its rights, but still hesitated to enter into open conflict with him. Governess Margaret of Parma initially limited herself to written protests addressed to her 'Lieven neve' (dear cousin), which obtained courteous replies but did not have the slightest effect.

After receiving the information about the sale of prohibited publications in Vianen, the Governess dispatched a letter to Brederode on 22 January 1566 (1565 OS) in which she complained about the activities of the printers in the town and expressed her indignation at the freedom with which they could obviously deal in all sorts of subversive books. Brederode wrote back that he had recently ordered an investigation into the behaviour of his only printer and had even had the man

⁷ *Cronica: Chronika des Hüs-gesinnes der Liefsten* (hereafter quoted as *Chronika*), a manuscript compiled by Daniel, a 'fellow-elder' of the sect, is preserved in the Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (Library of the Society for Dutch Literature), now in Leiden UL, under shelf-mark LTK 620. The text is published in *Cronica. Ordo sacerdotis. Acta HN. Three Texts on the Family of Love*, ed. A. Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden 1988).

⁸ At the time it was not yet possible for De la Fontaine Verwey to attribute any printed work to Augustijn van Hasselt. He subsequently succeeded in doing so, at least where Vianen was concerned, in his article 'Le siège de Valenciennes et l'imprimerie de Plantin à Vianen en 1566-67', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 1 (1971), pp. 3-19 (pp. 9 ff.). For a closer investigation into this enterprise of Plantin and a typographical analysis of its production, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90, and *id.*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibidem*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

⁹ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 4 ff.; *id.*, 'Le rôle d'Henri de Brederode et la situation juridique de Vianen pendant l'insurrection des Pays-Bas', *Mélanges Raymond Monier* (Lille 1958), pp. 160-5.

imprisoned for over a month. No evidence had come to light, however, of any laws having been infringed.

Once she was in possession of her spy's report, Margaret could not, of course, accept this denial and, on 27 February, her letter was followed by a second.¹⁰ Here she provided further details from her (unmentioned) source, with a list of books which Albert Christiaensz said he could provide and some of which he had probably printed himself. Brederode's reply has not survived, but later events suggest that this effort of Brussels was as unsuccessful as the others.¹¹

Hendrik van Brederode was not only a temperamental and enterprising man who proved his importance at the beginning of the Revolt as the closest collaborator of William of Orange, but he was also a lover of books. When government troops occupied his castle of Batestein and the pleasure-house of Amelienstein which he had had built in the immediate vicinity for his bride at the time of their marriage, libraries were discovered which were extensive by contemporary standards and contained notably works in French on every sort of subject. It also appears from the inventories drawn up at the time¹² that his wife, the Protestant countess Amelia von Neuenahr, had a great interest in religious works in her own language.

We can assume that the arrival of the first printer in Vianen, Dirck Buyter, was in some way connected with this inclination of the Brederodes and with the possible profits his business might make from their literary interests. Without the support he might have expected from them it is hard to explain why he should have settled in a relatively isolated town of less than a thousand inhabitants which, although situated on a large river, only had a local importance as a port. Apparently, however, the means of subsistence for a printer-publisher soon turned out to be disappointing, despite the advantages of the ruler's patronage, for, after barely two years, Dirck Buyter departed. That was in May 1565, the date on which, according to the informer's report, 'the former printer' had gone off to Antwerp. He may even have originated from that town, but nothing is known either of his previous or of his later career. In those two years he printed various unmistakably Protestant books¹³ and, in a literary domain, a translation of Ovid put to verse by a member

¹⁰ For these letters, see L.P. Gachard, *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, prince d'Orange ...*, 5 vols. (Bruxelles 1850-66), vol. 2, pp. 419-22. Also collected by C. de Chenedolle in *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 7 (1850), pp. 285-94.

¹¹ For a more extensive description, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 13 ff.

¹² Published by J.J. Salverda de Grave, 'Twee inventarissen van het huis Brederode', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, 39 (1918), pp. 1-172.

¹³ Besides the titles mentioned by De la Fontaine Verwey (see n. 5) it is possible to attribute to Buyter on typographical grounds one of the two anonymous 1563 editions of Micronius' *De christlicke ordinancien der Nederlanscher* [sic] *ghemeynten Christi*, described in W. Heijting, *De catechismi en*

of the Antwerp chamber of rhetoric. The book appeared with the fake imprint of 'Cornelis van der Rivieren tot Doesborch' and would seem to have been commissioned by an Antwerp publisher.¹⁴

Buyter soon had a successor, who presumably came, like Buyter himself, from the city on the Schelde: Albert Christiaensz. We know nothing of his previous life either, but the spy's report states that he was married and had set up his press in a house different from the one where Buyter had worked. He thus did not take over his predecessor's business, as we see from the great differences in the typographical material used by the two men. We must assume that Albert came to Vianen with his own printing-press and type cases.

We first encounter Albert's types in a prognostication he published shortly after his arrival. It appeared in two languages, both editions bearing his name as printer. The French version (V 1)¹⁵ has long been known, since its former owner, the distinguished collector C.P. Serrure, described it extensively in *Museum*, the periodical which he published.¹⁶ Together with so many other items from his famous library the book subsequently entered the Arenberg collection where it was long inaccessible. De la Fontaine Verwey thus had to content himself in his article with the information published by Serrure. Not long afterwards, however, he managed to acquire this unique copy for the Amsterdam University Library, and it was again made available for research. The Dutch-language edition (V 2), on the other hand, has not yet been described. A copy has come to light in the Plantin-Moretus Mu-

confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), no. B 7.9; as well as *Copie va(n) het testament, siecte, doot, begravinghe en(de) gheschreven boecken van den eersamen Johan Calvin [...] uut eenen franchoischen brief* (s.l. 1569), the original edition – there is also a later edition with the same date; Joris Wybo's *Historie [...] van de verradelijcke ghevanghenisse [...] Christophori Fabritii* (s.l. 1565) – see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50 and 253-98 (pp. 253 ff., p. 294); and finally (presumably) an early reprint of the Dutch *Belijdenisse des gheloofs* by Guy de Brès, 1563 (Heijting, op. cit., no. B 11.8). An incomplete copy, then privately owned, was described and illustrated by J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *De Nederlandse belijdenisgeschriften in authentieke teksten*, 2nd edn. (Amsterdam 1976), p. 23 and illus. 5, but has since disappeared; cf. *id.*, 'De Nederlandse geloofsbelijdenis 1562, 1563, 1566', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 65 (1985), pp. 31-4 (pp. 31 f.).

¹⁴ *Die conste der minnen, De arte amandi ghenaeempt ...* (1564). The anonymous translator was probably Marius Laurier, and the work was commissioned by the Antwerp publisher Willem Silvius; see P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (p. 117). The same fake address was used a year later in Emden at the press of Willem Gail-liart for two books which were probably also ordered by Willem Silvius – he at least still owned the remainder of the edition in 1579 (*ibid.* p. 118).

¹⁵ The references V 1, V 2 ... etc. and N 1, N 2 ... etc. are to the list of publications by Albert Christiaensz in Vianen and Norwich respectively in the Appendix at the end of this article.

¹⁶ C.P. Serrure, 'Boeken te Vianen in de zestiende eeuw gedrukt', *Vaderlandsch Museum voor Nederduit-sche letterkunde, oudheden en geschiedenis*, 4 (1861), pp. 49-53.

seum (PMM), bound with other ephemera. The two books contain the same series of astronomical woodcuts with Chronos at the beginning of the main text, but a different initial M in the preceding letter of dedication. In contrast to the *Warachtige Pronosticatie*, the title-page of the *Vraye Prediction* is decorated with a frame formed by four woodcut strips (illus. 1). On the last page of both editions (but in French in the *Prediction*) we find an approbation by the parish priest of Vianen, Willem van Varick, followed by a privilege of Hendrik van Brederode, dated 21 November 1565. The printer's imprint at the foot of the page also gives that year.¹⁷

Serrure had already observed that these predictions are quite innocuous from a political point of view and that there are no references to contemporary events in the Low Countries. A publication such as this can thus hardly have led to any great concern in government circles: there must have been other reasons for Margaret to have organized a special investigation in Vianen. De la Fontaine Verwey consequently looked into the only historical source which could provide any information on this point: the list in the report of publications which Albert could evidently provide for future delivery. It is an interesting series of titles, but the number of works possibly produced in Vianen appeared to be small: the books in question came mainly from Emden.¹⁸ The remaining titles include some historical songs of which, as almost always, no copies have survived: four of these, printed on a single sheet, were probably a product of the printer himself.¹⁹ In the case of two lampoons against the Catholic Church (V 3 and V 4) this can be established on typographical grounds. Now, the authorities would certainly have been annoyed by such satires –

¹⁷ In *Vraye Prediction* the imprint runs: 'Imprime à Viane par moy Albert Christiansz, Lan 1565.'

¹⁸ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 16 ff. In the case of one book, moreover, the provenance was only established later: the anonymous 1565 edition of Haemstede's *De geschiedenissen ende den doot der vromer martelaren*, regarded by De la Fontaine Verwey (p. 17 and illus. 6) as the edition sold by Albert, turned out to be an Emden publication printed by Willem Gailliart. See *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Brussels 1964-75), cited hereafter as *BB*, H 171.

¹⁹ 'Item noch vier nyeuwe andere lidekens, in een velle papiers geprint, de eerste beginnende "Mijn Godt, waer zall ic heynen gaen" ende eyndende "in shemels tent", de tweede "Ick roep U, hemelsche vader, aen", ende eyndende "daer will ic u weyden", de derde "Broeders ende susters", ende eyndende "in alle euwichet blijve staen", het vierde "Ick aerm schaep" ende eyndende "voor die waerheyt moeten lijden", die hij betaelt ende naer hem genomen heeft ...' (quoted from Van Hulzen, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 132). De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 18 f., has already shown that they were included in various editions of *Veelderhande liedekens*, at least eight of which had appeared. In F.C. Wieder, *De schriftuurlijke liedekens. De liederen der Nederlandsche hervormden tot op het jaar 1566: inhoudsbeschrijving en bibliographie* (s-Gravenhage 1900; repr. Utrecht 1977), the songs are numbered 551, 436, 96(?) and 398 respectively. According to the agent's report he also bought a copy of another well-known song about the martyrdom of Christophorus Fabricius, 'Antwerpen rijk, o keizerlijke stad'. A little later the *Geuzenliedboek* opened with it. This sheet may well have come from the stock of Dirck Buyter who had published Joris Wybo's book on the episode a year earlier.

but was this a reason for the central government to organize a special investigation to find the culprit? So excessive a measure leads one to expect that it was prompted by matters of far greater political weight.

In view of the absence of all historical information, only one means can be used to provide an answer to this question: an analytical bibliographical investigation. We must try to recover Albert Christiaensz' typographical material in other, anonymous, printed work of the time and thus establish what he produced secretly and what his role was in the propaganda campaign of the Revolt in the turbulent year of 1566. That we should possess two signed works from his press is thus of paramount importance, for these make it possible to ascertain what typefaces he was working with. In *Vraye Prediction* (V I) he was using for the text a highly antiquated Pica Italic of the 'Aldus' family, with upright initials, together with some Roman types for the headlines of the title. The *Warachtige pronosticatie* (V 2; illus. 2) is printed in a southern-Netherlandish variant of Lettersnijder's old but still widely used Pica Textura (VPT T 30),²⁰ with a long-tailed f and a long s, and a slender, bent y. On the title-page, moreover, we see larger, originally French Texturas: a two-line Great Primer (VPT T 3) and a Great Primer (T 12) – two typefaces which were also currently used for these bodies in the Netherlands. The initial M in the Dutch edition, finally, comes from a calligraphic alphabet (illus. 3), variants of which were used by several printers.²¹ The letters are always described as woodcuts, but the particularly small differences between the various sets make it likely that we are here dealing with 'dabs', metal casts in relief, mounted on woodblocks to be printed along with type. A mould or matrix of the design was produced by dropping the original block of wood or metal sharply into a bed of molten lead on the point of cooling.²² We find similar sets owned by a number of printers in Antwerp, Ghent and Emden, and we also encounter letters of this design elsewhere.

²⁰ VPT refers to the standard work by H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968).

²¹ For reproductions of the first five letters of the alphabet after replicas from another set, see M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typografica Plantiniana, III. Amet Tavernier, punch-cutter (ca. 1522-1570)', *De Gulden Passer*, 39 (1961), pp. 17-76, fig. 56 (p. 70): Gothic initials no. 7. It may also have been Tavernier who put them on the market.

²² See also P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, *in duplo*, 1558-1583', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel. Liber Amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310-31 (p. 327, n. 32). A similar but far larger calligraphic alphabet ornamented with tendrils and human and animal figures came on the market a few years later and was also purchased by a series of printers – as well as by notaries in order to embellish their written acts. A number of lead clichés or castings of them have been preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM). For reproductions, see S. Harvard, *Ornamental Initials: The woodcut Initials of Christopher Plantin. A Complete Catalogue* (New York 1974), no. [39], where, however, the M is represented by a reversed W.

PRINTER FOR THE DUTCH REVOLT

A little later another publication appeared, without a printer's name but with the imprint: 'Gedruckt tot Vianen met Gratie ende Previlegie, des [...] Heere van Brederode. Anno 1566'. The title-page is decorated with a large woodcut of the arms of Hendrik van Brederode, together with two images of the remarkable emblem he had adopted: a boar's head between two crossed burning laurel branches (illus. 4).²³ This *Propositie ende Requeste* (V 13) contains the 'Smeekschrift der edelen' (Petition of the nobles), the famous request for greater political and religious freedom handed to Governess Margaret by members of the local nobility, which can be regarded as the first step in the eighty years' struggle for independence of the Netherlands. On the title-page we see that Hendrik van Brederode is the only person concerned to be mentioned by name: this, too, indicates that the publication originated from his own circle.

The history of the pamphlet is as follows. Before the text of the Petition was published in Brussels, with the permission of the authorities, in the two official languages, French and Dutch, with an apostil by the Governess, a clandestine French edition had already appeared. There, besides other additions, we find the so-called 'promesse', an acknowledgement of religious freedom presumably made in private conversations by various members of the Order of the Golden Fleece.²⁴ This apocryphal supplement probably came from a Calvinist source – we now know that the French version was issued by the same press in Sedan as the previously published original edition of another important document from the same quarter, the *Brief discours* of 1565, an appeal for freedom of conscience addressed to the Spanish king and ascribed to Franciscus Junius (François du Jon).²⁵ Brederode, who was aware

²³ This woodcut already appeared in the first book printed in Vianen, produced by Dirck Buyter's press in 1563: [Otto Brunfels], *Dat gulden ghebedeboecxken*, a text followed by other tracts of this author and two works by Savonarola. See De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 8 ff. and illus. 1–3; G. Franz, *Huberinus-Rhegius-Holbein. Bibliographische und druckgeschichtliche Untersuchung der verbreiteten Trost- und Erbauungsschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Nieuwkoop 1973), no. 2.22. Many years later the woodblock came into the hands of the Antwerp printer-publisher Peter Verhaghen in Dordrecht. He used it as ornamentation on the title-page of [Steven Perret], *Een ootmoedich vertooch ende eenvoudighe verclaringhe...* (s.l.e.a. [1583]). Cf. W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter referred to as Kn, no. 658.

²⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this question, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), pp. 23 ff.; P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. 1978), pp. 13 ff.; and especially F. Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien und der niederländische Aufstand*, vol. 2 (Halle a/S. 1908), pp. 63 ff.

²⁵ Just like Fruin only knew the reprint of 1566. For the original edition of 1565, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 20 and for the attribution to Sedan, Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 13), pp.

of the repercussions which a wider diffusion of the tendentious report might have, hurried to have a Dutch edition of the Petition produced, without the 'promesse', but supplemented by the reply of the 'Verbond der edelen' (League of nobles) to the apostil.²⁶

So far Goris Hendricksz has been regarded as the probable printer of this last publication.²⁷ Now that we know the typographical material with which Albert Christiaensz was working, however, we can establish that this document actually came off his press: the typefaces used correspond entirely to what he possessed. Yet, although it was incorrect, the former attribution to Goris Hendricksz was obvious, since he explicitly presented himself as a printer in his previously mentioned New Testament: 'gedruct met Gratie ende Previlegie by my Goris Hendericxz'.²⁸ But the types in this book, too, were unquestionably owned by Albert, and we must thus assume that the term 'printed' stands here, as in other cases, for 'published'. It emerges from contemporary reports that both Goris and his wife regularly peddled books.²⁹ Together with the publications of others, their wares must also have included this New Testament which he had ordered from his fellow-townsmen; he himself was not a printer but probably a bookbinder by training. If a second printing-press had indeed existed in the small town of Vianen we can assume that the spy would certainly have discovered it in his investigations.

Dat nieuwe Testament (V 10), reprinted after a prohibited 'Protestant' edition on the *Index* of Louvain, appeared with a declaration by the aforementioned parish priest of Vianen, Willem van Varick (who in this case signed with his initials),

254, 293.

²⁶ An edition with the same title *Propositie ende requeste*, but with the imprint 'Ghedruckt na de copye van Vyanen [...] anno 1566', does indeed contain the 'Promesse' again. It was produced, as the typography shows, by the press of Willem Gailliart in Emden. The only known copy is in Ghent UL; J.K. van der Wulp, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland: aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1866-8), no. 121; J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), no. B 945.

²⁷ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 23 and illus. 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff. and illus. 8.

²⁹ For Goris Hendricksz, see *ibidem*, pp. 22 f. On 3 January 1566 (1567 NS) Hans Spaen, an agent of the Duke of Berg, was arrested with barrels containing a large number of copies of the Heidelberg catechism and Dathenus' Psalms. He declared that he had bought the copies of the second work in Antwerp from the wife of the printer Georges Hendricx; cf. C. Rahlenbeck, 'A propos de quelques livres defendus imprimés à Anvers au XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 12 (1856), pp. 254 f., and *id.*, 'Notes sur les auteurs, les imprimeurs et les distributeurs des pamphlets politiques et religieux du XVI^e siècle', *ibidem*, 15 (1859), pp. 370 f.

about the accuracy of the translation.³⁰ This summary statement cannot be regarded as an approbation of the work in the current sense, although it resembles one from a formal point of view, presumably not unintentionally. The book contains five initials from the above-mentioned calligraphic alphabet: D (twice), I, N, P (repeated several times), and S. These letters thus make it possible to ascribe other printed work in which they appear to our Albert, provided that the typefaces used in the text also correspond.

We find the initial I in *Copie van sommige, ende de principaelste articulen [...] van sHoofs wegen geproponeert den staten van Vlaenderen* (V 7), which, like all subsequent publications, contains neither an imprint nor any other indication of provenance. It is a booklet of only eight leaves, dated 11 May 1566 and printed in the various Texturas which Albert owned. The N also appears with these three founts in a Dutch edition of Du Jon's aforesaid *Brief discours*, entitled *Een corte verhalinge gesonden aen Coninc Philips* (1566), V 12.³¹ The S, finally, is used again, this time in a pamphlet in French: *Remo(n)strance au Roy d'Espagne sur la Requeste nagueres presentee par la noblesse du païs bas* (1566), V 14.³²

This *Remonstrance*, which shows that we must also look among French publications for Vianen printing, has as the first letter of the title-page a damaged R of VPT T 3. The same easily recognizable mutilated capital is also used at the beginning of the title of a Dutch version of the same tract: *Remonstrance ofte vertoogh aen den [...] Coninck [...] op de Requeste* (1566), V 15, so that this, too, must have come from Albert's press. From an agreement signed by the author, Gilles Le Clercq, and Nicolas du Bar, a book dealer from the southern Netherlands working in Geneva, it appears that 1,500 copies of the French text were printed and 2,000 of the Dutch.³³

³⁰ The text (on f. [*7]r.) runs: 'Ende is oock warachtich bevonden, na die rechte Idioma natuere der Griecscher ende Latijnscher sprake, ghetrouwelijck getranslateert ofte overgeset. Actum tot Vianen Anno 1566 den vijften Januarij Stilo Communi. Onderteekent. W.V.V.' For a reproduction of the page, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), illus. 8 facing p. 22.

³¹ Geurts, op. cit. (n. 24), pp. 8 f.

³² For this and the Dutch edition, see also *ibidem*, pp. 16 ff. The Dutch text is reprinted in G. van Haecht, *Kroniek van de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en elders*, 2 vols., ed. R. van Roosbroeck (Antwerpen 1929-30), vol. 1, pp. 54-61.

³³ For the text of this agreement, see C. Rahlenbeck, art. cit. (1859, n. 29), pp. 364-7; Geurts, op. cit. (n. 24), pp. 171.; also G. Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai* (Paris 1962), p. 165, n. 4. It was agreed that the two editions should be published on joint account. The contract was signed on 10 May 1566. Judging from the date printed at the end the text had already been printed on the 28th of that month. For the authorship of Gilles le Clercq, from Tournai, a lawyer and secretary of Prince Louis of Nassau, a brother of William of Orange's, see Geurts, op. cit. (n. 24), p. 17, who, however, wrongly regarded Nicolas du Bar as the printer. For this book dealer from the southern Netherlands who had been living in Geneva since 1557, see H.J. Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe. Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte 1565-1580* (Genève 1969), pp. 119 f., 150.

The typography contains two elements which are new to us: the initial G of the calligraphic alphabet and an apparently recently acquired Italic on Pica, a face of the punchcutter Ameet Tavernier (VPT IT 8). Albert had thus replaced his rather anachronistic 'Aldus' Italic by a modern type.

As De la Fontaine Verwey had already assumed, the two satires on the papacy in Albert's list were also printed by himself. *Een schoon suyverlyck Boecxke(n) inhoude(n) de het oordel ende vonnisse [...] over [...] Pasquillus* (V 3) appeared, as we see on the title-page, in 1565. *Een Colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien [...] Pasquillus ende [...] Marphorius* (V 4), which was also available at Albert's shop during the investigation in January 1566,³⁴ has no date but is presumably of about the same time. They were probably translations from the Latin and belong to a literary genre much used at the time for lampoons against the Pope. Besides the initial I already familiar to us, the first booklet contains the letter R of the calligraphic alphabet. No ornamental letters appear in the *Colloquie*.

By using certain recognizable elements of the printed work it is thus possible to ascribe six unsigned editions to Albert besides the two publications bearing his imprint. Together they give us a clear picture of the manner in which he used his material as a typographer. The way of type setting is simple and uniform: the title-pages nearly always consist of a line in the large Textura VPT T 3, then a line in the slightly smaller T 12 and below, joining directly, the rest of the text of the title in Lettersnijder's Pica T 30 or Tavernier's IT 8. Finally, another line follows with the date. The rest of the title-page remains unprinted so that a third or even nearly half of it is blank (illus. 5). Another typical element in his books is the repeated application of a triangle made up of 3 (2 + 1) asterisks as tailpiece.

With these external characteristics as an indication, it is not difficult to ascribe a number of other publications of 1566 to the press of Albert Christiaensz. These include *Advertissem(n)t [...] aux Gouverneurs & Estats [...] sur le fait de la religion* (V 5), which was distributed in Brussels on the night of 30 June/1 July 1566. A Dutch edition of this tract, *Advertissem(n)t [...] aende Gouverneurs en(de) Staten* (V 6), dated 12 June, was already in the hands of the public a week after that date.³⁵ The French edition has

³⁴ For a reproduction of the title-page, see De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), illus. 7, the plate facing p. 19.

³⁵ A copy of the Dutch edition in the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) in Amsterdam (shelf-mark Van Maanen 3) has a contemporary note on the title-page: 'Gelijck dese boucxkens wasser t'Antwerpen groote menichte vercocht op de beurse omtrent de noene den 19. ende 20. van Junius 1566' (A large number of these booklets were sold at the Exchange in Antwerp at about midday on the 19th and 20th June 1566). The copy in Amsterdam UL also has the date 'den 19 Junij' in a contemporary hand on the title-page. It had obviously proved possible to send the text to Vianen, carry out the commission and deliver the edition in the south all within a week. See also Van Haecht, op. cit.

the initial I which we have already encountered, and the Dutch one an A from the same alphabet. We thus see that propaganda material for the Revolt was no longer issued by turbulent Antwerp in those months, but by Vianen, where the rule of Hendrik van Brederode could guarantee an unhampered production.

An interesting report has come to light about the transport of the products: it appears to have been a family business. On 27 February 1566 Margaret of Parma informed the sheriff of Gorinchem that she had reliable information that the mother of Albert Christiaensz' wife travelled with consignments of prohibited books to Antwerp and elsewhere, and at the same time bought supplies of paper for her son-in-law. The Governess gave orders that everything should be done in order to trap the woman and interrogate her with the object of discovering amongst other things which texts the printer was planning to publish.³⁶

The pamphlets were probably distributed above all in the four capitals of Brabant, as happened on the night of 25/6 May with *De derde waerschouwinge ende vermaninghe aen [...] Brabant, teghen de calumnien van [...] Granvel* (V 8),³⁷ where we find an initial L of the alphabet used as an E. A little earlier, on 3 April, the *Requeste aen de Eerwerdighe [...] borghemeesteren en(de) Raet der vermaerder coopstadt Antwerpen* (V 16), containing an initial V of the alphabet, was delivered in the middle of the night. These also came from Vianen: the printers in Antwerp obviously found it too dangerous to tackle this sort of political publication in these months.

It soon emerged that great risks were indeed involved. On the night of 27/8 April a seditious publication was again 'scattered' in Antwerp: 'men vondt er smorgens vuel in diveersche straten liggen' (the next morning a large number were found lying in various streets), runs the report.³⁸ This *Vermaninge aende Regeerders ende Gemeinte vande vier hoofsteden van Brabant* consisted of only four leaves without a separate title-page and was entirely set (the headline included) in a single Italic typeface. The city magistrates were compelled by Brussels to seek out the culprit and did so in a highly modern way, with the help of a typographical investigation. By interrogating a number of printers they tried to establish which ones owned the typeface used. It turned out to be in the possession of various local printers, but also of certain presses elsewhere. As a result of this complication the inquiry came to nothing and it has only recently been possible to identify the culprit: the Antwerp printer Gillis

(n. 32), pp. 49-53 and n. 60. – At the end of the Dutch edition we see the initials G.C. and I.L., evidently of Gilles le Clercq as author (see n. 33) and Jean Lippens as translator (see n. 40).

³⁶ The letter is reproduced with a translation in B.A. Vermaseren, 'The mother-in-law of Albert Christiaensz, printer and book dealer at Vianen', *Quaerendo*, 6 (1976), pp. 195-7.

³⁷ For the diffusion and the text of the document, see Van Haecht, op. cit. (n. 32), pp. 44 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Coppens van Diest.³⁹ The result fits perfectly into the image we now have of him, for in 1566 and 1567 this septuagenarian was involved in more clandestine publications than any other of his colleagues in the city.

A hitherto unrecorded reprint of the *Vermaninge* (V 18) has come to light which, just like the original, is set in a single typeface: in this case in Lettersnijder's Pica Textura and in a fount identical to that of Albert Christiaensz. Such a similarity of a single type, which was in general use at that time, usually does not justify the attribution to a particular press. In view of the external appearance to which we have become accustomed in the products of our man and the many similar works he printed for the leaders of the Revolt, however, it seems reasonable to ascribe the printing to him even if it does not contain any initial which would provide decisive proof.

There is also another means which occasionally permits us to establish with absolute certainty that we are dealing with the work of Albert Christiaensz. He used some of his initials later, in England, in his work for Anthonius de Solemne (a phase of his career which will be discussed below) – and this shows that when he fled he took the set with him to a safer haven. The V in one of these books is unmistakably the same initial as the one we found in V 16, thus confirming the attribution of this publication. The same letter can also be found in the reprint of an earlier text, *Verdrach ende transactie [...] tusschen lovelijcker memorien Keyser Karolus V, ende de Cuervorsten [...] des H. Rijkcr* [sic], V 1944, which contains the articles of the treaty of Augsburg (16 June 1548) at which the German princes recognized the Netherlands belonging together as a separate area. In the light of the intensifying conflict with the central government these stipulations had acquired a new relevance, so that the republication was of importance to the Revolt.

There was another reprint which appeared without any ornamental initials, this time of the Petition of the Nobles and the subsequently exchanged documents (*Requests*; V 17), in a translation by the same M.I.L. who had also translated other writings in this propaganda campaign. The initials refer to Johannes Lippens (Lippius), who at about this time was burgomaster and alderman of Eeklo in Flanders, and was one of the men who were later to organise the Reformed Church in the Netherlands.⁴⁰ His involvement both in this publication and in V 5 and V 15 sup-

³⁹ For this late discovery of the culprit from a typographical analysis, see H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Een onbekende tijdgenoot van Christoffel Plantin: Ameet Tavernier, letterstekker', *Antwerpen. Tijdschrift van de stad Antwerpen*, 7 (1961), pp. 37–41 (illus.). Further clandestine activities of Coppens are treated by P. Valkema Blouw, 'Gilles Coppens van Diest als ondergronds drukker, 1566–67', *Het oude en het nieuwe boek, de oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen 1988), pp. 143–63 (illus.).

⁴⁰ See *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1914), cols. 774 f. Jean Lippens (Lippius) came from Nieuwpoort. In 1565 he was a minister in Breda, in 1566/7 alderman and burgomaster of Eeklo. He then departed for Wesel as a minister, but moved to Dordrecht in 1572. In 1576 he

ports the attribution on typographical grounds to our printer.

In outward appearance the most striking in this series of political publications is *Der Guesen handelinge ende oprechte meninghe, waer inne tbescheyt wort ghedae(n) va(n) weghe(n) der Gouvernante* (V II). This is a reprint of the Petition and the various documents subsequently exchanged with the Governess, the last being the so-called 'second petition' of the nobles of 29 July 1566. The title-page (illus. 6) bears a woodcut with the legend 'Vive le Gues' (Long live the Beggars) and a representation symbolizing this device of the Revolt: two intertwined hands on a beggar's wallet flanked by a flask and a bowl as the attributes of a beggar and the bust of a prince supposed to represent King Philip II of Spain.⁴¹ Besides an initial E (reversed, to serve as a T), which we did not encounter before, we have here the V of the set, which confirms the attribution. There is something else that indicates Vianen as the place of publication: here, too, Hendrik van Brederode is the only nobleman mentioned by name on the title-page and there is an attestation by a contemporary that the original edition was produced in this town.⁴²

In another publication, with a further as yet unknown initial from the alphabet, the O, typography also proves decisive. It contains the text of the *Eedt by den bisschop van Haerlem* [Nicolaus de Terra Nova (van Nieuwlandt)] (V 9), with, at the end, a short report of the meeting of the noblemen in the town of St Truiden in the middle of July.⁴³ As in several of the aforesaid publications the printing is somewhat negligent. Apart from the fact that he did not always take due care and often had to print in some haste, Albert Christiaensz apparently lacked matrices and was thus unable to replace damaged letters himself. The result shows that he was in urgent need of type and it is hardly surprising that he should have actually purchased a new fount.

returned to Wesel but finally settled for good as a minister in Hulst in Zeeland Flanders in 1578.

⁴¹ On the symbolism of these representations, see H.F.K. van Nierop, 'Edelman, bedelman. De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 107 (1992), pp. 1-27; *id.*, 'A Beggars' Banquet: The Compromise of the Nobility and the Politics of Inversion', *European History Quarterly*, 21 (1991), pp. 419-43. A most deceptive replica of the woodcut is to be found in a variant edition, from another press, of *Der Guesen handelinge* (with: gedaen [...] wegen [...] Edelen), in the Antwerp Stadsbibliotheek.

⁴² On 21 November 1566 the printer Johan Willemsz stood trial in Kampen, charged with having printed 'Der Goesen handeligen'. He denied the fact and declared that 'Aucke boeckencooper wonende binnen Lewerden, nae sijn wetenschap hem die boecxken, tho Vianen ierst gedrukt, geintituleert der Guesen handeligen, geleverd hadde ...' (to his knowledge Aucke, a bookseller living in Leeuwarden, had given him the booklets entitled *Der Guesen handeligen* which had been printed first in Vianen); see G.H.A. Krans, 'Kamper boekdrukkers in de 16e eeuw', *Kamper almanak 1959/60* (Kampen 1959), pp. 176-91 (p. 185).

⁴³ A hitherto unnoticed reprint of this exists, probably printed by Pieter Warnersen in Kampen, which can be recognized by the following differences in spelling in the title: Brugge, t gheene, sint, ghewest. Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

In *Cort bewijs uut de Schriften Lutheri* (1566), V 20, we find, instead of his Lettersnijder Pica Textura, a smaller French type which was also much in use in the Netherlands, the 'Parisian' Textura on Bourgeois (VPT T 43). The same face is used in another tract by Luther: *Een schriftlick wederroep van des Paus groot valscheit toluys, namelijk tVagevier* (V 21),⁴⁴ with also a few lines on the title-page in a modern Italic (VPT IT 10) and a Roman which appears to be a mixture of worn type from the Pica Romans of Tavernier (R 26) and Guyot (R 27). The publication has as its imprint 'Ghedruckt 1566, somen spueren mach, Doenmen mijn Heer van Cruyningen trueren sach' (Printed in 1566, as one may perceive, when my Lord of Cruyningen was seen to grieve). This little rhyme refers, not without malicious pleasure, to an event which had occurred shortly before in the vicinity of Vianen.⁴⁵ The two booklets, both of which are unique copies, are bound together. The first has the B of Albert's initials which we shall encounter again in Norwich, and the other the G with which we are already familiar. This *Cort bewijs* may have been an attempt to win the Lutherans of Antwerp over to greater tolerance in the debate about the Eucharist, a constant source of friction with the Prince's Calvinist followers. Efforts were made from various quarters in those days to find a solution to this major point of controversy.⁴⁶

AS COMPOSITOR IN SEDAN AND EMDEN

Albert Christiaensz seems to have left Vianen shortly afterwards and his stay there consequently lasted hardly a year. One of his ornamental letters, the P, which appears several times in the New Testament he printed for Goris Hendricksz, is to be found in another New Testament which appeared in 1567 with the name of Lenaert der Kinderen on the title-page.⁴⁷ I have shown elsewhere that this former

⁴⁴ An earlier translation of Luther's *Ein Widderruff vom Fegefeuer* (1530) appears in the Louvain *Index* of 1546 (cf. J.M. de Bujanda, *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1559, 1558* (Index des livres interdits, 2; Sherbrooke/Genève 1986), no. 172) as well as in the list of books of Jan van der Haer, drawn up after he had transferred his library to the Court of Holland. See C.C.G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen 1969; thesis Amsterdam), no. 64 (pp. 87 f.); M.E. Kronenberg, 'Uitgaven van Luther in de Nederlanden verschenen tot 1541', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, NS, 40 (1954), pp. 1-25, no. 62 (p. 15).

⁴⁵ Ananias van Cruiningen, a natural son of Jan van Cruiningen, viscount of Zeeland, served in a company of Hendrik van Brederode. When inspecting the convent of Marienweerd he removed certain objects of value. When his theft came to light he was forced to give the stolen valuables to the Lady of Brederode who returned them to the abbot. In 1567 he went to Amsterdam with Brederode's troops and then to Emden, where he became a 'Watergeus' ('Sea Beggar'). A.J. van der Aa [*et al.*], *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden*, vol. 3 (Haarlem [1858]), pp. 896 f.

⁴⁶ If the verses on the title-page did not point so clearly to Vianen the texts might lead one to suppose that Albert had acted briefly as a printer elsewhere, for example in Antwerp.

⁴⁷ For this New Testament (Der Kinderen also printed another 8vo edition in the same year),

collaborator of Plantin was then running a press which was originally established in Haarlem but was transferred to Sedan by the new proprietor (presumably Frans Volckertsz Coornhert, perhaps together with his brother Clement). There, in 1565, a Protestant publishing firm was set up, first with Goossen Goebens as factor. It suspended its activities a year later as a result of Goebens' departure, but resumed them in the autumn of 1566 under Der Kinderen.⁴⁸

The use of one of Albert's blocks shows that he, too, was in Sedan at the time and took a part in the production. I said earlier that his ornamental letters appear a little later in what he printed in England and that this shows that he took the set with him when he departed from Vianen. Why he should have left is not clear but one or two suggestions can be made. In so far as Brederode was involved in them, the publications of the Revolt decreased considerably in quantity after July, while, owing to the temporarily more liberal climate, various printers in Antwerp once more ventured to accept orders for political propaganda.⁴⁹ As a result of these changes a press in distant Vianen lost the main reason for its existence and that may have been why Albert left the town. Furthermore Plantin's factor Augustijn van Hasselt arrived in the town towards the end of the year with large modern equipment and various collaborators – but Albert may not have known this at the time of his departure.

It does indeed seem strange that Albert Christiaensz should turn up again in a town such as Sedan. He was married, as we have seen, and is unlikely to have been in search of adventures. So what induced him to give up his autonomy and to enter paid employment in distant France? One explanation could be that he did not undertake the journey at random but had a contract in his pocket which guaranteed him an attractive income for a year or perhaps longer; without such an agreement it would have been a somewhat risky decision. But who could have made a proposal to him in his remote place of residence? I believe that the most likely candidate is Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, the third and best known of the three brothers. In the first, Haarlem phase of the press which was taken over by Frans Coornhert, he shared in the partnership which had set up the firm under the management of Jan van Zuren.⁵⁰ He was, moreover, a close friend of the Brederodes and came regularly to Vianen. Particularly in 1566 he visited the town on several occasions on behalf of William of Orange in order to advise Hendrik van Brederode on political mat-

see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 13), pp. 261 f., 296 (no. S 12). Albert's initial P appears in the book as a second ornamental letter in a quire where Der Kinderen's own P is used in the same forme.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 256 ff.

⁴⁹ Cf. Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 39), pp. 148 ff.

⁵⁰ *Id.*, art. cit. (n. 13), pp. 229 ff.

ters.⁵¹ It seems quite possible that, in order to help his brothers out of their difficulties, he saw, with his experience as a publisher, the possibility of enlisting the services of the printer for their press, which had come to a standstill. What with the new factor Lenaert der Kinderen, the setting capacity would then have been large enough for it to resume production.⁵²

After the fall of Vianen in May 1567, Frans and Clement Coornhert followed Brederode to Emden and soon transferred the printing-press from Sedan to their new place of residence.⁵³ Both Lenaert and Albert also followed and continued their work in the new surroundings. That Albert Christiaensz was there, too, can again be seen from one of his initials in a book printed in Emden. This time it is the A, formerly used for the Dutch edition of the *Advertissement* (V 6), which proves his presence.⁵⁴ He only stayed there briefly, however, for in the same year we encounter him elsewhere – in England.

PRINTER FOR ANTHONIUS DE SOLEMNE IN NORWICH

On 16 May 1568 the bishop of Norwich, John Parkehurst, sent Archbishop Parker a list of emigrants from the Netherlands who had settled in his diocese. Among these immigrants, who included many weavers, there were two who had both arrived in 1567 and who were described as ‘tipographus’: Anthonius de la Solemne with his wife and two sons from Brabant – and Albertus Christiani, with no mention of a family, from Holland.⁵⁵ They were among the many hundreds of refugees from the Low Countries who had crossed over to England in order to escape the disturbances in their own country. It is obvious that, after the arrival of the severe Governor Alva in August 1567, Albert should have felt unsafe in Emden, just across the Dutch border. It seemed perfectly possible that the Spaniards might occupy

⁵¹ Coornhert visited Vianen three times in 1566 between August and November. See the list of his journeys in that year in H. Bongers, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), p. 14.

⁵² See also Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 13), pp. 292 f.

⁵³ For this move and the considerations which may have led to it, see *ibidem*, pp. 264 ff., 282 ff.

⁵⁴ The letter is printed on p. 405 of [Zach. Ursinus], *Een claer bewijs van het heylighe Avontmael ... (s.l.a.n. [Emden, Coornhert-press, 1567])*, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 13), pp. 296 f. (E 1) and for a reproduction *ibidem*, illus. 8 (p. 271).

⁵⁵ ‘Anthonius de la Solemne tipographus cum uxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567’ and ‘Albertus Christiani tipographus ex Hollandia venit huc Anno 1567’; quoted from W. Rye, ‘The Dutch Refugees in Norwich’ (with a transcription of the 1568 census), *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (Norwich 1877), pp. 215, 217. – The available information about these two emigrants is collected and reprinted in W.K. Sessions & D. Stoker, *The First Printers in Norwich from 1567 – Anthony de Solempne, Albert Christiaensz & Joannes Paetz* (York 1987), subsequently cited as Sessions.

that centre of dissident and rebellious printing which they so hated – and indeed, a year later, after the defeat of Prince Louis of Nassau at Jemgum, this very nearly occurred. Albert Christiaensz, whose arrest had been ordered, had every reason to feel threatened and accordingly decided at short notice to move further afield. Yet, despite his flight to Norwich, he did not entirely escape prosecution: on 13 January 1568 he and his wife were sentenced in their absence by the Council of Troubles in Brussels to banishment and the confiscation of their property – even if this last measure was presumably a mere formality.⁵⁶

It is not surprising that Norwich, of all English towns, should have received a large stream of emigrants from the southern Netherlands.⁵⁷ No town in England apart from London had a larger immigrant population and, partly thanks to the liberal attitude of the city magistracy, the newcomers had a better chance of finding homes and jobs there than elsewhere. Situated on the other side of the Channel, at about the same latitude as Antwerp, Norwich, albeit not a port, was easily accessible by ship. There had thus long been lively commercial dealings between the two towns. Woollen fabrics were the most important products of Norwich and some years earlier, in 1554, the town had attempted to expand its assortment by inviting Flemish weavers to settle there. In 1566, before the arrival of the Duke of Alba in the Low Countries, the town already contained 174 Dutch immigrants, a number that grew rapidly to about 3,000 in 1570 (out of a total population of 12,000) and even to about 6,000 in 1578.⁵⁸ Nowhere was there such a large proportion of Dutch people, even if there were actually more of them in London. By far the majority of these refugees came from the southern areas.

This influx of largely educated and experienced craftsmen and businessmen provided the town with a substantial growth of production and trade, and thanks to this augmenting prosperity the ‘strangers’ were largely assimilated by the local

⁵⁶ Jacob Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen van den hertog van Alba, uitgesproken en geslagen in zijnen Bloedraedt ...* (Amsterdam 1735), p. 35; A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés* (Bruxelles 1961), sub 1.823 (his wife Marie), 1.821 en 7369 respectively. Corstenszone is given as the patronym instead of Christiaensz, but other details confirm the identification. See Vermaseren, art. cit. (n. 36), p. 196.

⁵⁷ For the history of the emigrants from the southern Netherlands in Norwich in this period, see above all W.J.C. Moens, ‘The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: their History and Registers, 1565-1832; in two parts’, *The Publications of The Huguenot Society of London*, vol. 1 (Lymington 1887-8), *passim*. Later sources are mentioned in P. Denis, ‘Pour une histoire économique et sociale des réfugiés wallons et flamands à Norwich au XV^e siècle: travaux récents et sources inexplorées’, *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique; Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België*, 46 (1975), pp. 472-88. For their cultural life, see L.W. Forster, ‘The literary life of Dutch exiled communities in England 1567-1603. 1. Norwich’, in *id.*, *Janus Gruter’s English years* (Leiden 1967), pp. 25-47; for the ecclesiastical history, see A.A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche vluchtelingenkerken der XVI^e eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland* (’s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 199 ff.

⁵⁸ B. Green & R.M.R. Young, *Norwich: the growth of a city* (Norwich 1981), pp. 22 f.

citizens without any great resistance. Some immigrants soon felt so at home in their new surroundings⁵⁹ that they decided to remain in England even when it was possible to return to their own country. Anthonius de Solemne was one of them. In 1570 he acquired denizenship and in the following years, as a trader in Rhine wine, he became a man of means.⁶⁰ Before being allowed to settle for good, however, he spent the first part of his stay, as the term ‘tipographus’ suggests, working as a printer – a trade that had not yet been practised in Norwich and which consequently could not lead to conflict with any local interests.⁶¹

It is not clear whether De Solemne had made preparations for a career such as this before his departure from the Netherlands or whether the situation in his new place of residence induced him to make the choice. For De Solemne was no printer by trade; when he moved from Mechelen to Antwerp in 1566, he had himself inscribed as a ‘broker’.⁶² Also as a broker, ‘in spices’, he had had a notarial act drawn up in June 1567, just before the arrival of Alva, stating that he had left for Culemborch and various other towns to collect outstanding debts⁶³ – possibly a pretext to conceal his departure from the country. But broking was not a trade likely to entail any typographical experience and we can surmise that his decision to set himself up as a printer was dictated by the circumstances he encountered in Norwich.

That the publications of the press, in so far as they were signed, should have borne De Solemne’s name means that he was at least formally responsible for the

⁵⁹ This emerges from an interesting collection of letters from emigrants to their relations and acquaintances at home held in the municipal archives of Ypres, published in H.Q. Jansen & J.H. van Dale, ‘De Hervormde vlugtelingen van Yperen in Engeland’, *Oudheidkunde en geschiedenis inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen*, vol. 2 (Middelburg 1857), pp. 211 ff. For a survey of this correspondence and a number of characteristic quotations, see Moens, op. cit. (n. 57), vol. 2, Appendix 7 (pp. 220 ff.): ‘Letters written by the refugee strangers at Norwich to their friends and relations at Ypres’.

⁶⁰ For what little is known about De Solemne’s later career, see WJ.C. Moens, ‘Bibliography of “Chronyc historie der Nederlantscher oorlogen, etc.”’, *Archaeologia*, 51 (1888), pp. 205–12 (210 f.), assimilated and supplemented with certain information that came to light subsequently by D. Stoker, ‘Anthony de Solempne: attributions to his press’, *The Library*, 6th S., 3 (1981), pp. 17–32; reprinted in Sessions, op. cit. (n. 53), pp. 61–78.

⁶¹ At first the restrictions imposed on De Solemne were retained after he had acquired denizenship: ‘Anthonius de Solen, prynter non apprenticius admissus est civis sub condicione that he shall not occupye eny trade of marchandise [...] but only his arte of prynting and selling of Renysh wyne ...’; Assembly Book, f. 180, as cited in Moens, op. cit. (n. 57), p. 72; cf. Sessions p. 39.

⁶² Antwerpse Poortersboeken 1533–1608, vol. 2: 15 Maart 1566, Antonis de Solenne, son of Steven, from Mechelen, broker (Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Vierschaar 148, f. 107).

⁶³ ‘Anthoenis de Solempne, makeleer van speceryen, *oppidanus*, juravit dat hy in meyningen ende genecessiteert is te reysene naer Culenborch, omme te vervolgene zekere schult die hy aldaer hangende heeft, ende oick voirts van daer inden lande van Cleve ende Geldre ...’; Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Certificatieboek 1567, f. 241, as quoted in *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 11 (1875), pp. 434 f.

business. He was probably also its originator and main financier, possibly together with one or more sleeping partners. It is obvious that Albert Christiaensz, the only true typographer in Norwich, should have been entrusted with the technical management of the firm – something that has so far been assumed but not proven.⁶⁴ There can be no doubt of his involvement, however, since his ornamental letters appear in various Dutch publications of the press.

Since we do not know where and when the decision to set up the press was taken, it is impossible to ascertain whether the two men first encountered one another after the crossing or whether they had known each other for a longer time. It seems certain that the types acquired, which were entirely different from those used by Albert in Vianen, came directly or indirectly from Antwerp.⁶⁵ There is no documented information about the enterprise: all we know is what can be deduced from the surviving publications. Assumptions about such matters as direct dealings with Emden are also entirely speculative.⁶⁶

No further details concerning Albert Christiaensz have come to light in either English or Dutch sources. The fact that his name should no longer appear on later lists of Dutch immigrants leads us to suppose that he returned home as soon as there was no further immediate danger in the liberated areas. We can follow his activities in Norwich until 1570 as the only printer working in England outside London and the university cities of Oxford and Cambridge. With the exception perhaps of a few occasional publications of local interest, what he produced was intended for the Dutch who had sought refuge overseas. This meant that, apparently with the tacit assent of the English authorities, the firm took over a task which had been officially sanctioned and performed in London until 1553 by the printers Steven Mierdmans and Claes van den Berge (Nicholas Hill) who had then departed and had since died.⁶⁷

PUBLICATIONS OF ANTHONIUS DE SOLEMNE

⁶⁴ De la Fontaine Verwey, art. cit. (n. 1), p. 36; Stoker, art. cit. (n. 60), p. 19 [= Sessions, p. 63].

⁶⁵ The following types were acquired: the Texturas VPT (see n. 20) T 3, T 12, T 30, T 43, T 47, the Italics VPT IT 3 and IT 8 (not IT 10 as is stated by Stoker in his n. 33) and an unidentified Roman Brevier as a small Roman face for marginalia etc.

⁶⁶ Anyone comparing David Stoker's article in *The Library* (n. 60) with his *A history of the Norwich book trades, 1560 to 1760* (unpublished FLA thesis 1975), will note a difference in his conclusions. In his book, he accepted the views generally held at the time concerning the work of De Solemne; six years later, in his article, he rejected most of the relevant ascriptions on the grounds of information received from Professor H. de la Fontaine Verwey.

⁶⁷ For historical information about these printers and their London period, see the survey in A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford 1986), pp. 85 ff., and the bibliography provided. For Mierdmans' production in England see Colin Clair's fundamental 'On the Printing of Certain Reformation Books', *The Library*, 5th S., 18 (1963), pp. 275-87.

The new press was off to a good start: in 1568 it already produced three books.⁶⁸ One of these was an edition of the Dutch bestseller of the time, the *Psalmen* of Marot and Beza in Petrus Dathenus' translation. After its appearance in 1566, this rhymed version of the Psalms immediately had an immense success and anyone who could print music hastened to meet the overwhelming demand. Within two years dozens of editions came onto the market in all sorts of towns, often combined with the Heidelberg catechism and the liturgical texts used at the Dutch Reformed services. De Solemne, too, published the book in that combination (STC 2741: N 2). At the beginning of the foreword we see the familiar initial S belonging to Albert Christiaensz, while the Catechism starts with the V which he had used more than once in Vianen.⁶⁹

We also find this letter used several times in another book of the same year (N 1): *Belijdenisse ende eenvoudige wtlegghinge des waerachtighen gheloofs* (STC 23557), an edition in Dutch of the recently published *Confessio helvetica posterior* (1566) by Heinrich Bullinger, followed by a translation of the *Confessio gallicana*, the confession of faith of the French Protestants.⁶⁹ Both confessions, which were to acquire considerable authority in the Low Countries, were here published for the first time in Dutch.

In 1569 De Solemne also received an outside order – from the Spanish renegade Antonio del Corro (Corranus). Shortly before in Antwerp, where he had hoped to be appointed minister of the Walloon Church, Del Corro had already published certain writings, including an open letter to King Philip II of Spain in which he explained his reasons for relinquishing Catholicism and provided a defence of his religious views.⁷⁰ Such audacity was not appreciated by the authorities and he was obliged to flee from the Netherlands, subsequently coming to London where he became head of a small community of Spanish Protestants. He there drew up a list of articles of faith, a con-

⁶⁸ Since Moens' *Bibliography* (n. 60) certain lists have been drawn up of De Solemne's true or putative publications, by W.H. Alnutt in 'Some Account of English Provincial Presses', *Bibliographica*, 2 (1896), pp. 150-2, and 3 (1897), pp. 481-3; by E.M. Beloe in his *Facsimile Reprint of An Historical Perpetual Calendar [...] Norwich [...] 1570* (King's Lynn 1915), Appendix 3, pp. 60 ff.; and by Stoker and Sessions in the publications already quoted.

⁶⁹ STC refers to *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926); 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London 1986-91). Heijting, op. cit. (n. 13), vol. 1, pp. 280 f. (no. B 13) and vol. 2, p. 303 (reproduction of the title-page).

⁷⁰ Lettre envoyée à la Majesté du roy des Espaignes ... (*s.l.a.n.* [1567]); cf. A.G. Kinder, in *Bibliotheca dissidentium*, 7 (*Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana*, 106 (Baden-Baden 1986), no. 2 (pp. 154-6, illus.). The anonymous printer in Antwerp was Gillis Coppens van Diest; see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 39), pp. 143-63 (pp. 148 f.).

fession which he later had multiplied in four languages.⁷¹ So far only the French edition has come to light (N 4): *Tableau de l'œuvre de Dieu*, printed on a single sheet (STC 5792).⁷² The leaf does not bear any woodcut initials but is decorated with borders made up of numerous typographical stamps or fleurons. The title-page of the other publications also have a similar decoration and we can regard it as a characteristic of the style of Albert Christiaensz in his English period. That this, too, is a publication of De Solemne's press thus seems certain: the author and the printer may already have met in Antwerp. The Latin version has survived as a broadside of 1570 (STC 5793) produced by an anonymous press which also issued a reprint in French (STC 5792.5). The English and Dutch editions have apparently been lost.⁷³

At about the same time and also without an imprint, De Solemne published a book which made history because of its unusual content: the *Historie van B[roeder] Cornelis Adriaensen van Dordrecht, Minrebroeder binnen die Stadt van Brugghe* (s.l.e.n. 1569), N 5 (illus. 7). This satirical work consists mainly of texts of sermons supposedly preached in public in Bruges between 1566 and 1568 by Cornelis Adriaensz Brouwer, a Franciscan who had at various times been custodian of his convent. Although not without historical interest for our knowledge of the events at the time, they were actually recorded by an anonymous opponent who not only wanted to reproduce the outspoken language of the popular preacher as expressively as possible, but who also felt obliged to expatiate on the rest of his career. In his commentaries he accuses him of various misdemeanours, including 'secret penances', the corporal punishment of his female penitents.

Judging from the reprints which appeared as late as the eighteenth century, these details, together with the unguarded language in the sermons themselves, gained the book a wide readership in the Reformed northern Netherlands. It seems to have played an unofficial but undeniable role in the propaganda campaign against the Catholic Church. In the last century a heated controversy arose about the reliability of the work as a historical source. The conclusions on this point differed widely, as they did about who the editor was and who the printer. They have hitherto been sought mainly in Bruges, the editor in the circles of dissident Catholics

⁷¹ The report about the editions in four different languages is provided by the author himself. The passage is to be found in Sessions p. 87. See also D.B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York 1973), p. 2 and no. 20 (p. 77); taken over in Sessions, pp. 28 f. That, as Del Corro writes, a merchant in Norwich should have ordered the edition for his own friends, seems unlikely. The statement was probably made to avoid the suspicion that it was in fact a clandestine publication which consequently appeared without an imprint. What is certain is that the author distributed copies personally.

⁷² My thanks are due to William K. Sessions, who was so kind as to send me a full-size photocopy of STC 5792.

⁷³ For these reprints, see Woodfield, op. cit. (n. 71), no. A1 and pp. 138-9 (reprod.).

who were reacting against conservative views, while Hubert Goltzius and Pieter de Clerck have been proposed as printers.⁷⁴

The first bibliographer to suggest that the provenance of the book should be sought in Norwich was Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, whose suspicions were aroused by the imprint of an additional volume, *Het tweede boeck van de sermoenen*, which appeared nine years later.⁷⁵ This runs: 'Nu eerstmael in Druck vuytgegeven, buyten Noirdtwitz, 1578' (Now issued for the first time in print, outside Norwich, 1578), and this second part has consequently, but incorrectly, since been regarded as a product of that city.⁷⁶

De la Fontaine Verwey's assumption, however vague, proves to have been right: not only do we find all the typefaces in the *Historie* in De Solemne's inventory, but we also encounter Albert Christiaensz' initial N and an ornament composed of typographical fleurons which appears in exactly the same shape in his *Psalmen*. The riddle of the provenance of the book is thus solved, but that brings us straight to the question: how did the manuscript find its way to Norwich? That the book should have been printed in this town seems not only to exclude any direct relationship with Bruges, but the choice of so patently Protestant a publisher also makes it seem

⁷⁴ For a list of the extensive literature, see B. de Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia Franciscana Neerlandica saeculi XVI*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1969-70), vol. I, p. 278. The most important studies are A.C. de Schrevel, 'Br. Cornelis Adriaens, zijn leven, zijn preken', *Historisch tijdschrift*, 4 (1925), pp. 217-59, and T.J.I. Arnold, 'Broeder Cornelis Adriaensz van Dordrecht. Een pleidooi', *De Dietsche Warande*, NS, 2 (1879), pp. 117-70, 248, 256-83, 344-87, 421-53, 555-75. A survey has recently been provided by K. Bostoen, 'Broer Cornelis en zijn historie: een politieke satire', *Literatuur. Tijdschrift over Nederlandse letterkunde*, 1 (1984-5), pp. 254-61. On Goltzius, see W. Le Loup, 'Hubertus Goltzius, drukker-graveur', *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique; Archief en bibliotheekwezen in België*, 46 (1975), pp. 33-49, 567-91; his publications are discussed in chronological order on pp. 35-9, his types (not including any Texturas!) on pp. 44-9.

⁷⁵ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'The first Private Press in the Low Countries. Marcus Laurinus and the Officina Goltziana', *Quaerendo*, 2 (1972), pp. 294-310 (pp. 302 ff.); *id.*, *Uit de wereld van het boek*, vol. 1: *Humanisten, dweepers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw*, 3rd edn. (Amsterdam 1981), pp. 81-102 (pp. 89 ff.), with additional information on p. [9]. As far as I know the attribution has not been adopted by other scholars. Stoker, art. cit. (n. 60), pp. 28 f., thought he could reject it on formal grounds: 'unsupported typographical evidence of this kind does not provide a sufficiently strong case finally to attribute the work to Solempne'.

⁷⁶ STC 151. As we now know the attribution is incorrect. The book was printed by Willem Silvius who had moved his press from Antwerp to Leiden at the end of 1577. The typefaces used are nos. 2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 25 and 27 as they are given in *The Leiden 'Afdruksel'; a Type Specimen of the Press of Willem Silvius in its Last Days (1582)*. A facsimile with an introduction and notes by P. Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983). The book also contains a large initial C which was owned in 1561/2 by Plantin but later, together with all his woodcut letters, came into the possession of Silvius; see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559-62', *Quaerendo*, 20 (1990), pp. 167-206 (pp. 194 ff., 205 f.); and finally an initial D which was used by Silvius in the first gathering (which he printed himself) of his edition of J.B. Houwaert, *Milenus clachte* (Antwerpen/Leiden 1577/8).

unlikely that the compiler should be sought in Catholic circles. The question of the authorship of the book is thus again left open and research must start from scratch. It is quite possible that the name will once more be proposed of Hubert Goltzius, the archeologist, numismatist, engraver and printer from Bruges. According to Karel van Mander, the author of the *Schilderboeck* in which this artist is also mentioned, he was said to have both written down and printed the sermons. Now that this last fact proves incorrect, the possibility remains that he had something to do with the compilation of the text: Van Mander tended to use reliable information. Goltzius' involvement, moreover, could provide an explanation for the publication of the book in England: he was a close friend of a painter from Bruges, Marcus Gheeraerts, who fled from Alva to London in 1567.

The last publication in Dutch to appear with De Solemne's imprint came out in 1570, *Eenen calendier historiael, eewelick gheduerende* (N 8).⁷⁷ It is a separate edition of an 'eternal' calendar as it had been included by various publishers in the Low Countries in their editions of the Psalms or the New Testament. Besides the usual information about saints' days, the Golden Number, the Dominical Letter and a table of the moon, this calendar also gives the dates of the most important annual fairs in England and on the continent as well as of a number of historical events. These last seem to have been assembled somewhat arbitrarily – why should the user have been interested in the date of death of Charlemagne? – but some might indeed have been of use to the immigrants, such as the dates of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne and the day on which she granted the foreigners permission to settle in Norwich (4 November 1565). The title-page is decorated with a border of typographical fleurons which is almost identical to that on the title-page of *Historie van B. Cornelis*, a feature which further confirms the attribution of that book to De Solemne's press.

In the same year this press produced, without an imprint, two anonymous pamphlets attacking the Duke of Alva and the Inquisition, both with the same layout and possibly by the same author (N 6 and N 7). In N 6 we find the same initial B which our printer had used earlier in the *Cort bewijs* (V 20). We can, finally, ascribe a further Dutch book from 1568 to this press – a work which, surprisingly enough, has entirely vanished from literary history. It was once mentioned at the beginning of the last century:⁷⁸ *Requiem aeternam, Dat is, het Nederlantsche claechliedt*, N 3 (illus. 8), the only known copy of which is in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. The title was quoted on one subsequent occasion in an entirely mistaken context⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Printed throughout in red and black with the English royal arms on the title-page. Below runs the supplication: 'Godt bewaer de Coninginne Elizabeth' (God save Queen Elizabeth). A full size photographic reproduction is given in Beloe's *Facsimile Reprint* (see n. 68).

⁷⁸ In *Mengelingen van historisch-vaderlandschen inhoud*, ed. J.F. Willems (Antwerpen 1827-30), p. 292, no. II.

⁷⁹ 'Als een verzameling, waarin althans de voornaamste der toen meest geliefde liederen zijn op-

and then seems to have been forgotten. Yet the book deserves closer inspection, also from a religious point of view: it is a collection of songs, considerations and admonitions for the Dutch people oppressed by foreign rule as well as all sorts of warnings against ‘anabaptists, adulterers, libertines and free spirits’. The author evidently represents the brand of Calvinism peculiar to the London emigrant community and may have been one of their ministers in England. He signed his preface: ‘Uut C.D.N. den 27. Aprilis 1568 [vol. 1], den 28. May 1568 [vol. 2], Ignatius Requietus Fortiveratius’.

The book appeared in two volumes with the fake address ‘Gedruckt buyten Colen’ (Printed outside Cologne). It does not contain any initials, but can be attributed to De Solemne since all the typefaces in the book recur in his other publications of 1568: VPT T 3 (only capitals), T 12, T 30, T 43, T 47 and IT 8, as well as a Brevier Roman of unknown origin. Even the small typographical stamps used in the borders correspond. Another significant feature is the use of Granjon’s third music type for the melodies printed in notes which accompany some of the songs, a typeface that also appears in his Book of Psalms.⁸⁰

The two English-language publications which we also know to have been produced by De Solemne – single sheet publications, one dating from 1570 with his name on it,⁸¹ and the other of two years later without an imprint⁸² – appear to be the work of another compositor. They have no decorative element apart from the ornamental initials, which do not, however, belong to Albert Christiaensz’ set that had been used hitherto. In the meantime trade in Rhine wine seems to have provided De Solemne with a greater income than his publishing firm and, with the exception of a few occasional publications such as the ones just mentioned, the press came to a standstill.⁸³

genomen [...] naast het Geuzenliedboek’ (As a collection which includes anyway the most popular songs of the time ... besides the Geuzenliedboek). See L.G. Visscher, *Beknopte geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde*, vol. 2 (Utrecht 1852), pp. 105 f. The author seems only to have known the title of the book; he erroneously dates it 1668.

⁸⁰ Granjon sold his third music type (c.7 mm high) in 1562 to the type founder Hendrik van den Keere in Ghent. The earliest dated English works to contain it are of 1565. See D.W. Krummel, *English music printing 1553-1700* (London 1975), pp. 42 ff. and 51 f. (De Solemne).

⁸¹ *Certayne versis, writtene by Thomas Brooke* [...] (‘Imprynted at Norwich [...] by Anthony de Solempne’, 1570. Single sheet), STC 3835. For a (reduced) reproduction, see Sessions, p. 36.

⁸² *A Prayer to be sayd in the end of the mornyng prayer daily* [through the diocese of Norwich] *during the tyme of this hard and sharp wether* ... (In manuscript: Imprinted ... by Antho. de Solempne, 1572. Single sheet), STC 16510.5. A (reduced) reproduction is given by Sessions, p. 41.

⁸³ This must have been connected with the fact that De Solemne obtained full citizenship in December 1570, whereby his position in the town was legalized. For the text of the document, see Sessions, p. 39.

For Albert Christiaensz this also meant the end of his professional connection with the firm. We do not know whether he was dismissed or whether he himself decided to leave after the expiry of his contract, nor is anything known of his later career. He may have found employment elsewhere in England, but it is equally possible that he returned to the Low Countries. We only know that he never again set himself up as an independent printer and his name no longer appears in any other context.

We can thus reconstruct no more than six years in the life of our protagonist. In this time he occupied a secondary role but because of the nature of what he produced in the first year of the Dutch Revolt and the subsequent resistance to Spanish rule, his work was not unimportant. Like so many others in those troubled times he had to seek refuge outside the Dutch borders and the course of events led him in rapid succession to four different countries. Few of his colleagues can have had such a varied and international career within so short a time.

APPENDIX

List of books printed by Albert Christaensz

References:

BB – *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondé par F. van der Haegen. Réédité sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 5 vols. (Bruxelles 1964).

BMGC – *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books; Photolithographic Edition to 1955*, 263 vols. (London 1959-65).

BT – *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck (Nieuwkoop 1968).

H & M – C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985).

Heijting – W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989).

IA – *Index Aureliensis. Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum*, vol. I ð (Aureliae Aquensis 1962 ð).

Kn – W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978).

Le Long – Isaac Le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduitsche Bybels* (Amsterdam 1732, Hoorn 1764).

Mach. – J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979).

Petit – L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934).

Ruys – L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen [...] te Leiden*, vol. 4: Supplement, ed. H.J.A. Ruys ('s-Gravenhage 1934).

Sayle – C.E. Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge: 1475 to 1640*, 4 vols. (Cambridge 1900-7).

Van Someren – J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Utrecht niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22).

Staedke – *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Heinrich Bullinger*, ed. J. Staedke (Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie, I; Zürich 1972).

Woodfield – D.B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550-1640* (New York 1973).

In Vianen:

(V I) Pamphilus Riccius (pseud.?). – Vraye prediction pour 20 ans, commençant [sic] l'an 1564 et continuant d'an en an, jusques en l'an 1583 [...] tires de diverses

propheties par M. Pamphilus Riccius Florentin [...] Traduit d'Italien [...] par M.E.B. ([Colophon:] 'Imprime à Viane par moy Albert Christiansz, Lan 1565'. 8vo).

– Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

(V 2) *Idem.* – Warachtige Pronosticatie voor XX. toecomende jaren, beginnende vanden jare 1564 totten jare 1583 inclus [...] ghetrocken uut diversche prophetien deur M. Pamphilus Riccius Florentin [...] overghestelt uutten Italiaensche [...] sprake deur M.E.B. ([Colophon:] 'Ghedrukt tot Vyanen by my Aelbert Christiaenz, m.d.lxv' (1565). 8vo).

– Copy: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM).

(V 3) Een schoon suyverlyck Boecxk(e)n, inhoude(n)de het oordel ende vonnis-se dat gewesen is vanden Paus Paulo Tertio over eenen broeder der Christenen ghenaeamt Pasquillus (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaenz], 1565. 8vo).

– Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB).

(V 4) Een Colloquie oft tsamensprekinghe van twee personagien, waeraf die eene Pasquillus ende de andere Marphorius genaemt is ... (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaenz, not after Jan. 1566]. 8vo).

Kn 135. – Copy: The Hague, KB.

(V 5) Advertisseme(n)t que font les bons et loiaux sujets et habitans du pais Bas, aux Gouverneurs & Estats diceluy pais [...] sur le fait de la religion (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaenz], 1566. 8vo).

BT 208. – Copies: Amsterdam, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (RNA); Brussels, KBR.

(V 6) Advertisseme(n)t bijde goede ende ghetrauwe ondersaten [...] der C.M. Erfnederlanden [...] aende Gouvemeurs en(de) Staten derselver landen [...] op tstuck vander religie. *Signed:* (G.C., I.L.) [= Gilles le Clercq, Jean Lippens (?)] (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaenz], 1566. 8vo).

BT 34; Mach. N 69. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL and RNA; Antwerp, PMM; Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL.

(V 7) Copie van sommighe, ende de principaelste articulen uute propositie geextraheert van s Hoofs wegen geproponeert den Staten van Vlaenderen, binnen der stede van Gent, opten 11. dach Mey, Anno 1566 (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaenz, 1566]. 8vo).

Van Someren 27; BMGC 74,86. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; London, BL; Utrecht, UL.

(V 8) De derde waerschouwinghe ende vermaninghe aen [...] Brabant, teghen de calumnien van [...] Granvel [...] Viglius [...] theologiennen van Loeven [...] ende andere inquisiteurs haren aenhangers (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1566]. 8vo).

BT 4859. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL and RNA; Brussels, KBR.

(V 9) Eedt by den bisschop van Haerlem [Nicolaes van Nieuwlandt], ende die articulen by den bisschop van Brugghe voortghebracht, midtsgaders tgeene dat by de Eedelen (die men noemt Guessen) tot sindt Truyen ghedaen is gheweest (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1566]. 8vo).

BT 1005. – Copy: Brussels, KBR.

(V 10) Dat gheheele nieuwe Testamendt met grooter neersticheit ghecorrigeert uut die alder outste [...] copien, de welcke gedrukt syn ... (Vianen, [Albert Christiaensz for:] Goris Hendericxz, 1566. 8vo).

Le Long p. 573. – Copies: Amsterdam, Nederlands Bijbelmuseum; Groningen, UL; The Hague, Museum Meermanno.

(V 11) Der Guesen handelinghe ende oprechte meninghe, waer inne tbescheyt wort ghedae(n) va(n) weghe(n) der Gouvernante, op tverthoonen ende requeste overgegeven aen hare Ho. by [...] den edele Heere van Brederoede met den andere Eedelen van dese Nederlanden, Anno 1566 in April. [Followed by:] Antwoort [...] op tselfde bescheyt [...] Item Breder verclaringe op tselve antwoort ... (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1566]. 8vo).

BT 5586; Mach. N 75. – Copies: Antwerp, Stadsarchief; Ghent, UL.

(V 12) [Franciscus Junius] – Een corte verhalinge gesonden aen Coninc Philips [...] tot welvaert ende profijt sijnder Maiesteit ende sonderlinghe van sijne Nederlanden [...] om te beletten de oproeringe [...] om tweedrachticheyt der religien wille [...] Overgesteld uuter Fransoyscher [...] talen [aut: Franciscus Junius (Du Jon)] (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 8vo).

BT 6125; Kn 144a; Petit 116. – Copies: Antwerp, PMM; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL.

(V 13) Propositie ende Requeste opt stuck vande Inquisitie, ghedaen ende overgegeven aen Mijn Vrouwe dHertoginne van Parme ende Plaisance etc. Bijdcn [...] Heer Hendrick Heer tot Brederoede [...] met anderen Heeren ende Edelen van dese Nederlanden [...] Mitsgaders dApostille bi haer Hoocheit daer op ... (Vianen, *s.n.* [Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 4to).

Mach. B 944; Kn 138; Petit 110. – Copies: Ghent, UL; Groningen, UL; The Hague, KB;

Leiden, UL; London, BL.

(V 14) Remo(n)strance au Roy d'Espagne sur la Requête naguères presentee par la noblesse du païs bas a Madame la duchesse de Parme Regente [...] Lamesme Remonstrance sert aussi pour confuter certains points de la Moderation [...] proposee [...] le 11. jour de Mai 1566. [Aut: Gilles le Clercq?] (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 8vo).

BT 4130; Mach. N 74; Ruys 11. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

(V 15) Remo(n)strance ofte vertoogh aen den grootmachtigen Coninck van Spaengen etc. op de Requête byden Edeldom der Co.M. erf Nederlanden den 5. April 1565 [OS] aen mijn Vrouwe de Hertoginne van Parme regente etc. gepresenteert [...] De selve Remonstrantie dient oock om te confuter seker pointen vander Moderatie [...] den 11 Meye 1566 voorgehouden. Uter Fransoysche [...] sprake overgeset door M.I.L. [Jean Lippens?] (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 8vo).

BT 4125; Kn 139b; Van Someren 26. – Copies: Amsterdam, Library of the Free University (FrUL); Antwerp, PMM; Brussels, KBR; The Hague, KB; London, BL; Utrecht, UL.

(V 16) Requête aen de Eerweerdighe [...] Heeren, Borghemeesteren ende Raet der vermaerder coopstadt Antwerpen, gepresenteert byde gemeyne borgerschap der selver stadt (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1566]. 8vo).

BT 6624; Petit 126). – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Antwerp, Stadsarchief; Leiden, UL.

(V 17) Requête aen mijn Vrouwe d'Hertoginne van Perme bi den Heeren den Edelen [...] ghepresenteert, midtsgaders de antwoorde ende Replique, ende de Requête van den vier leden des lants van Vlaenderen [...] ende ander gheschriften, uutten Fransoysche [...] overgheset door M.I.L. [Jean Lippens?] (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 8vo).

BT 4120; Kn 137b. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; The Hague, KB.

(V 18) Vermaninge aende Regeerders ende Gemeinte vande vier hoofsteden van Brabant [heading]. (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1566]. 8vo).

– Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

(V 19) Verdrach ende transactie [...] tusschen lovelijcker memorien Keyser Karolus V. ende de Cuervorsten, vorsten ende gemeyne stenden des H. Rijckr [sic], vermeldende in wat voegen [...] Keyser Caerl alle sijne Borgoensche nedererflanden in eenen kreijs [...] aen het rijck verbonden heeft (16 Juni 1548) (*s.l.a.n.* [Vianen,

Albert Christiaensz, 1565 or 1566]. 8vo).

Mach. K 174; Kn. 99 f.. – Copies: Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB.

(V 20) Cort bewijs, uut de schriften Lutheri ende Brentii, dat het lichaem Christi niet en sy een lichamelijcke maer een gheestelijcke spijsse ... (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 8vo).

– Copies: The Hague, KB; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB).

(V 21) Luther – Een schriftlick wederroep van des Paus groot valsch versiert tolhuys, namelijk tVagevier, daer door den Paus met sijn geschoren hoop al des werelts schat ghecregen heeft, en oock Christum den levenden Gods sone, berooven de sijn van sijn volle versoeninghe. [Aut: Martinus Luther] (*s.l.e.n.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz], 1566. 8vo).

– Copy: The Hague, KB.

In Norwich:

(N 1) Belijdenisse ende eenvoudige uitlegghinge des waerachtighen gheloofs [...] gemaect [...] van de dienaers der kercken Jesu Christi die daer in Switserlant sijn [aut: Henricus Bullinger] [...] Item die Belijdenisse des gheloofs der ghemeynten van Francrijck [...] ('Nordwitz [Norwich], Antonius de Solemne', 1568. 8vo).

STC 23557; IA 127.441; Staedtke 510; Sayle 7879. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Cambridge, UL; Cambridge (Mass), Harvard UL; The Hague, Museum Meermanno; London, BL; Manchester, John Rylands UL; Norwich, Norfolk County Library; Utrecht UL.

(N 2) De C.L. Psalmen Davids. Uut den Franchoyischen dichte in Nederlantschen overghesett door Petrum Dathenum. Mitsgaders den Christelicken Catechismo, Ceremonien ende Gebeden. Item [...] op die cant den Duytschen text, overghesett uut den Hebreuschen [...] Van nieus oversien ende ghecorrigeert ('Noorwitz [Norwich], Anthonius de Solemne', 1568. 8vo).

STC 2741; H & M, p. 26 Dath 1568a; Heijting B 12.24. – Copies: Dublin, Trinity College Library (TCL); Manchester, John Rylands UL; Middelburg, Bibliotheek Zeeland (BZ), imperfect copy; Oxford, Bodleian Library (BL); The Hague, Museum Meermanno.

(N 3) Requiem aeternam. Dat is, het Nederlantsche claechlied [pt. II: het Nederlantsche claech, troost ende wachtliet], ghemaect op dese teghenwoordighe bedructe ende benarde tyden inde Nederlanden [...]. Waerinne dat cortelic verclaert wort, hoe die Nederlanden tot haer oude vryheyt wedercomen, ende van dese tirannie eenmael gevryet ende verlost sullen mogen worden ... ('Gedruckt buyten Colen' [pt. II: 'Ghedruckt buyten Ceulen'] [= Norwich, Anthonius de Solemne],

1568. 2 pts. 12mo).

– Copy: Paris, BnF.

(N 4) Antonius Corranus. – Tableau de l'oeuvre de Dieu, [signed:] A.C. (Antonius Corranus, Antonio de Corro) (*s.l.e.n.* [Norwich, Anthonius de Solemne], 15 July 1569. Single sheet).

STC 5792; Woodfield 20. – Copy: Cambridge, UL.

(N 5) Historie van B. Cornelis Adriaensen van Dordrecht, Minrebroeder binnen die stadt van Brugghe. Inde welcke [...] de discipline ende secrete penitencie of geesselinghe die hy ghebruycte [...] veel wonderlicke sermocnen die hy te Brugge gepredict heeft [...] met noch veel andere gruwelicke blasphemien ... (*s.l.e.n.* [Norwich, Anthonius de Solemne], 1569. 8vo).

BT 1467; IA 100.678; Mach. C 691. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, KBR; Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL; London, BL; Middelburg, BZ; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (SB); Nijmegen, UL.

(N 6) Bewijsinge dat de commissie die Ducq Dalve als capiteyn generael over de Nederlanden heeft laten uuttaen, by den Paus met zijn tyrannighe adherenten op den naem vanden Coninck, onwetelijcken versiert, gedicht ende hem verleden is (*s.l.e.n.* [Norwich, Anthonius de Solemne], 1570. 8vo).

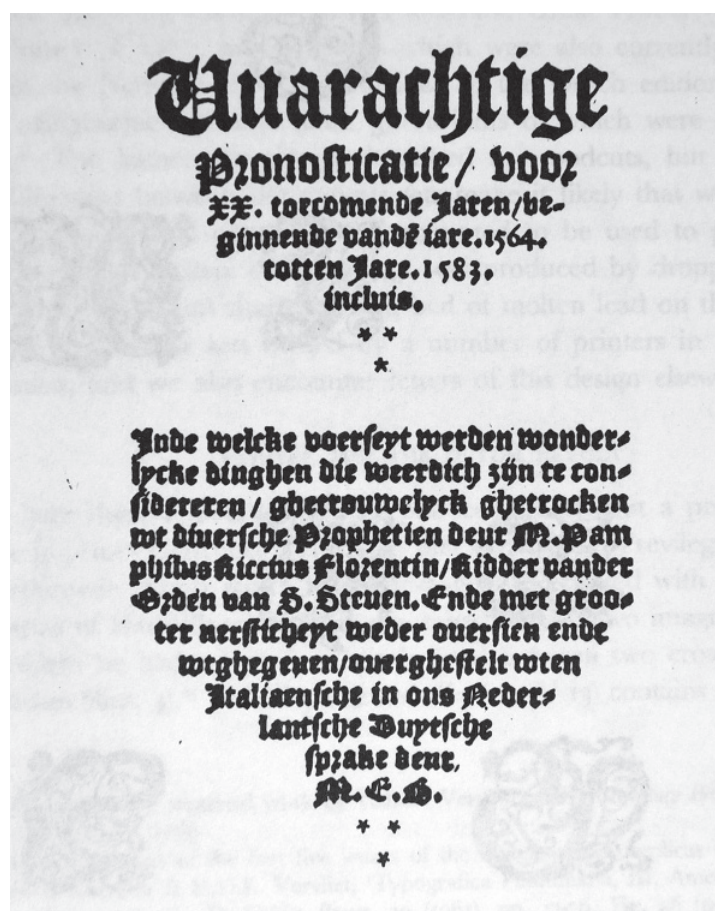
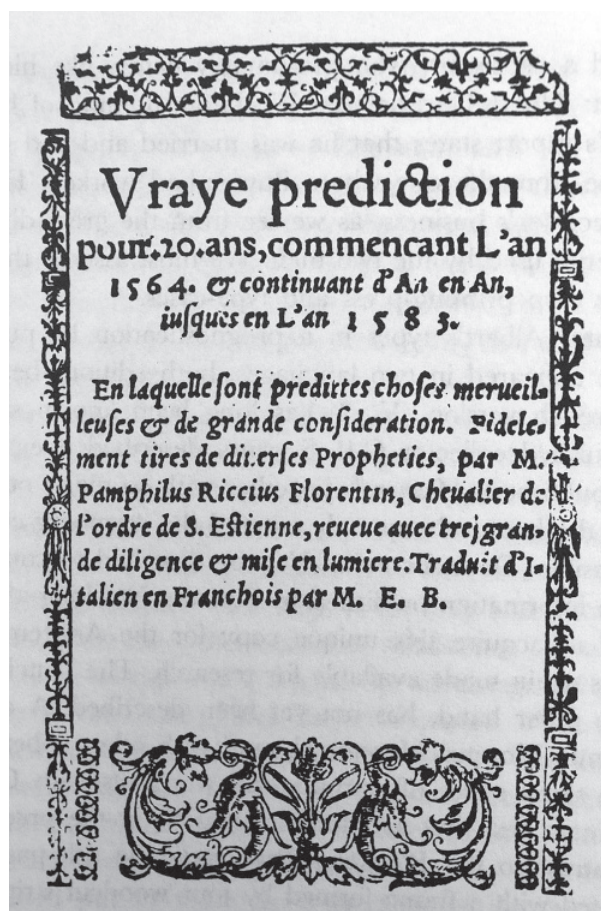
Mach. N 93, BT 7873: '1571', a wrong reading of the date. – Copies: Ghent, UL; Paris, BnF.

(N 7) Bewijsinghe, dat in alle de Nederlanden gheen papist of catholijck persoon en is, na het seggen der Spaenscher inquisiteuren ende het concilie van Trenten (*s.l.e.n.* [Norwich, Antonius de Solemne], 1570. 8vo).

– Copy: Paris BnF.

(N 8) Eenen Calendier Historiael, eewelick gheduerende. Waer in ghy vinden sult den opganck ende onderganck der sonnen, in alle maenden, met den jaermercten van diversche landen, steden ende vrijheden ('Noorwitz [Norwich], ten huysse van Anthonium de Solemne', 1570. 8vo).

STC 401.6. – Copies: Dublin, TCL; Oxford, BL.

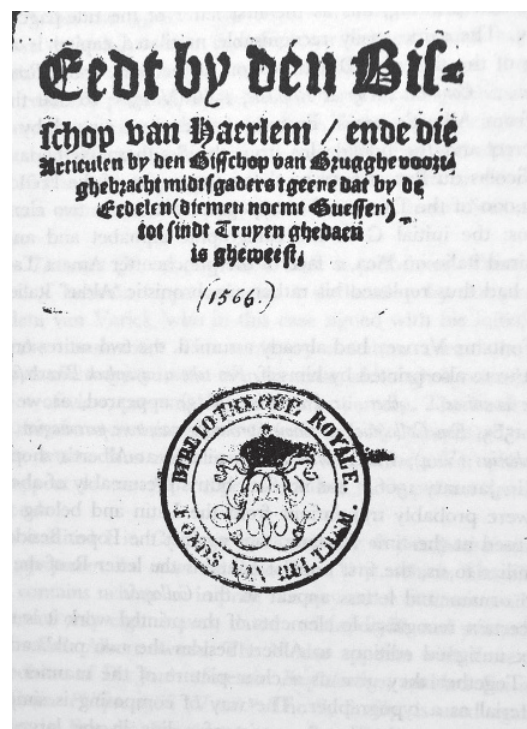
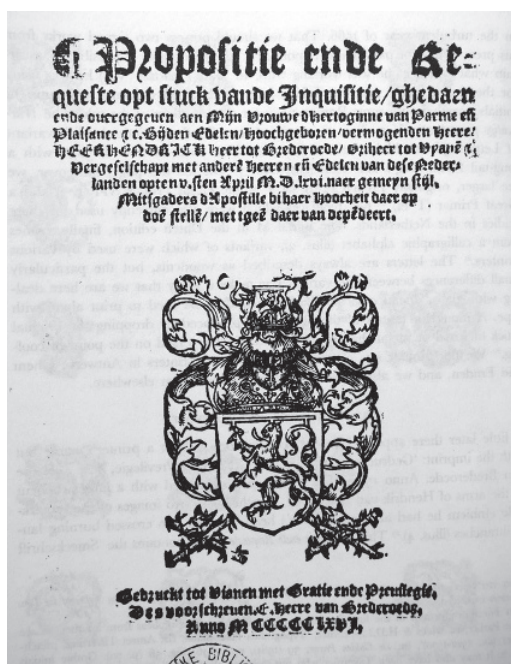


- 1
Pamphilus Riccius, *Vraye prediction pour 20 ans* ([In fine] Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1565)
(Scan from the original publication)
- 2
Pamphilus Riccius. *Warachtige pronosticatie, voor 20 toecomende jaren* ([In fine] Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1565)
(Scan from the original publication)



3

Initials used by Albert Christiaensz in his various publications.
(Scan from the original publication)



4

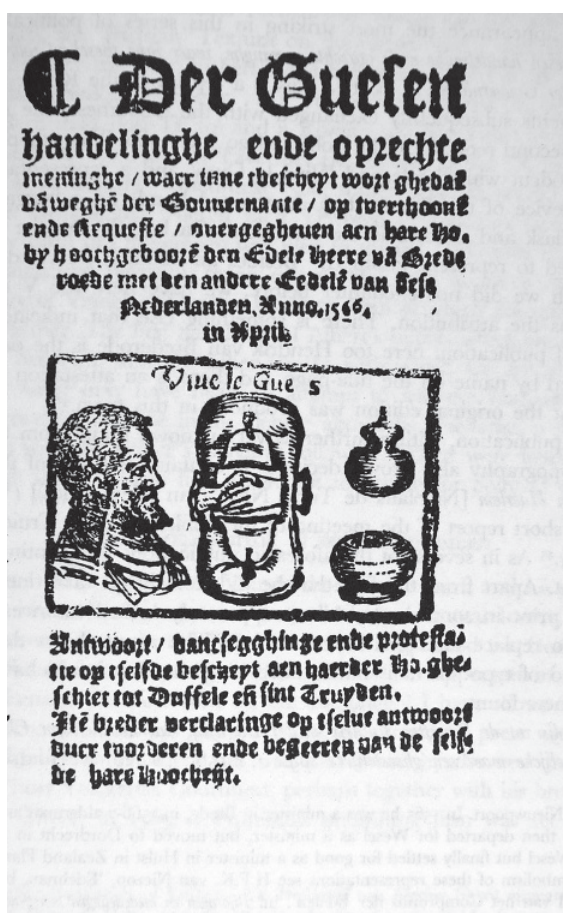
Propositie ende requeste (Vianen, [Albert Christiaensz], 1566)

(Scan from the original publication)

§

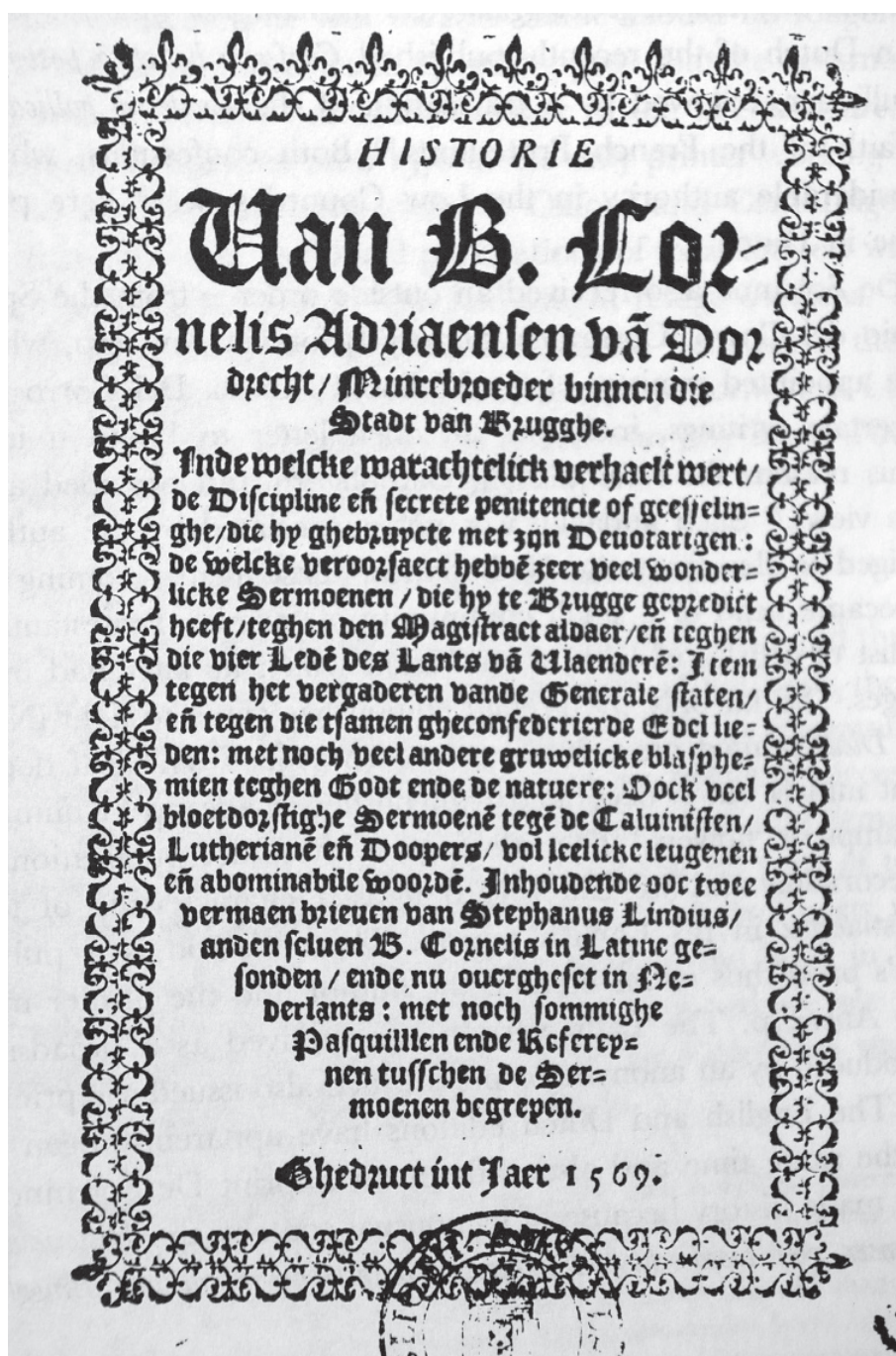
Eedt by den Bisschop van Haerlem [Nicolaes van Nieuwlandt] (*s.l.e.a.* [Vianen, Albert Christiaensz, 1566])

(Scan from the original publication)



6

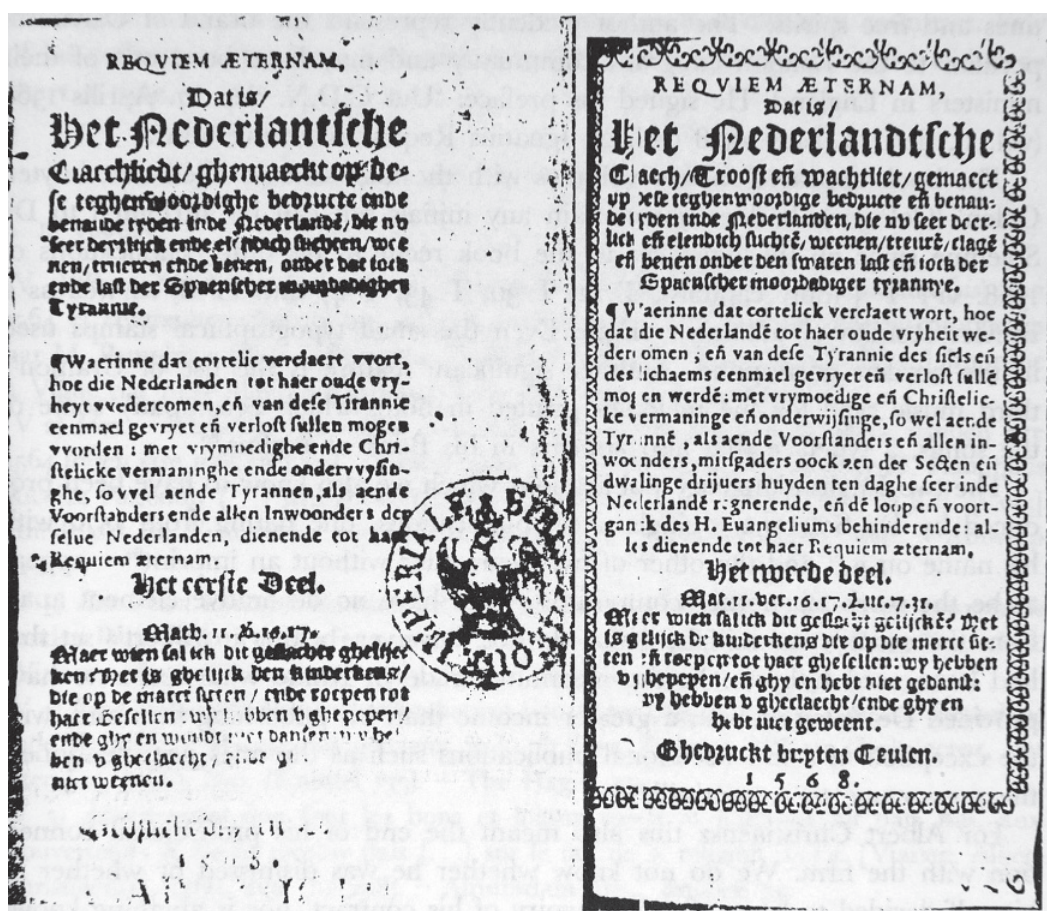
Der Guesen handelinghe ende oprechte meninghe (s.l.e.a. [Vianen, Albert Christianesz, 1566])
 (Scan from the original publication)



7

*Historie van B. Cornelis Adriaensen [...] minrebroeder binnen [...] Brugghe (s.l.e.a. [Norwich, Antho-
nius de Solemne], 1569)*

(Amsterdam, Special Collections: OK 61-8142)



EARLY PROTESTANT PUBLICATIONS IN ANTWERP,
1526 to 1530
THE PSEUDONYMS ADAM ANONYMUS IN BASEL
AND HANS LUFT IN MARLBOROW



Less than fifteen years after an acknowledged Dutch expert had declared that it was impossible to identify books printed after 1480 on the basis of typographical characteristics, i.e. their types,¹ Dr M.E. Kronenberg proved that his scepticism was wrong. In her first great article in *Het Boek*, after Wouter Nijhoff had entrusted her with the completion of his *Nederlandsche Bibliographie*,² she provided a solution to a long-existing problem: who were Adam Anonymus in Basel and Hans Luft in Marlborow? – Two names given as the publishers of important Protestant works both in Dutch and in English.³ For the first time in Holland decisive use was made of all external features to determine the origin of sixteenth-century publications: title borders and other woodcuts, ornamental initials and, as a new element, type-faces. In this manner the bibliographer managed to indicate the man allegedly hidden behind these pseudonyms. It was Johannes Hoochstraten, an Antwerp printer who, shortly before, in 1525/6, had published five books together with a certain Hadrianus Tilianus:⁴ orthodox works, including writings by the venerable philologist and historian Hadrianus Barlandus.

The bibliographer established that the typographical material with which these books were printed⁵ originated in part from the northern Netherlands. It came from the printing shop of Simon Corver, which no longer existed but which had

¹ J.W. Enschedé, 'Determinatie van drukwerk', *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen*, 3 (1905), pp. 201-07. His thesis (p. 207) runs as follows: 'A printed work [later than 1480] cannot be identified on the basis of material information derived from the work itself' ('Drukwerk [van na 1480] kan op materiele gegevens aan dat drukwerk zelf ontleend, niet gedetermineerd worden').

² W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 (s-Gravenhage 1923-71), hereafter cited as NK.

³ M.E. Kronenberg, 'De geheimzinnige drukkers Adam Anonymus te Basel en Hans Luft te Marburg ontmaskerd', *Het Boek*, 8 (1919), pp. 241-80. She returned to the subject in her 'Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century)', *The Library*, 4th S., 9 (1928), pp. 139-63, and in 'Forged Addresses in Low Country Books in the Period of the Reformation', *ibid.*, 5th S., 2 (1947), pp. 81-94.

⁴ Nothing further is known about this man. His part in the enterprise may well only have been financial. For what the partners published, see NK 234, 236, 2368, 2634 and 3112.

⁵ Lists are given in Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3: 1919), pp. 263-5.

used the material in Zwolle from 1519 to 1522 to publish a series of important Protestant texts as well as a number of school books.⁶ The production in that town had then come to a halt and it could now be shown that many of the woodcut ornaments belonging to the press had subsequently made their way to Antwerp. Miss Kronenberg discovered them being used there by the printer Johannes Hoochstraten and also found them in books which he printed later in Lübeck in 1531/2 and in Malmö between 1533 and 1535. In the latter city he was running the press of the former bishop Christiern Pedersen. We thus find all sorts of initials which Hoochstraten had brought with him from Antwerp, among other ornaments which, partly also from Antwerp, were owned by his employer.⁷ At a still later date all this material, together with the entire firm, was sold to Hans Vingaard in Copenhagen.

This was in 1536. Miss Kronenberg discovered a large number of woodcut initials from the Corver press in use ten years earlier, between 1526 and 1528, in (a) a Dutch translation of Bugenhagen's *Psalterium*, with the publisher's address given as 'te Basel bi mi Adam Anonymus' (1526), NK 508, (b) a Dutch translation in three volumes of Martin Luther's *Hauspostille* (1528), NK 3464, Benzing 1153, with the same address, and (c) a translation with no imprint or date of Luther's commentary on *Die Epistel van S. Pauwels tot die Galaten*, with a foreword by Johannes Bugenhagen (NK 1433, Benzing 430). She also detected the material from Zwolle in (d) a number of Protestant works in English dating from 1528 to 1530, mainly bearing the imprint 'Hans Luft at Malborowe in the lande of Hesse' or something similar.⁸

⁶ It is above all Dr Kronenberg who has written extensively about the *Officina Corveriana*. See, amongst other publications, her *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), pp. 67 ff. and the literature listed in n. 172. Subsequently there also appeared her, 'Simon Corver in de gevangenis (1536)', *Het Boek*, 30 (1949-51), pp. 313-17, and A. Haga, 'Nieuws over Simon Corver', *ibid.*, 37 (1964-6), pp. 209-11. At a still later date Dr I.H. van Eeghen published important new information about the firm and the family in 'De "Officina Corveriana", de eerste internationale uitgever in Amsterdam', *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, 78 (1986), pp. 54-75.

⁷ For what Pedersen had printed in Antwerp between 1529 and 1531, see L. Nielsen, 'Christian Pedersen og Bogtrykkerkunsten', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 5 (1918), pp. 45-60; M.E. Kronenberg, 'De drukker van de Deensche boeken te Antwerpen (1529-1531) is Willem Vorsterman', *Het Boek*, 8 (1919), pp. 1-8. For the material used at Malmö, see L. Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550 ...* (København 1919), pp. 221-32.

⁸ J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod* (Baden-Baden 1966), hereafter cited as Benzing; *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926); 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London 1986-91), hereafter cited as *STC*. NK 2477-81 (*STC* 2350), NK 2775 (*STC* 1462.5), NK 2982 (*STC* 10493), NK 3007 (*STC*, 24045), NK 3044 (*STC*, 11394), NK 3980 (*STC* 3021), NK 3991 (*STC* 24446), NK 3993 (*STC* 24454), NK 3995 (*STC* 24465) and NK 4215 (*STC* 1462.3). — A. Hume, 'English Protestant Books printed abroad, 1525-1535. An annotated

These books neatly filled the gap between Hoochstraten's Antwerp activities in 1525/6 and his later work in Lübeck and Malmö. Miss Kronenberg consequently reached the understandable conclusion that the production of the intervening years could also be attributed to him. Johannes Hoochstraten is thus indicated as the printer in NK (and, for the English books, also in the *STC*).

Although these attributions have been generally accepted, certain objections can be made. Of these the fact that not a single direct proof exists of Hoochstraten's involvement is by no means the greatest. The lack of factual evidence in this domain is the rule rather than the exception; in the world of clandestine publications secrecy was literally a matter of life and death. Nor can we use as an argument the fact that Hoochstraten displayed no sympathy with the Reformation in his signed production of before 1527 and after 1540. It might have been to disguise such a sympathy that he hid behind the two pseudonyms.

What can indeed be regarded as a serious objection to the attribution, on the other hand, is the fact that Luther's *Postillen* appears to have been the work not of one, but of two printers. Of the three volumes of the book the first contains ornamental letters from the Corver press, something which might indeed indicate Hoochstraten. The second volume, however, only contains initials which we know to appear in the books of his Antwerp colleague Adriaen van Berghen; see NAT, J. Hoochstraten III 42-5, 48, 50. In the third volume ornaments from both firms show that this, too, was a product of their collaboration.⁹ The work is thus a shared publication, undertaken on joint account. For this purpose the partners had acquired a typeface unusual in the southern Netherlands: a German 77/8 mm Schwabacher.¹⁰

That Adriaen van Berghen also worked with this typeface is something which has hitherto been overlooked¹¹ – although the large number of his Gothic initials

Bibliography', in Sir Thomas More, *The Complete Works*, Yale Edition, vol. 8, pt. 2 (New Haven 1973), Appendix B, pp. 1065-91, nos. 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15-19.

⁹ The collation of the first volume, printed by Martinus de Keyser, is: A-C⁶ D-Z⁸ 2A-2G⁸ 2H⁴, 238 leaves. The second volume, printed by Adriaen van Berghen, is of exactly the same length: a-l⁶ m-z⁸ 2a-2i⁸ 2k⁴, 238 leaves. This, of course, is no coincidence, but indicates a prearranged division of labour. Only in the last volume is there a difference: Van Berghen (who obviously worked faster than his colleague) set 3a-3m⁸, and De Keyser the rest, 3n-3p⁸ 3q⁴.

¹⁰ U. Kopp, 'Ein unbekannter und andere niederländische Lutherdrucke von ca. 1528 in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (I)', *Wolfenbütteler Notizen zur Buchgeschichte*, 4 (1979), pp. 47-53, has already drawn attention (p. 50) to a small difference in size and certain other details of the two founts. The author believed that the most likely explanation was the use of various type cases in the same printing shop. For further details, see Kronenberg art. cit. (n. 3: 1919), p. 264, type no. 7.

¹¹ First pointed out by P. Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudo-

in volume 2 of the *Postillen* are a clear indication that he was its printer. This escaped both Miss Kronenberg and Wouter Nijhoff, and in the latter's *l'Art typographique* the typeface is not even reproduced under Adriaen van Berghen's name.¹² It does indeed appear in the work, but elsewhere, under the *Inconnus*.¹³ Further investigation now shows that Adriaen used this type in about 1527 in various clandestine publications the printer of which has so far remained unknown. These are anonymous newsletters and pamphlets with a political or religious content which, like the *Postillen*, he could not publish under his own name without taking a considerable risk.¹⁴ Although they can be recognized by the Gothic initials which they contain, the use of an unusual typeface does indeed appear to have provided the printer with a certain protection: as far as we know he never had any difficulties with these publications.¹⁵ Nor did he use his Schwabacher for very long; the face disappears from his work after 1527, or 1528 at the latest. This is in contrast with the revealing initials which we continue to encounter in his books until his banishment in 1536.

But who was the fellow-publisher of the *Postillen*? It seems somewhat odd that Adriaen should have collaborated on so expensive a production with a young printer whose sole experience hitherto consisted in having taken part in the publication

nymy or 'Why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), pp. 165-90, 245-72 (p. 258, and see n. 110).

¹² W. Nijhoff, *L'Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-similé des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. & supplement (La Haye 1926-35), hereafter cited as NAT. Of the title borders and initials illustrated under the name of Johannes Hoochstraten, nos. 35-7 (STC 24455.5 [London 1537?]), nos. 55-6 and 60-8 (STC 24447, NK 3992 [Antwerpen, Hendrik Peetersen van Middelburch]), and nos. 57-8 (STC 20193, NK 3764 [*ibidem*]) have been attributed to the press incorrectly.

¹³ NAT, vol. 2, I *Les Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 'Inconnus' VII 22, where a page of NK 2027 (see following note) is reproduced.

¹⁴ I have so far encountered the Schwabacher in the following publications of [Adriaen van Berghen]: *Een schone ordinantie eender ghemeynder reyse op den Turck* (s.a.), NK 1637; *Dat Turcsche regiment en[de] wesen* (s.a.), NK 1788; *Nyeuwe tijdinge van Ferdinandus, Coninck tot Bemen* (s.a.), NK 2027; Urbanus Regius, *Een rechte onderscheyt tusschen die oude ende nyeuwe leeringhe* (s.a.), NK 1791; [Luther], *Een christelike oprechte uitlegghinghe des vijffsten boecks Mosi* (s.a.), not in NK, copy: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB); [Luther], *Een christelike witlegghinghe op die propheet Iona ende op Habacuc* (s.a.), NK 01335/6, copy: Wolfenbüttel, HAB). For these two last works, see Kopp, art. cit. (n. 10), *passim*.

¹⁵ Between 11 October 1522, when he was exposed in the pillory for Lutheranism, and 27 November 1534, when he was cleared of a new charge, Adriaen van Berghen does not seem to have had any dealings with the law. For what we know of his life, see M.E. Kronenberg, 'De drukker-martelaar Adriaen van Berghen († 1542)', *Het Boek*, 16 (1927), pp. 1-8, and *id.*, op. cit. (n. 6: *Verboden Boeken*), pp. 88-92. The remaining literature is listed in A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XI^e et XVI^e siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 12 ff. Curiously enough, NK does not mention a single publication by this printer in the years 1526 and 1527.

of five unpretentious books. Johannes, or Joannes, (Hillen van) Hoochstraten was a relative, probably a son, of the eminent Antwerp printer-publisher Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten.¹⁶ Little is known about him. We do not even know whether he received his training in his father's firm – he only actually started working there (again?) many years later. Judging from the brevity of its duration, his association with Hadrianus Tilianus can hardly be considered a success. They signed their publications with 'apud' or 'excudebant', so it is not even certain whether they had a press of their own. The first we hear about Johannes after this is that he had left for Lübeck. There, in August 1531, he published an edition of Bugenhagen's *De sacerdotio Christi*.¹⁷ Not until April of the following year did he produce a second book, a theological work by a compatriot, Joannes (Timann) Amstelredamus. He then entered the service of the Lutheran canon Christiern Pedersen in Malmö, a haven for sympathizers with the Reformation. The first publication in which he is named as Pedersen's printer dates from 11 January 1533.

We possess no information about Johannes' activities in the intervening years from 1527 to 1530. There would thus appear to be room for the Adam Anonymus publications which Miss Kronenberg ascribed to him. But there is a complication: he is not the only man to have worked with Corver's material. Various other printers in Antwerp also seem to have had access to ornaments from the same inventory. Miss Kronenberg herself already noticed this in the case of an initial A which she found in work by Martinus de Keyser.¹⁸ But Jacob van Liesvelt, too, used material from Zwolle, as we see, for example, from the woodcut border in *Dat boeck der wijsheyt* (NK 4195), which appeared on 10 April 1527.¹⁹ The same printer also employed three initials with the same origin in his Bible of 1526, NK 386,²⁰ and a

¹⁶ For what biographical information we have about Jo(h)annes and Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten and the relevant literature, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 93-6.

¹⁷ Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3: 1919), p. 273 (no. 24); G. Geisenhof, *Bibliotheca Bugenhagiana. Bibliographie der Druckschriften des D. Joh. Bugenhagen* (Leipzig 1908), p. 270; *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts ...*, 22 vols., ed. I. Bezzel (Stuttgart 1983-2000), hereafter cited as VD 16, no. B 9359.

¹⁸ Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3: 1919), p. 245.

¹⁹ Antwerpen, Jacob van Liesvelt, 10 April 1527. The border is Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3: 1919), p. 265, border g – for a reproduction see illus. 16 (p. 270). Originating from Simon Corver (NAT, S. Corver I 6) it was later used by Johannes Hoochstraten in Malmö; reproduced in L. Nielsen, op. cit. (n. 7), ornament L.

²⁰ These are, in Van Liesvelt's *Nieuwe Testament* of 1526 (NK 386 II) initial I (sign. [HH3r.]: Collijn, fig. 4.2, L. Nielsen, *Dansk Typografisk Atlas, 1482-1600* (København 1934), XXX.40); initial P (sign. [mm7r.], [nn3v.], [oo7v.]; NAT, Corver II 15). The W (NAT, J. van Liesveldt VI 33) at the beginning of *Den Psalter* probably is not of Netherlandish origin. The letter also appears in Bugenhagen's *Souter* (NAT, J. Hoochstraten II 24) and in the English *Genesis* of 1530 (NK 2477, STC 2350). See

fourth one in G. Laet, *Prognosticum pro anno domini 1526*, NK 3340.²¹ We find an initial V from one of these sets (NAT, J. Hoochstraten II 22), moreover, in April 1528 used by Johannes Graphaeus in the second volume of his edition of Homer's works (NK IIIIO). And there may be other examples.

It thus looks as if the ornaments from the Corver press had been dispersed before they appeared in Lübeck and then in Malmö (where even Simon Corver's printer's device went with them). Various printers in Antwerp could obviously use them at their discretion. How can we account for this? I believe there are two possibilities. The first is that the ornaments of the Zwolle printing-office came into the hands of various Antwerp purchasers after its liquidation, and are therefore found in use in various printing-houses. Arguing against this is the fact that all of these woodcuts come together again later in Malmö, which makes a prior dispersal unlikely.

The following explanation seems better to me: the new (Antwerp) owner of the blocks printed not only for himself, but also to some degree for others – and even sometimes lent blocks to these clients. In addition, he made prudent use of his initials in his own publications: he used the rather rough Zwolle woodcuts only when he was short of material or when he wished to camouflage the origins of a clandestine publication.

ADAM ANONYMOUS IN BASEL

This last ground certainly applied to the books published under the fictitious name Adam Anonymus – there was every reason to expect that the texts they contained would be prohibited. Yet, of the two publishers who printed the *Postillen*, Adriaen van Berghen dared to use his own initials, while his colleague preferred not to run the risk and chose the blocks from Zwolle, which were still unknown in Antwerp and could not betray the maker of the book. Two years previously he had done the same thing when he printed Bugenhagen's *Souter* (NK 508) and had since been able to establish that the authorities had never managed to trace the origins of the book. Such caution, however, does not make it any easier to identify the man today. Even Miss Kronenberg failed to discover the true culprit. For her attribution to

R. Steele, 'Notes on English books printed abroad, 1525-48', *Transactions of The Bibliographical Society*, II (1912), cited hereafter as Steele (n. 20), pp. 189-236, fig. 25. Kronenberg, art. cit. (n.3: 1919), p. 247 speaks of 'a similar w', but it is actually the same block.

²¹ 'Impressum Antverpiae per Jacobum Liesvelt'. The initial C, of the largest alphabet from Zwolle, is reproduced in NAT, J. van Liesveldt VIII 40. The letter was also used in Luther's *Postille*; see NAT, J. Hoochstraten III 40. The primary type in this *Pronosticum* is not one of Liesvelt's, but the first 63 mm Bastarda of Martinus de Keyser (NAT, M. de Keyser IX 46), who apparently printed this prognostication.

Johannes Hoochstraten can no longer be accepted.

Of the typographical ornaments in *Die Souter* reproduced by Nijhoff (NAT, J. Hoochstraten II 12-34), all the initials, except for nos. 23 and 24, came from Corver. No. 23, a presumably wooden initial S, appears to have been especially cut for the occasion, together with other letters (not reproduced) of the alphabet added in the same way. No. 24, a large ornamental initial W which is not part of the Zwolle series either, can be found in Jacob van Liesvelt's Bible of 1526 (NAT, J. van Liesveldt VI 33). Nor, in Luther's *Postillen* (NAT, J. Hoochstraten III 38-51), do nos. 42-5, 48 and 50 originate from Zwolle. They are among the initials owned by the Antwerp printer Adriaen van Berghen. Nos. 40 and 46 did indeed belong to Corver, but, as far as we know, this did not apply to the other letters. The odd one, such as no. 47, can be found later in Lübeck, used by Johann Balhorn, but whether it reached him via Johannes Hoochstraten is uncertain. The block may well have already been in the possession of Christiern Pedersen since his Antwerp period.

The *Postillen*, in so far as it was not printed by Van Berghen, thus contains no initials which point unequivocally to a particular press – belonging to Hoochstraten or anyone else. Even the title border, specially cut for this edition, provides no key – any more than do the typefaces. In order to discover who the printer was we must look for a publication which (a) is set with the same Schwabacher as Luther's book and (b) contains a woodcut initial that also appears in work which is either signed or the printer of which can be established via other channels. This combination of features can indeed be found in a newsletter of 1527: *Warachtige nieuwe tijdinge hoe Ferdinandus tot Coninc in Behem gecroont is* (NK 2028 and NK 3952).²² The two existing editions of the pamphlet differ in some respects, but they have the same title woodcut and each one has four woodcut initials three of which are the same in both works. One of these is an N from the largest Corver alphabet; another N (NAT, M. de Keyser VIII 33n), also the same in both editions, is probably of French origin.

This last block (see illus.) provides the solution: it belonged to the printer Martinus de Keyser in Antwerp. The woodcut also appears in other books by him and could thus have been familiar to the authorities, but despite the risk of recognition he did indeed use it here – possibly because he had no other initial N of this format at his disposal. We find the letter in signed works by De Keyser such as Seneca's *Flores* of June 1528 (NK 1886), f. 2v., and in Franciscus Titelmannus, *Elucidatio* (1531), NK 2041, f. 330v. Its presence here seems a certain proof that it was not Johannes Hoochstraten but Martinus de Keyser who hid behind the pseudonym Adam Anonymus, on his own in 1526 and together with Adriaen van Berghen in 1528.

²² Attributed in NK to Johannes Hoochstraten as printer. The two editions are partly printed with the same matter and therefore must have appeared one immediately after the other.

But there are other indications as well. In the very extensive commentaries in Bugenhagen's *Souter*, a second typeface is used which De Keyser must have brought with him from France: a 63/4 mm Bastarda which does not appear to have been employed by any other printer in the Low Countries.²³ In all sorts of publications by De Keyser from 1527 on, moreover, we find a woodcut border (NAT, M. de Keyser VI 24),²⁴ composed of four strips and originating from the Hoochstraten-Tilianus press (Kronenberg border *a*; NAT, J. Hoochstraten I. 1). The title border (Kronenberg border *d*) of the third book of the Schwabacher group, Luther's undated *Die Epistel van S. Pauwels tot die Galaten wtgeleyt* (NAT, J. Hoochstraten I 8), is used in 1527 in De Keyser's editions of *Unio dissidentium* by the still mysterious Hermannus Bodius (NK 4313-15). Of these NK 4313 has De Keyser's imprint.

The other publications in Dutch printed in this German typeface given in NK are: a translation of the *Articulen te Marburg geaccordeert 3 Oct. 1529* with the imprint: 'Ghedruct te Marburg in Hessen bi Hans Luft' (NK 2314),²⁵ and L[uther]'s *Vermaninge aen de gheestlike op den rijcsdach te Ausborch* (NK 4163), also bearing the fake address 'Marborch in Hessen' but with the date 1530 and 'bi mi Steffen Rodt'.²⁶ The title border and the initial as well as the two typefaces are now familiar to us from De Keyser. The pseudonym was thus a new disguise assumed by the printer. He had previously published *Die principaele hoofarticulen van allen dingen die den menschen troostelic, nut, en[de] van noode sijn*, without place or date (NK 1114),²⁷ a collection of Biblical quotations arranged in such a way as to differ on a number of points from the standard doctrine. The booklet is set almost entirely in De Keyser's first 63 mm Bastarda, with just one initial from the smallest Corver alphabet. It has no imprint, but this may be because the last leaf of the only known copy, The Hague, Royal

²³ NAT, M. de Keyser IX 46, reproduced from a page of a *Nieuwe Testament* which he printed for Govert van der Haghen in 1525 (NK 385). The A, reproduced within a gate on the page, comes from the Corver press, as do nearly all the initials in Bugenhagen's *Souter*. See NAT, J. Hoochstraten II 10-34.

²⁴ The border can still be found in 1541 used by De Keyser's successor Antonius Goinus. NAT, M. de Keyser XIV 59 and 60 give reproductions of the four strips combined with other woodcuts.

²⁵ I have never seen a copy of this edition (copies in Kassel, Landesbibliothek, and Copenhagen, Royal Library) and thus have to rely on the information in NK. In view of the similarity with the fake address used by De Keyser in his English books, the attribution would seem to be correct.

²⁶ See K. Beckey, 'Der niederländische Buchdrucker Johannes Hoochstraten zu Antwerpen, alias "Adam Anonymus te Bazel", alias "Hans Luft te Marburg", in einer dritten, bisher unbekannten Maske als "Steffen Rodt te Marborch in Hessen" (1530)', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. 27-38 (illus.).

²⁷ J.M. de Bujanda, *Index de l'Université de Louvain, 1546, 1550, 1558* (Index des livres interdits, 2; Sherbrooke/Genève 1986), no. 161. An extensive description of the content is given by J.G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Geschiedenis der kerkhervorming in Nederland van haar ontstaan tot 1531* (Amsterdam 1873), pp. 415-20. For the incorrect attribution to Wilhelm von Isenburg, see NK 3185 n.

Library (KB), is missing.

In the ten years of his activity in Antwerp, Martinus de Keyser (Lempereur) soon became one of the most important printers in the southern Netherlands.²⁸ He came from France and was married to the daughter of a colleague in Paris, Guillaume Le Rouge. He settled in Antwerp in 1525, allegedly on the advice of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples whose prohibited translation of the Bible he was to publish in 1528-32 without any intervention from the authorities. NK describes more than two hundred of his publications, including a number of Protestant works in various languages. He may, like his father-in-law, also have been a typesetter and the designer of a number of Bastarda typefaces, principally for his own use, which clearly reveal his French origin.²⁹ After his death in 1536, his widow continued to run his firm for a few years before making it over to her manager Antoine des Goys (Antonius Goinus), who was obliged to liquidate the press in 1544. He is not known to have produced any clandestine publications.

HANS LUFT IN MARLBOROW

In the course of her research Dr Kronenberg encountered the striking combination of a Schwabacher typeface and initials from the north-eastern Netherlands also in a group of early English Protestant works printed between 1528 and 1530.³⁰ Most of these bore the imprint of Hans Luft in Marlborow (Marburg), a fake address of which we have found a variant in certain Dutch publications. Robert Steele had already described them as possibly originating from Antwerp. Of what were then pioneer studies on this group,³¹ it is above all his 'Notes', with their extensive details and numerous reproductions, that still contains valuable information.

As we know, English Protestant publications obtained their first support in Antwerp, where a group of English businessmen who had settled in the city provided the means which enabled the reformers to have their writings printed. These merchants also had the necessary business connections which rendered the overseas

²⁸ For details about his life and further literature, see Rouzet, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 112-13.

²⁹ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter cited as VPT, pp. 23-4 and B 1, B 2, B 4, B 5, B 6 and B 7; possibly also R 14 and IT 17. With this series the punchcutter clearly distanced himself from the Dutch Textura which, at a slightly later date, was also (initially) rejected by another Frenchman, Plantin, as too clumsy. This aversion may well have played a part in De Keyser's choice of the Schwabacher, a typeface which is closer to the Bastarda than the Textura. One reason may also have been that the type takes up less space and was thus more economical at a time when paper was expensive.

³⁰ M.E. Kronenberg, *art. cit.* (n. 3: 1928), *passim*.

³¹ Besides Robert Steele's 'Notes', *art. cit.* (n. 20), see also his 'Hans Luft of Marburg. A contribution to the study of William Tyndale', *The Library*, 3rd S., 2 (1911), pp. 113-31.

transport and sale of the books possible. Of course this had to take place in secret; the English authorities tried to intercept such dispatches and the bishops proved active heresy hunters.³² Because of these risks and the limited number of printing presses in England, the publication of this literature in the country itself remained too hazardous and had to take place on the continent. After some unsuccessful attempts in Germany, a regular production in Antwerp got under way and continued with the connivance of the town council until the central government in Brussels intervened.³³

The external similarities of these publications with the 'Adam Anonymus' and 'Marburg' editions, which she knew so well, obviously struck Dr Kronenberg. NK thus contains descriptions of a number of important Protestant works in English. Because of the similarity of the typographical material used, the bibliographer attributed the group to the press which she believed responsible for the simultaneous Dutch production of clandestine publications – in other words to Johannes Hoochstraten.

In the light of my analysis, this ascription, which was soon generally accepted, must be revised. The name should be replaced by that of De Keyser. He appears to have played a still greater part in the spread of Protestantism in various countries than he has so far been credited for on the basis of an impressive series of Protestant publications in Latin, French and, from 1530 onwards, in English. We now see that, even before that year, he was already the established printer of some of the leading English reformers, starting with William Tyndale. In 1528 he produced two particularly influential works by Tyndale: *The parable of the wicked mammon* (NK 3993, STC 24454) and *The obedience of a Christen man* (NK 3991, STC 24446).³⁴ In the fol-

³² Already in 1524 the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstal, summoned the city's booksellers in order to forbid emphatically the sale of uncensored books. He had above all overseas imports in mind. In 1526 there followed a prohibition which was worded even more sharply. On 16 January 1527 an edict was also issued in Antwerp forbidding the ownership of English Bibles. See P. Fredericq's *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis*, vol. 5 (Gent/s-Gravenhage 1903), pp. 184 f., no. 567, and M.E. Kronenberg in *Het Boek*, 16 (1927), p. 181. Steele (n. 20), pp. 214-15 gives a list, based on various contemporary sources, of all English books which were specifically forbidden in the reign of Henry VIII.

³³ For literature on the subject, see D.M. Loades, 'Le livre et la Réforme anglaise avant 1558', *La Réforme et le livre; l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v.1570)*, ed. J.-F. Gilmont (Paris 1990), pp. 269-300; A.G. Johnson & J.-F. Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', *ibid.*, pp. 191-216; F.C. Avis, 'England's use of Antwerp printers, 1500-1540', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 48 (Mainz 1973), pp. 234-40; and more recently the exhibition catalogue *Antwerpen, dissident drukkerscentrum. De rol van de Antwerpse drukken in de godsdienststrijd in Engeland (16e eeuw)* (Publikaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus, 31, eds. D. Imhof, G. Tournoy en F. de Nave; Antwerpen 1994), *passim*. These studies follow the attributions of NK and STC.

³⁴ Steele (n. 20), p. 208, nos. 1, resp. 2; Hume (n. 8), nos. 6, resp. 7; J.F. Mozley, *William Tyndale* (New York 1937; repr. Westport Conn. 1971), hereafter cited as Mozley (n. 34), pp. 123 ff., 134 ff.;

lowing year he published a translation of Erasmus' *Paraclesis* (by William Roy; NK 2982, STC 10493): *An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture*, followed by *An exposition in to the seventh chaptre of the first pistle to the Corinthians*, a translation of Luther's *Das 7^e Capittel S. Pauli zu den Corinthern ausgelegt*.³⁵ The 'Marlborow' imprint also appeared in 1529 in a work by John Frith (writing under the pseudonym Richard Brightwell): *A pistle to the Christen reader* (NK 3044, STC 11394), followed by a translation of Luther's *De Antichristo*, provided with an 'Epitome' by the translator.³⁶

TYNDALE'S PENTATEUCH

In this period De Keyser used a somewhat frivolous title decoration (Kronenberg border *d*),³⁷ a copy made after the Charites border which Anton Woensam von Worms had cut for Eucharius Cervicornus (Hirtzhorn) in Cologne.³⁸ In his editions of the Bible De Keyser replaced the unsuitable woodcut with one from the Corver press. The original initials of the Amsterdam publisher Willem Korver (a brother of Simon), together with his device,³⁹ had been cut out of the block,⁴⁰ which had already been used before in this mutilated form by the Hoochstraten-Tilianus partnership.⁴¹ It was with this title border (Kronenberg border *b*) that Tyndale's translation of the Pentateuch now appeared. Soon followed by the other Books, *Genesis* came out on 17 January 1530 (NK 2477, STC 2350¹). It bears the

W.A. Clebsch, *England's earliest Protestants, 1520-1535* (New Haven 1964; repr. Westport Conn. 1980), hereafter cited as Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 146 ff. Strongly influenced by Luther's views and soon to become the two most popular of Tyndale's tracts. *The Obedience* also contains Tyndale's justification of the translation of the Bible in the vernacular. The book has De Keyser's copy of the *Charites* title border, see Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3; 1919), p. 264 and illus. 6 (border *d*), and Steele, art. cit. (n. 20), fig. 10. A facsimile edition of the book appeared in 1977 as no. 897 in the series *The English Experience*.

³⁵ Hume (n. 8), no. 10; Steele (n. 20), pp. 208-9, no. 3. Border *d*.

³⁶ Hume (n. 8), no. 11; Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 85-8; Steele (n. 20), p. 209, no. 4. Border *d*.

³⁷ NAT, J. Hoochstraten I 8; Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3; 1919), illus. 6; Steele (n. 20), fig. 10. The border is also used in [Martin Luther], *Die Epistel van S. Pauwels tot die Galaten wtgeleyt* (NK 1433; see above). Cf. also the previous notes.

³⁸ Steele (n. 20), fig. 10A. An equally deceptive copy was owned by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, see NAT, M.H. van Hoochstraten V 18; Steele (n. 20), fig. 10B.

³⁹ For the establishment of the family relationship and the identification of the device ('huismerk'), see Van Eeghen, art. cit. (n. 6), pp. 60 ff., 66 f.

⁴⁰ For reproductions, see Steele (n. 20), fig. 23 and NAT, J. Hoochstraten V 53.

⁴¹ NAT, J. Hoochstraten VII 69.

‘Marlborow, Hans Luft’ imprint, is set in the 77 mm Schwabacher⁴² of De Keyser and contains seven initials at least two of which belong to the Corver inventory. The fourth volume of the series, *Numeri* (NK 2480, STC 2350⁴), is also printed in the same type but has no imprint. Of the initials, at least one certainly comes from Zwolle. There also appeared in the same series, without date or address, *Exodus*, *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomeye* (NK 2478, 2479, 2481; STC 2350^{2, 3, 5}).⁴³

These three volumes, each with its own signatures, have the same title border as the two mentioned earlier.⁴⁴ Otherwise their appearance differs considerably: the typefaces are Roman, with an occasional heading in Textura. All three volumes, moreover, only have one initial, a large Gothic T, which, in contrast to the decorative letters listed above, does not come from the Corver press.⁴⁵ It is above all this ornament which sets us on the trail of the printer. It belonged to Johannes Graphaeus, a printer-publisher who had settled in Antwerp in 1527, shortly after De Keyser.⁴⁶ As we see from the loan of his title border, De Keyser had here engaged a colleague – probably because his own typesetting capacity was insufficient at that moment.⁴⁷

Graphaeus also performed various commissions in this sector at a later date – mainly books set in Roman and Italic.⁴⁸ It was with this latter typeface that he printed, late in 1528 or early in 1529, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars* (NK 3032, STC

⁴² For the Schwabacher founts used in English books published elsewhere (Zurich, Emden, Strasbourg), see A.F. Johnson, ‘English Books printed abroad’, *The Library*, 5th S., 4 (1950), pp. 273–6.

⁴³ The five volumes: Hume (n. 8), no. 13; Steele (n. 20), p. 209, no. 7 and fig. 23 and 28; Mozley (n. 34), pp. 173–86.

⁴⁴ The title-page of *Genesis* is reproduced in Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 3: 1919), illus. 13.

⁴⁵ Steele (n. 20), fig. 28; NAT, J. Hoochstraten V 54.

⁴⁶ For a survey of his career and a list of existing literature on him, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 79–80. Besides a number of undecorated capitals in woodcut, Graphaeus only owned few initials. This large T, evidently a single item, was his most spectacular ornamental letter and he used it in each of the three Bible books which he printed. In the Dutch *Livy*, which he issued in 1541 for Jan Gymnicus, the block is used dozens of times.

⁴⁷ A ‘newly correctyd and amendyd’ edition of *Genesis* appeared in 1534 (NK 2488, STC 2351, Hume (n. 8), no. 32), provided with new preliminary matter. This time De Keyser printed the book, again with no mention of his name, in Roman and launched it on the market, as we see from the extant copies, together with the other four volumes. This confirms the course of events concerning the involvement of Graphaeus’ press. The four strips of the title border, used in another book, are reproduced in NAT, M. de Keyser IV 17.

⁴⁸ For a reproduction of the title-page of *Deuteronomye*, see Steele (n. 20), fig. 23. The two Romans used by Graphaeus in these years were (a) a type of 85/6 mm for twenty lines supplied with a y of a different face and (b) the familiar capitals, about 8 mm in height, ascribed to Peter Schoeffer for headings. NAT, J. Graphaeus III 10 and 11.

10883),⁴⁹ a fairly short work but a savage one, comprising a single gathering which is generally attributed to Simon Fish: 'the most inflammatory and probably most widely read libellus of the early years of the English Reformation' – Clebsch, op. cit. (n. 34). The text begins with a large capital M, probably cut in wood, which we also encounter in other publications by Graphaeus.⁵⁰

In the same year of 1529 he printed, naturally again in secret, another work attributed to Simon Fish: a translation of a Dutch book which had international success and appeared in various languages, including French and Italian. The English title runs *The summe of the holye scripture* (NK 3912, STC 3036)⁵¹ and the work is a translation, probably from the French, of the *Summa der Godliker Schrifturen*, a compendium of theological views from the early Reformation in the Low Countries. For a long time the author was believed to be the former priest and school teacher Henricus Bomelius, but this attribution has now been rejected.⁵² The *Summe*, which appeared without an address but which NK ascribes to Antwerp with a question mark, was probably produced by Graphaeus' press. In this particular case this emerges exclusively from the use of the aforesaid initial T with which this text, too, begins. The primary typeface is a 62 mm Textura of French origin (VPT T 43) which was also in common use in the Netherlands.⁵³

Again with the address 'Marborch', but now without Hans Luft's name, there appeared in 1530 another successful tract: *The practyse of prelates* (NK 3995, STC 24465).⁵⁴ It is printed in our Schwabacher, with a line in Textura on the title-page and an Italic typeface for the marginalia, and contains a small woodcut initial W

⁴⁹ Hume (n. 8), no. 8; Steele (n. 20), p. 217; Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 241-5. A facsimile edition appeared as no. 515 in the series *The English Experience*.

⁵⁰ This letter, too, is used frequently in Graphaeus' *Livy* of 1541 (see n. 46). The question mark beside the attribution in NK and STC can thus be removed.

⁵¹ Hume (n. 8), no. 9; Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 245-51. For the relationship between the Dutch original and the French, English and Italian translations, see J. Trapman, *De Summa der Godliker Schrifturen* (1523) (Leiden 1978; thesis Leiden), chap. 5 (pp. 73-87). On p. 88 we have a reproduction of the title-page of the English edition of 1529 on 11/9 of the true size.

⁵² Trapman, op. cit. (n. 51), pp. 41-56: 'Henricus Bomelius en het auteurschap van de *Summa* en de *Oeconomica*'.

⁵³ NAT does not reproduce this typeface under Graphaeus. The compiler had thus obviously never encountered it in his books. Before regarding this as an objection to the attribution of the *Summe* to Graphaeus, we should realise that he printed almost exclusively in Roman and Italic. Only right at the beginning of his career did he issue a pamphlet in Lettersnijder's mediaen Textura (NK 1266-7). Of the more than 220 publications which followed up to and including 1540, not a single one was in Dutch and thus printed with Texturas. See the printers' register of NK s.v. Graphaeus.

⁵⁴ Hume (n. 8), no. 19; Steele (n. 20), p. 211, no. 10; Mozley (n. 34), pp. 162-71. Border b.

which also appears in De Keyser's edition of *Genesis* and elsewhere.⁵⁵ At about the same time a work by another Protestant author was published: Jerome Barlowe's *A proper dyaloge betwene a gentillman and an husbandman* (NK 4215, STC 1462.3).⁵⁶ The booklet has no imprint and no date, but we again encounter the Schwabacher and the same initial W just mentioned. There can thus be no doubt that this publication, too, was issued by De Keyser's press.

This latter book was soon reissued by the same publisher in a new edition bearing the Marlborow imprint and the date 1530 (NK 2775, STC 6813),⁵⁷ but now augmented with *A compendious olde treatyse, shewynge, howe that we ought to haue the scripture in Englysshe*, a text by John Purvey dating from about 1405. A little earlier the publisher had produced a separate edition of the work in the same typeface and also bearing the Marlborow address (NK 3980, STC 3021).⁵⁸ If, as is the case with the reprint, the booklet was intended to serve as a supplement to the aforesaid original edition of *A proper dyaloge*, the date 1530 can probably also be applied to this publication.

The last book from this period attributed to Johannes Hoochstraten in NK and STC also appeared in 1530, but this time bearing no date. It is *The examination of Master William Thorpe ... [and] of ... syr Ihon Oldcastell Lorde Cobham* (NK 3007, STC 24045),⁵⁹ two men who were sentenced to death for their beliefs over a century earlier by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury. The edition of these interrogations was attributed both to Tyndale and to George Constantine. The typefaces, with the Schwabacher as the primary one, together with the initials demonstrate that De Keyser also printed this work.

Finally two more books appeared in 1530 with the address 'Emprinted at Argentine ... by me Francis Foxe', a new alias for De Keyser. The first is a translation of the psalms, *The Psalter of David* (NK 2476, STC 2370), printed in two Bastardas (designed by De Keyser himself?), VPT B 2 and B 5, with a line in T 3 on the title-page.⁶⁰ The headings of the psalms and subjects and the first letters of the verses are printed in red. Apart from the typefaces the initials, too, indicate De Keyser as the printer. The translator was probably George Joye. *Ortulus anime. The Garden of*

⁵⁵ Steele (n. 20), fig. 20.

⁵⁶ Hume (n. 8), no. 15; Clebsch (n. 34), p. 236. A lithographic facsimile appeared in London in 1863.

⁵⁷ Hume (n. 8), no. 17; Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 236-8; Steele (n. 20), p. 211, no. 9.

⁵⁸ Hume (n. 8), no. 16; Steele (n. 20), p. 211, no. 11.

⁵⁹ Hume (n. 8), no. 18; Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 265-7; Steele (n. 20), p. 209, no. 8. For the initials, see Steele (n. 20), fig. 22 (subtitle erroneously exchanged with fig. 14) and fig. 27.

⁶⁰ Hume (n. 8), no. 12. The typefaces are given according to the list in NK 2476, where we are referred to NAT, M. de Keyser IV 17.

the soule: or the englisshe primers [...] newe corrected and augmented (NK 4246, STC 13828.4) appeared in the same material and with the same imprint. This was an improved edition, also by George Joye, of a book which was prohibited in England.⁶¹

At this point De Keyser abandoned the use of the Schwabacher as a principal type and thus followed the example of Adriaen van Berghen, who had done away with it some time earlier. In the few remaining years of his activity, until his death in 1535 or 1536, he continued to work for Tyndale and presumably for other English reformers such as George Joye. In doing so he used various pseudonyms: Balthasar Beckenth in Strassburg, Iacob Aurik in Emdon, and perhaps other ones as well. The English book production in Antwerp in the 1530s deserves to be more closely investigated. What is now certain, however, is that Johannes Hoochstraten played no part in any of these publications. Dr Kronenberg saw him as an adventurous spirit indifferent to the dangers involved in the production of prohibited books, attracted, if anything, by the risk it entailed. It now appears that he simply occupied a secondary position in the world of the book, as the technical assistant of men such as Tilianus and Christiern Pedersen – entrepreneurs who needed a printer in order to carry out their publishing plans. After his connection with Malmö, in 1535 or the year following, Hoochstraten returned to Antwerp where he was employed by the firm ‘In Rapo’ belonging to his father. It was with the latter’s material that, from 1540 onwards, books were also printed bearing the name of Johannes as publisher: orthodox texts which were in no way dangerous. He died in 1543 or 1544.

The fake address ‘At Marlborow in the lande of Hesse [...] by me Hans Luft’ appears once more, in an edition of Tyndale’s *The obedience of a Christen man* ‘newly printed and diligently corrected, 1535’ (NK 3992, STC 24447). It is a reprint of the aforesaid 1528 edition, this time, however, in a Textura typeface. NK attributes it to Hoochstraten, while Hume, op. cit. (n. 8), no. 41, ascribes it to the widow of Chr. van Ruremunde. Yet the book has a title border belonging to Hendrik Peetersen van Middelburch (NAT, IV 13) and the reproduction by Steele, op. cit. (n. 20), of that page (fig. 42, p. 227) shows that the types, too, correspond to Peetersen’s. According to Steele’s note on p. 230 this also applies to the initials. The ascription of STC 24447 to this printer is thus perfectly well-founded and it would seem justifiable to remove the question mark accompanying the name.

The colophon gives 29 October 1535 as the date of publication. De Keyser was presumably dead by then and the use of the Marlborow address had thus fallen vacant. On 20 January of that year this printer had employed his Schwabacher and a few of his initials from Zwolle for a last time in a Protestant book: *An comfort*

⁶¹ Hume (n. 8), no. 14; Clebsch (n. 34), pp. 208–10; C.C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545)* (New York 1971), pp. 28–48. See also L.H. Sheppard in *The Library*, 5th S., 6 (1951), pp. 109–15, and, on the typographical design of the ‘Francis Foxe’ books, Avis, art. cit. (n. 33), pp. 239–40.

able exhortation of our mooste holy Christen faith, with, as a fake imprint, 'Peter Congeth at Parishe'.⁶² STC 14667 follows NK 3268 in a now superseded attribution of the book to Johannes Hoochstraten; Hume, op. cit. (n. 8), leaves the choice open.

Thus, after Niclaes van Oldenborch, yet another of Miss Kronenberg's idols falls from his pedestal. Nothing remains of the ambitious young printer of exclusively heretical books: the son of a gifted and successful father, he now appears to have played a subordinate part as the assistant of others. Marten de Keyser, on the other hand, now proves to have occupied a still more important position in the publicity of early Protestantism than has hitherto been acknowledged. In the first fifteen years of the Reformation he was one of the foremost figures in the Netherlands to spread the new faith. He did so as a publisher in four languages, Latin, French, English and Dutch. But it is above all his work for William Tyndale that entitles him to a lasting recognition for his commitment.

Although Miss Kronenberg's work on Dutch bibliography in the sixteenth century must always be regarded with the deepest respect, some of its shortcomings are now evident. In previous publications I have already referred to her premature dating of a large group of Dutch Protestant works. It now appears that her attributions of other publications from this period do not stand up to critical scrutiny either. There is no point in concealing the fact. In this connection I feel entitled to appeal to her own words when she wrote: 'In my opinion, however, we should never allow incorrect views the chance to spread. It is far better at once to eradicate them utterly'.⁶³ That this should now happen to her own work, is the result of continuous bibliographical investigation and does nothing to detract from her great contribution to the history of the book in the Low Countries. The development of our knowledge in this domain is still susceptible to new discoveries and the results of proceeding research. There is no reason to expect that the end of this necessary revision is yet in sight.

⁶² Steele (n. 20), p. 212, no. 13. For reproductions, see figs. 32-6.

⁶³ 'Volgens mijn opvatting echter is het nooit goed, verkeerde meeningen de gelegenheid te geven voort te woekeren. Men doet beter ze dadelijk met wortel en tak uit te roeien'; Dr M.E. Kronenberg in a book review in *Het Boek*, 28 (1944-6), p. 169.

ghen sijn/als Apulia/Sicilia/Neapels/Italia/Roma/Lombardia/
etce. Oostrijck Stier/Berghen/Meber/Schlesy/Meysen. etce. die
die selue ooc in nemen mochten/ist dat hi siet datse niet wel bewaert
en werden. Welcke swaere merckelike handelinge en sake der ghes
meynder christenheyt/niet cleyn te achten en is. Want die voorsz ty
rannie/die de Turck bedreuen heeft/ende noch dagelics bedrjft (ey
laes) in veel plaatsen swaerlic en clagelic gemerct en gespürt werdt/
welcke groote jammer bi allen christene staten van noode is hertelic
te ouerdencken.

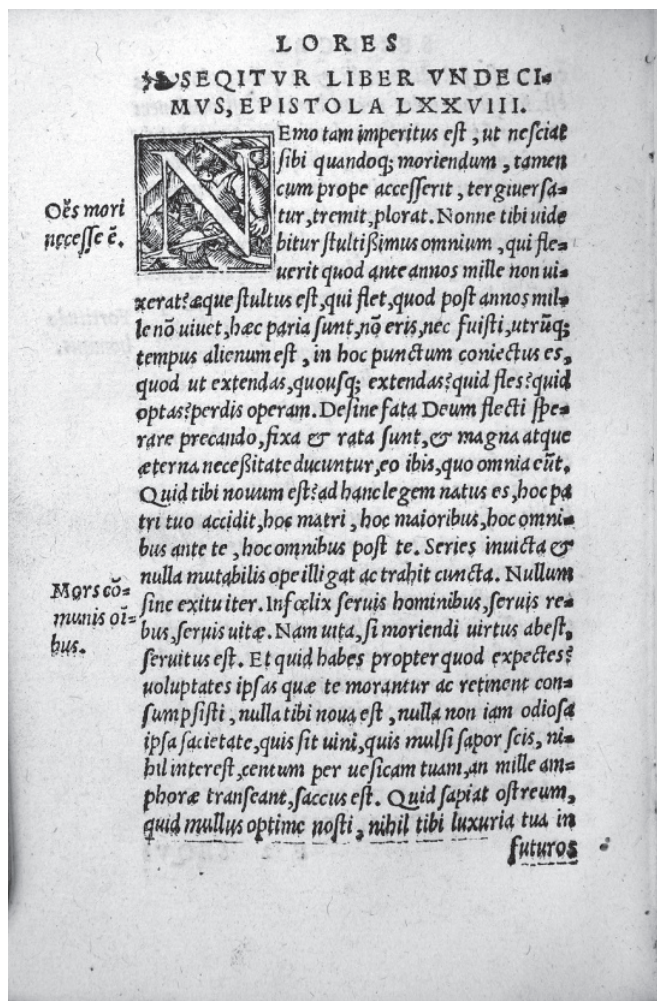
Hoe die tyranische woedensche Turck int Coninc
rijck van Vngarien int voorsz sessentwintichste iaer ghehandelt/
heeft/en veel onschuldichs christelics blots gestort. Oock hē die chri
stelike Coninc van Vngarien/met vele christelike ridderslike persone
voesten/en heeren/ghesfelic en weerlic sijn leuen geeynt heeft.



Nat die voorszeyde Turck/corts na die
verloouinge vā Rodis/Griescche Weysenburgh met
anderen beuestingen (gelijc voorsz is) der christenheyt
afgedrongen en inne heeft/ooc na sinen behagen be
nesticht en beset. etce. so is hi weder in sijn oude veet
stappen getreden. En heeft hem ter stont na den heyl
ligen Pinxten dach inden somer des. xxvj. iaers/bi Griescche Wey
senburgh/ouer die water vloet geheeten die Saw/heymelic en ons
gewarschout/gedaen/met eenen grooten machtigen heyt te peerde
en te voete/bi die tweemaal hondert dufent sterc geweest. Doe met
eenen grooten ontastiken gesent. En als die voorszeyde Turc al
so in stuffer haesten/van alleman ongehindert/met grooter tijt ende
stonde dat geschutte met alder ghereeschap ouer dat water/op der
christen side in Vngarien bracht. Welc wel te doen was / om dat si
die sloere tot Griescchen Weysenburgh hadden. Oec hebben si al
le haer volc te peerde en te vōre gemonstert/ooc hār buschen en wa
genburgh ten eersten gestelt/en een ordinantie gemact/op seuē mi
len breed/en also int lant ouer en weder gereyst/en dagelics voordere
getogen/en dat lāt also na der milen ingenomē/en altemale na ghe
bertet/verbrandt/en verwozt wat si aencomen mocht/en sonder
linge/daermen hem tegen hen ter were gestelt heeft/daer en hebben
si noch maechden noch vrouwen/inghe noch out/noch niemandē
gespaert/dat meeste deel gedoot/ende hebben also bi vier weken lā

I

Warachtige nieuwe tidinge ([Antwerp, Martinus de Keyser], 1527), A2verso, NK 3952.
(Scan from the original publication)



2
L.A. Seneca, *Flores* (Antwerp, Martinus de Keyser, 1528), f2verso, NK 1886
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned. Inc. 177)

THE FIRST PRINTER IN LEEUWARDEN:

JOHANNES PETREIUS



Until a few years ago interest in the early history of book printing in Friesland was strikingly limited, and so, accordingly, was our knowledge of the subject. Admittedly a few scholars tried to solve the puzzle of the *Freeska Landriucht*, but that was a special case, and it is far from certain that this incunabulum was actually printed in Friesland. Dr M.P. van Buijtenen put in a claim for Berlikum, a village in north-west Friesland, while Prof. Wytze Hellinga and his wife, Dr Lotte Hellinga, suggested Antwerp. There is no convincing evidence for these attributions, however, and so the origin of the book is still unsure.¹

We can assume that the history of the printed book in the Friesland area only started when the book dealer and publisher Thielman (Teilman) moved his firm from Groningen to Leeuwarden in about 1540. Even about this date there is still some uncertainty, and there are also indications that he had settled in Leeuwarden some time earlier.² What is definite, however, is that he spent the last years of his life in Leeuwarden and died there.³ Some time later, in the accounts of the

¹ For the relevant literature on this matter, see the list in *De vijfhonderdste verjaring van de boekdrukkunst in de Nederlanden. Catalogus ...* (Brussel 1973), pp. 399-402 (p. 400).

² P.H. Breuker, 'Eekhoffs Geschiedenis van de Leeuwarder drukkers en uitgevers tot 1870', in C.P. Hoekema, *Eekhoff en zijn werk; leven en werken van Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880)* (Leeuwarden 1980), p. 176: 'In 1536 woonde hij in Groningen' (In 1536 he was living in Groningen). See also the footnote under no. 4072 in W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 (s-Gravenhage 1923-71), hereafter cited as NK: 'The bookseller Teilman (Thielman) is known to us from Leeuwarden in 1534 (no. 1761) and in Groningen in 1536 (no. 1196), c.1537 (nos. 161 and 1757), and c.1540 or a little later (no. 1475). He probably also lived in Groningen in 1538 unless he was running a business simultaneously in Leeuwarden and Groningen.' ('De boekverkooper Teilman (Thielman) is ons bekend te Leeuwarden in 1534 ([nr.] 1761) en te Groningen in 1536 (no. 1196), c.1537 (nos. 161 en 1757) en c.1540 of iets later (no. 1475). Vermoedelijk woonde hij ook in 1538 te Groningen, tenzij hij gelijktijdig een zaak te Leeuwarden en te Groningen dreef'). According to W. Eekhoff, *De stedelijke bibliotheek van Leeuwarden ...* (Leeuwarden 1870), p. 413, 'Thylman, Boekverkooper uit het land van Kleef' appears in the Register of citizens ('Burgerboek') in Leeuwarden of 1543/4.

³ On 14 September 1545 four Antwerp printers authorized Jan Baers to recover unpaid debts from the heirs of 'Thielmanne van Leeuwarden boeckvercoopere wijlen [...] in Vrieslandt' for books and other things ('van boecken ende andersins'). See L. van den Branden in *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique, Archief- en bibliotheekwezen in België*, 51 (1980), p. 220.

town's Treasurer's Office of 1557/8, we find a certain Johannes Petreius named as the printer of announcements (to which we shall return later) of the sale of Co. Mts. Biltlanden ('boeckprentere [...] van [...] billietten beroerende de vercopinge van Co. Mts. Biltlanden'). No copy has ever come to light, however, and the Court of Friesland was believed moreover to have dispatched its orders to the local authorities exclusively in handwritten form until 1570.⁴

That was the only information the literature on the subject could give. In the Provincial Archive in Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland – other archives elsewhere in the Netherlands sometimes also contain important surveys relevant to our subject – still less was to be found until recently. In the Murray Bakker collection the file 'De oudste beoefenaars van de boekdrukkunst in Friesland en hunne voortbrengselen' (The earliest printers in Friesland and their output) contains nothing whatsoever about the sixteenth century. In J.G. Avis' 'Aantekeningen over beroepen en personen die deze beroepen in Friesland uitoefenden' ('Notes on trades and the persons who practised them'), based mainly on the archives of the Provincial Executive and the Auditor's Office, there was just as little, if we except a reference to an order of payment of 22 December 1600 to Gillis van Craenenbrouck. This printer, however, resided not in Friesland but in Emden.⁵ It thus seemed as though the prevailing opinion was correct and that typographical activity in Friesland only began with the arrival of Gillis van den Rade (Radaeus) from Antwerp. He was the official printer both to the academy of Franeker and to the States, and he proved active and competent in both capacities. Friesland thus had a modern printing-office by 1585 and, thanks to the research of Dr J. Kalma, we have a good survey of its production.

Yet this traditional image is incomplete. It has since proved possible to establish that a press was at work in Franeker before the arrival of Radaeus, and that it was in the service of the local followers of Menno Simons and Dirk Philips. This Mennonite firm published exclusively texts either by Mennonites, or intended for them, such as the well-known 'Biestkens' Bible and New Testaments. As far as we know, it produced in the period of its activity, from 1556 to 1570, unhindered by the authorities, twenty-four works, some of which were of considerable length. For eight years, from 1556 on, the firm was run by the original owner, Jan Hendricksz van Schoonrewoerdt, who had moved with his press from Utrecht to Franeker. We do not know who was in charge after his death in 1564. The name of his successor is not mentioned anywhere, and even the very existence of the press has sunk into

⁴ Breuker, op. cit. (n. 2), p. 176, col. 2.

⁵ Before settling in Emden he ran a firm in Mechelen for some years. For his activities there, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), p. 49.

oblivion.⁶

In Friesland the role of the publisher of the Mennonite community was subsequently taken over by Pieter Hendricksz van Campen, a printer in Leeuwarden who managed to produce a large number of mainly Mennonite publications in addition to his work for the Court and States of Friesland. He obviously did not do so in his own name, but either anonymously or under the pseudonym Peter van Putte, allegedly in Harlingen. Between 1579, the beginning of his career as an independent printer, until his death in 1587 he published over twenty often rather voluminous books for the Mennonites, and thus became one of the four or five largest publishers in the areas liberated from Spanish rule. How he succeeded in keeping all these activities secret remains a mystery, but the supervision by the authorities of his day-to-day work was obviously not excessively severe.

For, during the whole of his career, Pieter Hendricksz was the official printer of Friesland, just as Is(e)brandt ter Steghe had been from 1573 to 1578. On 15 April 1572 this predecessor of his had obtained a permit to print from the supervisor of the printing trade, Christopher Plantin. We see from the certificate he received that he was twenty-five years old, originally came from Steenwijk, and that he had worked there in the service of Herman 't Zangers who had taught him the trade.⁷ Subsequently, in Emden, he purchased from Jean Malet, who had died some years earlier, the press which had originally belonged to Jan van Zuren in Haarlem and with which he settled in Leeuwarden as printer to the Court. In that capacity he succeeded his master 't Zangers, who had occupied the post from 1570 to 1572 and during that period had printed in Steenwijk a number of publications for the Frisian authorities. Seven of them have survived and an eighth is known from an early report.

Herman 't Zangers is one of those shadowy printers who hardly ever signed their books and whose production can only be reconstructed by way of a comparative investigation into the typographical material they used: their typefaces and ornaments.⁸ By this means we can establish that, in the early years of his career, between 1565 and 1569, he issued a series of prohibited books, several of which are

⁶ For this press, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Een onbekende Doperse drukkerij in Friesland', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 37-63.

⁷ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), p. 35. In the French text he calls himself the printer's 'compagnon'.

⁸ For Herman 't Zangers, his career, typefaces, ornaments and publications, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Een vergeten ondergrondse drukker: Herman 't Zangers in Steenwijk (1565-1580)', *For Bob de Graaf, Antiquarian Bookseller, Publisher, Bibliographer. Festschrift on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, ed. A. Gerits (Amsterdam 1992), pp. 174-87. The hitherto unrecovered eighth publication is mentioned in A.M. Ledeboer, *De boekdruckers, boekverkopers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland sedert the uitvinding van de boekdruckkunst tot den aanvang der negentiende eeuw* (Deventer 1872), p. 354.

mentioned in the Antwerp *Index*. It appears from his stock that he had Mennonite connections, and we can also assume that he knew Coornhert, perhaps through the latter's friends in Deventer. One of his most interesting publications is a Dutch version of the famous book by Martinus Bellius (the pseudonym of Sebastian Castellio), *De haereticis an sint persequendi* ..., translated as 'Van ketteren, ofmen die oock vervolgen [...] sal'.⁹ With this publication 't Zangers made a major, and as far as he was concerned, potentially dangerous contribution to religious freedom in the Netherlands, of which Coornhert, as we know, was the great champion. After 1570 we see 't Zangers choosing a safer field and printing almanacs.

In sixteenth-century Friesland, then, more was printed than was suspected until recently, and that also applies to the period before 1565, on which nothing has hitherto been published. For then, too, a press had been set up in Leeuwarden which received regular orders from the authorities and also occasionally produced a publication of its own. The man who had established and who managed the firm was a versatile figure, rector of the town school, public notary, secretary of the *grietenij* or juridical district of Idaarderadeel, as well as a printer. A few things are known about his social career, but his typographical activities, together with the very first stages of printing in Friesland, have been forgotten.

In 1554 the authorities of the Idaarderadeel district protested against the earlier decision of the Court in Leeuwarden whereby a secretary was appointed without prior consultation, despite the fact that the right of appointment to this post lay with the *grietman*, the head of the district judicature and government of the district, and his assessors – the Court only had to swear in the new appointee.¹⁰ The appointment, moreover, seems to have been unfortunate, at least in the eyes of the local inhabitants. In 1563 they officially complained that the legal sessions only began at the whim of the *grietman*. He, in his turn, blamed the negligence of his secretary, who, in breach of every rule, did not live in the *grietenij*, but in Leeuwarden. If the weather was bad, he would either arrive too late or not arrive at all. He was also in the habit of taking the Book of Decrees ('*Recesboek*') or its register back home, so that it could not be consulted in his absence. As a result of these irregularities, the village judge also refused to appear and the *grietman* could conduct the interrogation of witnesses as he liked, with all the arbitrariness that entailed.¹¹

⁹ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 8), pp. 183-4.

¹⁰ *Groot Placaat en Charter-boek van Vriesland* [...], collected by G.F. thoe Schwartzbergen Hohenlansberg, 5 vols. (Leeuwarden 1768-93), vol. 3, hereafter cited as tSchw, pp. 341 ff.

¹¹ For these circumstances, see M.P. van Buijtenen, *De grietenij Idaarderadeel* (Dokkum 1947), pp. 46 ff.; the name of Jan Petersz is not mentioned here either.

The secretary of Idaarderadeel in question was never mentioned by name, but an official document dating from 1552 shows that it was indeed the above-mentioned Johannes Petreius.¹² He was probably not a Frisian by birth, but came from Kampen. He had been a teacher there in one of the two town schools and apparently ran a bookshop on the side.¹³ In about 1536 we encounter him as the publisher of a news report (NK 2030).¹⁴ This publication, a single gathering of four little leaves, may have been intended as a sort of proof. It shows that Jan Petersz was not yet in possession of a press of his own, but availed himself of the services of a fellow-citizen, Jan Evertsz, another school teacher, who was already producing printed work in 1524.¹⁵ For on 18 April of that year Jan Evertsz was called to order by the municipal authorities for having printed a text which did not appeal to the magistrates. His earliest surviving publication dates from 1527 (NK 1330).

Two years after the news report which Jan Evertsz printed for him, Johannes Petreius published in Kampen, at the end of 1538 or at the beginning of 1539, two slender booklets which he had now printed himself. These are Latin eulogies written by Rhenanus Uzichius on the occasion of William of Gelderland's entry into Zutphen and Harderwijk.¹⁶ By now Petreius appears to have owned his own typographical material. A little later he left his town of residence, and is no longer mentioned in Kampen after 1542. In that year he was commissioned by the town to bind a repertory which, when it was rebound in 1882, was seen to contain a number of loose sheets of a sixteenth-century songbook which has since been known as the 'Kamper Liedboek'.¹⁷ As the original binder of the repertory, Jan Petersz had

¹² A 'Mr. Jan Pieters' is mentioned as the secretary of Idaarderadeel in judicial proceedings recorded by the Court of Friesland on 25 June 1552 (letter dated 3 June 1542 from the Friesland State Archivist, in Leeuwarden, to Miss G.H.A. Krans, now in Amsterdam UL). – The archive of Idaarderadeel only begins in 1567. The earlier part has been lost.

¹³ For what is known about Jan Petersz' activities in Kampen, see G.H.A. Krans, 'De eerste boekdrukkers van Kampen in hun dagelijksche omgeving en het "Kamper" liedboek', *Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging tot beoefening van Overijsselsch Regt en Geschiedenis*, 59 (1943), pp. 85-103 (pp. 86 ff., 96 ff.); *id.*, 'Kamper boekdrukkers in de 16e eeuw', *Kamper Almanak*, 1959/60, pp. 176-91 (181-2).

¹⁴ *Tijdinge van Roome aengaende den Keyser [...]*. Gheprent tot Campen in die Geert strate van der A. Bi mi Jan Evertssoon. Ende men salse te coep vijnden bij Jan Peterssoon. – Copy: Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR).

¹⁵ For his publications, see the list of printers in NK, s.v.

¹⁶ NK 3800 and 3801 (instead of NK 1801). M.E. Kronenberg, 'Twee Gelderse feestdichten van Rhenanus Uzichius (Kampen 1538-1539)', *Het Boek*, 22 (1933-4), pp. 67-72.

¹⁷ NK 3397-8 and 0797-8. For historical and bibliographical details, see M.E. Kronenberg, 'Het Kamper liedboek (c.1540)', *Het Boek*, 23 (1935-6), pp. 165-74, and *ibid.*, 26 (1940-2), p. 90; *id.*, 'Nog eens het Kamper liedboek (c.1540)', *ibid.*, 29 (1944-6), pp. 159-70; C.W.H. Lindenburg in

obviously taken unused printed sheets of a publication of his own in order to fill up the boards of its binding.

Petreius then seems to have left for Leeuwarden. Exactly when that was, is unknown, but he had probably already settled there in 1546. We have an edition of a news report referring to that year with the imprint ‘Gheprent bynnen leeuerden met consent des Stadts, By my Jo. Pe.’¹⁸ Although no year is given, we can assume that the report appeared shortly after the events described. But how can we tell that this Jo. Pe. is the same man as the Johan Petersz whom we know from Kampen?¹⁹ The name is particularly common and a number of homonymous contemporaries lived in Kampen itself, some of whom were also school teachers. These include the printer’s direct superior, the ‘opperschoelmeister’ (headmaster), Mr Jan Petersz van Limburg, who, in 1538, had had his appointment as rector of the two town schools renewed.

In order to identify the Jan Petersz of Leeuwarden with the Jan Petersz in Kampen we must fall back on the only element that can make the relationship visible, the typographical material. The typefaces applied are inadequate for this purpose. They are too common and appear in the work of too many printers to be of any use. Fortunately the situation is different where the ornamental letters of our Johannes Petreius are concerned, since we find the same woodcut initials in both towns.²⁰ An ornamental O, much used in publications for the Frisian authorities, already appears in the ‘Kamper Liedboek’, together with other initials from the same alphabet. When we come across that same block in printed matter for the Court in Leeuwarden this, besides the homonymity, proves that the same press was at work in both cases.

So far the *Nieuwe tydinghe* is the only publication by our printer which has come to light, or at least the only one bearing his name. Where the others are concerned, we only know a series of fifteen anonymously printed official publications which appeared between 12 October 1547 and 16 July 1563. Together with various other official announcements, many of which handwritten, they are nearly all kept in

Tijdschrift der Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 14 (1940), pp. 48–62.

¹⁸ *Frolicke ende waerachtighe nieuwe tydinghe, van die victorie des alder Christelijckste grootmachtichsten ende onoverwinlicksten Keyser Caroli, unser alderghenedichsten Heeren [...]*. The news report describes the recent victories by Charles V and is preceded by two verses of nine lines each, ‘written on Holy Innocents’ Day, in the year 1546’ (geschreven op Alderkinderen dach, Anno M.xv hondert.xlvi).

¹⁹ In the Leeuwarden Register of citizens (‘Burgerboek’) a Jan P[i]eters[z] appears on several occasions, but no J[o]han Petreius. We should note, however, that the first twenty years or so have been filled in with no mention of any date. The first year, ‘c.1540’ is thus also relatively arbitrary.

²⁰ These initials are copies of a set belonging to the Cologne printer-publisher Johannes Soter, who had been using them since 1522. See *The Library*, 4th S., 16 (1926), pp. 283–5.

the Book of Edicts ('Plakaatboek') of the Municipal Archives in Leeuwarden.²¹ In the registers of the Auditor's Office of Friesland for the year 1557/8, moreover, we encounter the report mentioned earlier of a payment made out to 'Johannes Petreius, Secretarijs van Idaarderadeel ende Boeckprentere, ter cause van dat hij geprent ende gedrukt heeft diverse billietten beroerende de vercopinge van zekere Co. Mts. Biltlanden.'²² The leaf itself does not seem to have survived, or at least has not yet come to light.

Most of these publications give the text of edicts issued by the central government in Brussels, the promulgation of which was entrusted to the Court. Leeuwarden had to make sure that this legislation was made known in the various towns and districts of Friesland under its jurisdiction. The same applied, in the northern Netherlands, to the courts of Holland and Gelderland, in The Hague and Arnhem respectively. They, too, were responsible for the publication of all kinds of legislation in their lands and they, too, increasingly employed printers for that purpose. Not all edicts and ordinances concerning Friesland originated in Brussels, however. In 1550, for example, there appeared a prohibition to purchase 'brandbrieven'²³ or other violent threats (Schwartzberg, *op cit.* (n.10), vol. 3, pp. 214-16). This edict was issued in Leeuwarden on 25 July 1550 by the Stadtholder, the president and the councils of the Court, and referred to abuses which had occurred particularly in the north-eastern Netherlands. On 1 May 1561 the same authorities decided to issue an ordinance in which the fines for evading excise duties and other taxes on traded goods were raised steeply (Schwartzberg, vol. 3, pp. 539-40). This

²¹ Leeuwarden Municipal Archives (Gemeentearchief), Plakkaatboek I, nos. 51 and 53 (2 copies of an edict against the printing and sale of prohibited books, Brussels 22 Sept. 1540), 95, 97, 103, 110, 113, 128, 130, 133, 141-4, 149, = tSchw, vol. 2, pp. 791-5, vol. 3, pp. 126-9, 139-45, 208-10, 318-19, 325-8, 414-15, 417-19, 435-6, 539-40, 564-5, 571-2, 581-2, 587-8. Plakkaatboek I, no. 51 is authenticated by Steven Nicolaï, Deputy Registrar of the Court during the interim following the death of Arent Boeijmer in 1548. According to a note on the last (blank) page but one, the edict was first proclaimed on 21 June 1549, then for the second time on 24 December of the same year, and again on 25 June (the year has been cut out). – tSchw, vol. 3, pp. 214-16, gives a printed work by Petreius in the Friesland State Archives (Rijksarchief in Friesland), Leeuwarden, Van Eysinga-Vegelin van Claerbergen collection, f. 22 in 787B. Finally, the Deventer Municipal Archives (Gemeentearchief) have a letter (Oud Archief, oud 898, no. 77) from the Stadtholder Arenberg to the Knights and the towns, signed on 1 October 1551, about the publication of a certain edict. It is uncertain, however, whether this report refers to a printed work. See W.H. Cost Jordens, *Catalogus van stukken, betreffende de Munt in het Deventer-Archief* (Deventer 1862-3) [Included as Appendix I in: *Inventaris van het Deventer-Archief* (Deventer 1870)], p. 75, no. 77.

²² Eekhoff, *op cit.* (n. 2), p. 413. After him A.M. Ledeboer, *Alphabetische lijst der boekdrukkers, boekverkopers en uitgevers in Noord-Nederland, sedert de uitvinding van de boekdrukkunst tot den aanvang der negentiende eeuw* (Utrecht 1876), p. 133. The 'Bil(d)tlanden' in north-west Friesland are land on the Wadden Sea, reclaimed after 1505.

²³ 'Brandbrieven': letters threatening to set fire to houses by way of punishment.

revision of duties was also distributed in printed form.

In contrast to the publications of the Court of Holland, which nearly all appeared as a quire, and those of Gelderland, which were usually issued as single leaves, Jan Petersz changed the format of his publications. Sometimes he printed the text as a quire, sometimes as a bifolium, and often as a single leaf printed on one side and thus suitable for being posted up. This applied above all to orders concerning trade and currency which had to obtain the maximum publicity, such as a prohibition to own and sell large iron crossbows. It can be ascertained that the authorities would only resort to the printing of such ordinances when they had to be disseminated on a large scale and thus when a vast number of copies were needed. Here, however, we can only survey a part of these products, even if it is unlikely that what remains unseen will change the picture substantially.

In 1565 Jan Petersz no longer worked as printer for the Court. We know that because in that year a special measure had to be taken to issue an edict regulating the corn trade. Since Petreius had not been replaced, the authorities had to fall back on the analogous publication of the Court of Holland, printed in Amsterdam by Willem Jacobsz.²⁴ The copy in the Leeuwarden Book of Edicts (Plakaatboek I, no. 160) has been prepared for promulgation in Friesland by adaptations in manuscript. The large coat of arms of Amsterdam has been cut out, the caption title changed, and the last leaf (or leaves, since it might have been followed by a blank) written out anew. The piece thus adapted was authenticated by the clerk of the Court, Pieter van Eemskerck, and, as we read on the document, proclaimed in Leeuwarden on 13 October 1565.

Thereafter, as far as we know, for several years no edicts were disseminated by the Court in printed form. Only in 1570 *Seeckere Placaten van den Coninck* [...] (Certain Edicts from the King ...), dated 19 May and 3 June, did appear in a combined edition, 'Gedruct thoe Steenwijk' ('Printed in Steenwijk'). The printer was the aforesaid Herman 't Zangers, a man of unknown origin who probably settled in Steenwijk in about 1565, the date of his earliest known printed work. His publications are rare and the print runs clearly small. Quite a few have presumably been lost and his total output was probably larger than what has so far come to light. Between May 1570 and 1572 't Zangers printed, as far as we know, seven edicts and ordinances commissioned by the Court.²⁵ After that, as we saw, the work was continued by his former pupil Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, the first man to acquire the official status of Court printer. In 1579 he was succeeded in that function by Peter Hendricksz

²⁴ Caption title: Copie. BY DEN CONING. See E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/'s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. I, no. 177.

²⁵ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 8), p. 175.

van Campen, who was followed in his turn by Gillis van den Rade (Radaeus) in Franeker.

These names bring us back to familiar territory, and we can now survey the entire production of official publications in Friesland – or at least in so far as they came from that area. The earliest edicts distributed in Friesland in printed form were sent from Brussels. Of these we know three in the Leeuwarden Book of Edicts (Plakaatboek I), numbered II a-c, all three dating from 7 October 1531.²⁶ They include the notorious decree of that date against prohibited books, while the other two deal with coinage. They do not mention any printer – he was presumably Willem Vorsterman in Antwerp – and they are collated and signed by the clerk of the Court, Simon van der Bauwetten. The Leeuwarden Plakaatboek contains a still earlier coinage publication, dated 20 October 1530, a broadside without an imprint. The piece was clearly also sent from Brussels to the Court,²⁷ but there are no notes indicating that it was proclaimed in Leeuwarden. These documents, however, show the importance which the central government attached at an early stage to a uniform, controlled distribution of such legislation in the various parts of the country.

Otherwise we can only attribute a single book, and even that with reservations, to Petreius. It is one of the rare writings of Adam Pastor (Roelof Martensz), a Mennonite minister appointed 'elder' by Menno Simons in about 1545. Because of his unitarian and other heterodox views, however, he was dismissed and excommunicated by both Menno Simons and Dirk Philips.²⁸ The sole surviving copy, now in the Amsterdam University Library, is described, with a reproduction, in an article by the former librarian, Dr C.P. Burger Jr.²⁹ Although Burger could not identify the printer, I regard it as probable that the work was produced by Petreius' press. For the title-page has a large figurative ornament which originally

²⁶ J.C. Singels, *Inventaris van het oud-archief der stad Leeuwarden* (Leeuwarden 1893), nos. 174a-c; tSchw, vol. 2, pp. 588-608. None of the three editions is described in NK. In Leeuwarden we also find an accompanying letter from Georg Schenck van Tautenburch, Stadtholder from 1521 to 1540, dated 7 Dec. 1531 (Singels no. 174d), with the order to proclaim the edicts on the 14th of the month.

²⁷ The sheet gives 'die rechte ghewichte van allen den gouden penninghen ghevalueert by sijner K. maiesteyt in die leste ordonnantien vander munten' (The true weights of all gold coins evaluated by His Imperial Majesty in the latest ordinances concerning coins). This, too, is a post-incunable, presumably printed in Antwerp but missing in NK.

²⁸ *Underscheit tusschen rechte leer under valsche leer* (s.l.e.n.). For Adam Pastor, see K. Vos in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1912), col. 1078, and S. Cramer in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, vol. 5 (s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 317-27.

²⁹ C.P. Burger Jr., 'Eene verzameling 16e-eeuwsche boekjes en fragmenten', *Het Boek*, II (1922), pp. 91-4, with the title-page reproduced. K. Vos, in *De Zondagsbode* of 28 May 1922, dates the book later [1550?].

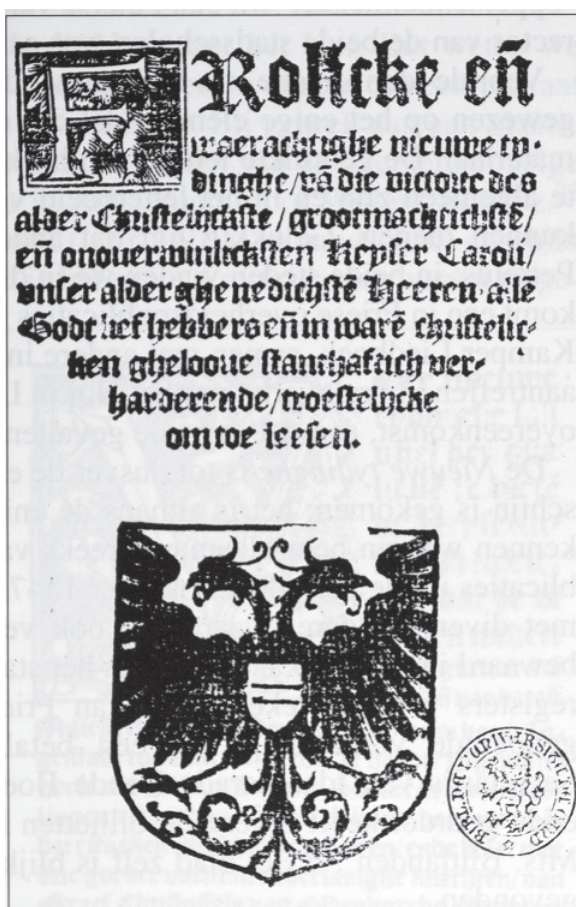
belonged to his former fellow-citizen Jan Evertsz.³⁰ There are also other examples of material which was moved from Kampen to Leeuwarden and Petreius may have taken over a part of the inventory of his erstwhile colleague when the latter's firm was liquidated shortly after 1538. The typefaces, too, suggest this. Unfortunately, however, the booklet does not contain a single initial which confirms the attribution.

Petreius continued to act as notary a little longer. In the 'Protocol Cleuting', the records of the Leeuwarden notary N.J. Cleuting from 1554 to 1585, we read that when this colleague of Petreius' was indisposed, on 4 January 1567 ('stilo communi') an acknowledgement of indebtedness was drawn up before Jan Petreius, notary public.³¹ This is one of the few occasions on which his name is mentioned. Even the date of his death is unknown.

So we now know who the first official printer in Friesland was. He was not a man of the trade and only exercised printing as a sideline; he must have regarded his work as rector, public notary and secretary of Idaarderadeel as more important. Nevertheless, his activity as a printer deserves to be commemorated.

³⁰ W. Nijhoff, *l' Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements employés pendant cette période*, 2 vols. & supplement (La Haye 1926-35), Jan Evertsz II 4: the figurative ornament above and below.

³¹ *Protocol Cleuting 1554-85*, ed. P.T. Zwart (Leeuwarden 1970), pp. 201-2, no. 371. Petreius is also mentioned as a notary there on 18 July 1559 (pp. 132-3, no. 245).



1

Title-page and pages [4] and [5] of the
Nieuwe Tydinghe, printed by Johannes
Petreius
(Ghent, UL).

2

Pages [4] an [5] of the *Nieuwe tydinghe*.
(Scans from the original publication)



THE INTERNATIONAL CAREER OF AN EMDEN PRINTER:

GOOSSEN GOEBENS

1560 to 1576



Dutch book production in the third quarter of the sixteenth century is characterized by the relatively large number of printer-publishers working outside the national borders. The developments in their own country – economic, but above all political and religious – induced them to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Some left of their own free will. Usually, however, their departure was due to the force of circumstances. In those days the book trade operated in a sensitive area and no craft was more exposed to the intervention of the authorities of church and state. The diffusion of dissident views often turned out to be extremely perilous and many of those involved decided sooner or later to escape from this constant risk and move to a safer place. This group of temporary or permanent emigrants included Goossen Goebens.

When this printer first left his own country, however, it does not, as far as we can see, seem to have been as a refugee, but as the result of an appointment which offered him new opportunities in his trade. He came from Antwerp where a namesake, presumably his grandfather, is mentioned in various documents as a book-binder.¹ We do not know when the young Goossen was born, but he was under twenty-five in 1548, since an act from that year² shows that he was still subject to a guardian. In 1559, however, he appears autonomously in the purchase of a pension from his half-brother Adriaen van de(n) Wouwer(e), a manufacturer of hooded cloaks.³ In 1565 Ghoossen Goebens, the son of the late Ghoossen, gave another half-brother, Claes van den Wouwere, a discharge from settling his parents' estate

¹ Antwerp Municipal Archives, Schepenregister, vol. 171 (1527), f. 287v. and vol. 182 (1532), f. 247r. My thanks are due to Elly Cockx-Indestege who was so kind as to give me this information from Lode van den Branden's collection of documents concerning the Antwerp book trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, now kept, and in the process of being edited for publication, at the Royal Library in Brussels.

² Antwerp Municipal Archives, Schepenbrieven, vol. 232, ff. 167v.-168v. This and the information that follows is taken from a letter dated 7 September 1966 from the municipal archivist Dr J. van Roey to Professor Herman de la Fontaine Verwey.

³ *Ibidem*, Schepenbrieven, vol. 275, f. 24v., 31 May 1559.

and administering his property.⁴ His absence from Antwerp, which emerges from the document, would seem to correspond to his period in Sedan to which we shall return.

We do not know where Goossen junior received his training. It may have been with the printer-publisher Symon Cock, the father-in-law of his elder half-brother Claes van den Wouwere and also his predecessor. The choice of a career in the world of the book was an obvious one to make in the family, and when we truly encounter Goebens he seems already to be a fully-fledged typographer. The meeting does not take place in Antwerp, however, but in Haarlem, where, at the beginning of the 1560s, a publishing firm was established with the object of catching up with the back-log which had gradually accumulated over the preceding decades in the northern Netherlands. It was above all after 1540 that publishers had to cope with a major stagnation in book production: they could no longer keep abreast of the technical and economic advances in the foreign centres, and their previously acquired position in the international world of publishing seemed about to disappear. Authors in the northern Netherlands constantly found themselves having to look for publishers elsewhere – in Germany or Switzerland (Basel), but above all in the southern Netherlands, where Antwerp, with its great publishing firms predominated and threatened to eliminate ever more competitors for publications of any importance.

In these circumstances,⁵ to which I have no more than alluded, a plan was formed in Haarlem – a town in Holland, the most developed and prosperous area in the north – to found a technically modern, literary and scholarly publishing firm. It would have a printing shop capable of producing books which could hold their own against what was being issued elsewhere, even where their external appearance was concerned. It would thus respond to an increasingly urgent local demand. The main originators of this humanistically orientated enterprise were Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, a gifted artist who was going to turn into one of the most important Dutch thinkers on religious and moral matters, and Jan van Zuren, a jurist and a citizen of eminence who had been elected burgomaster of his city on various occasions. The firm was founded in the latter's name. As the largest shareholder he was also responsible for paying off the considerable loan which the city had been prepared to advance him for the purpose.

The further history of the short-lived firm has already been described exten-

⁴ *Ibidem*, Schepenbrieven, vol. 302, f. 137v, 4 July 1565.

⁵ For further details concerning the grave recession in the book trade in the northern Netherlands in this period, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden (1561-9)', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), hereafter cited as VB 'Haarlem press', pp. 225-50 (pp. 226 ff.), 253-98.

sively elsewhere.⁶ What concerns us here is this: none of the participants in the project – there were also two sleeping partners – had any practical experience of publishing or any technical knowledge of printing. They were thus obliged to find a man with experience in the field, someone who knew every aspect of the business and would thus be able to take on the day-to-day management of the production – in other words an expert who could also be entrusted with the external design of the books, an important factor in successful marketing. In view of the nature of the publications and the readership at which they were aimed, the result of the enterprise would depend to a large extent on the quality of his work.

In order to find such a key figure it was no good inquiring locally, where the few printers who were still active adhered to the typographical design traditional in Holland and had thus fallen far behind their colleagues abroad. The obvious place to look for a suitable manager within the same linguistic area was the south, in Brabant. Jan van Zuren and Dirck Coornhert probably travelled to Antwerp in order to buy type and other typographical material from Ameet Tavernier and François Guyot, the two most prominent punchcutters, and there looked out for a printer who satisfied the necessary requirements. I believe that they found him in Goossen Goebens, who was working for a printing shop in the southern Netherlands (we do not know which one) and who had hitherto lacked either the means or the ambition to set up on his own. He proved ready to leave his city of residence for an agreement according to which he undertook to take over the management of the Haarlem printing-press for a year. Such contracts for middling periods were not unusual. Both the employer and the employee assumed a responsibility which guaranteed the former with a working efficiency for a certain length of time and the latter with work and a fixed income over the same period.⁷

The assumption that such was the course of events cannot unfortunately be documented. Various documents have survived to prove the existence of Jan van Zuren's printing-press,⁸ but none of these gives any information about the staff or about the technical activities of the firm. We are thus dependent on subsidiary information which makes it likely that Goossen Goebens was the man chosen by Jan van Zuren and his partners to manage the production.

⁶ For the history of the enterprise, the documents concerning it and the inventory and publications of the press, see H.J. Laceulle-van de Kerk, *De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600* ('s-Gravenhage 1951), hereafter cited as Laceulle – a model of topo-bibliography, with the most scrupulous treatment of historical and typographical material. For documents which have come to light since and supplementary observations, see VB 'Haarlem press' (n. 5), pp. 229 ff. and pp. 242 ff.

⁷ See L. Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam/London/New York 1969-72), hereafter cited as Voet GC, vol. 2, pp. 343 ff.: 'General working conditions' (especially pp. 349 ff.).

⁸ Laceulle, pp. 325 ff. (Bijlagen 137, 138, 141); VB 'Haarlem press', pp. 242-5 (= Appendix I).

This is suggested in the first place by the fact that he came from the southern Netherlands. Nobody in the northern Netherlands had yet had any experience of the modern Romans and Italics cut by Tavernier and Guyot for the simple reason that they had never previously been used there. The feeling for composition with this new material, which emerges so clearly from the typographical appearance of the books, can thus only have been acquired in the south (or, possibly, even further away, in France). The use of these typefaces entailed a revolutionary change in the Low Countries which other printers in the north were only to follow when various colleagues from Antwerp settled in Leiden in the 1570s. And even long after that, the old-fashioned design to which people were accustomed was preferred for books in Dutch.

Another characteristic detail in our printer's work also points emphatically to the south: the application, in Textura matter, of Arabic numerals in the signatures of gatherings – instead of the Roman numerals generally used elsewhere. Some presses in Antwerp and Louvain also adopted this habit, but I have never come across an example in the north earlier than our Haarlem printer.⁹ There is, finally, a further astonishing fact: after that single year in Haarlem, his particular style of typesetting never again appears in the work of any other printing-press in the northern Netherlands. He seems to have vanished completely from the world of printers – something which is hard to conceive of such an extraordinary craftsman.

These details, besides the general appearance of the printed work which is hard to define, point so strongly towards the southern Netherlands that we can assume we are dealing with a printer from that area who came to work in the north for the period of one year. That he can be identified with Goossen Goebens is something I shall endeavour to demonstrate in what follows.

GOOSSEN GOEBENS IN HAARLEM AND SEDAN (AND VIANEN?)

The first publication issued by the press in Haarlem has a privilege dated 17 July 1561.¹⁰ The last of the nine to appear in the first year (which include three official

⁹ At first the only man to follow this example was the Delft humanist and teacher Herman Schinckel who started printing in 1564. He obtained his typographical training in Louvain. For him and his tragic end – he was executed for printing prohibited books – see H. de la Fontaine Verwey, *Meester Harman Schinckel, een Delftse boekdrukker van de 16e eeuw* (Oud Delft. Een serie historische publicaties over Delft en Delvenaren, 3; Rotterdam/s-Gravenhage [1963]). A large part of the reading public in the northern Netherlands was still unaccustomed to Arabic numerals in those years. When publishers started to number the verses in their Bibles at about this time, they were obliged to provide concordances in which Arabic numerals could be converted into Roman ones. The general use of these lists shows that there was an evident need for them.

¹⁰ Dierick Coornhert, *Officina Ciceronis [...] in nederlantscher spraken* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1561).

edicts) is dated 30 June 1562.¹¹ Thereafter only very few more Haarlem editions, commissioned by third parties, were produced by this printing-office in 1563/4. It has recently emerged that, after the first year of production, Jan van Zuren bought out his partners – with the exception of Coornhert, all Haarlem businessmen – but did not know what to do with the firm.¹² We can assume that Goebens returned to Antwerp when the single year of his association had expired. At all events he was back there in 1564, for we see from Plantin's account books that he was working for the *Officina* shortly after it had been reopened. On 3 June of that year he first received four days' wages and he was given his last salary exactly a year later.¹³ He is entered in the 'Livre des ouvriers' as 'Goswinck Gouberi'. At the beginning of June 1564 he signed Plantin's first printed regulations as 'Gosuinus Goeberius'.¹⁴

Shortly after the situation appears to have changed completely, and we find both the Haarlem press and our printer far away in France, in Sedan. Jan van Zuren had managed to find a purchaser for the press, presumably in the person of one of Dirck Coornhert's brothers: the Amsterdam businessman and notary Frans Coornhert, perhaps together with another brother, Clement, who was also a rich businessman. This, too, is an assumption for which no documented evidence has yet been found,¹⁵ but later developments suggest they had taken over Jan van Zuren's press, which was at a standstill, in order to benefit from the recent and explosive increase in demand for Protestant literature at a safe distance from the Dutch authorities: in contrast to Dirck Coornhert (and Jan van Zuren) his brothers Frans and Clement were both convinced Calvinists. The transfer of the firm to Sedan had several advantages in this respect: it was out of reach of the Inquisition; safety was guaranteed by the benevolent attitude of the reigning prince, Henri Robert de La Marck, Duke of Bouillon; connections with Antwerp, that centre of the book trade, were excellent;

– Laceulle 3 and pp. 58-9; VB 'Haarlem press', p. 235 and (H 1).

¹¹ Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Vanden weldaden [...] vertaelt duer Dierick Coornhert* (Haarlem, Jan van Zuren, 1562). – Laceulle 9a and p. 65; VB 'Haarlem press', p. 235 and (H 9).

¹² VB 'Haarlem press', pp. 236 ff., 245.

¹³ Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM), Archives 31 ('Livre des ouvriers'), f. 17v.

¹⁴ *Statuten, Articulen ende Pointen, gheadviseert ende gheaccordeert [...] in dese Druckerye, ghenaemt den Gulden Passer [...]*. See the (reduced) reproduction in Voet GC, vol. 2, Pl. 72, and also VB 'Haarlem press', p. 257; J. Gerritsen, 'Plantin aan het werk. Het tweede begin', *Het oude en het nieuwe boek. De oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen 1988), p. 125, n. 8: 'Wat [...] kan worden aangetoond is dat degenen die op plaat 72 tekenden alleen in de laatste week van juni 1564 samen aanwezig waren ...' ('What [...] can be demonstrated is that those whose signatures appear in plate 72 were only all present together in the last week of June 1564 ...').

¹⁵ For an elaboration of this hypothesis, with all the arguments which make it plausible, see VB 'Haarlem press', pp. 281 f.

and – a consideration of no mean commercial importance – it was possible to re-print Emden publications with impunity.¹⁶

The removal of the Haarlem press was an undertaking which again required the employment of a production manager. Although the Coornherts may have had enough commercial acumen to run a publishing firm, they had neither the knowledge nor the experience to make the business function technically. Once more an expert had to be summoned and it was hardly surprising that the choice should again alight on Goossen Goebens, especially after the favourable experience they had had with him in the past. As ‘factor’, or business manager, operating so far away from his employers, moreover, he obtained the degree of independence required in the circumstances.¹⁷

That we are here dealing with the press which originated in Haarlem is convincingly proved by the typographical material used in Sedan: the same typefaces, the same initials, occasionally even the same printer’s device – the inventory seems to have been transferred in its entirety.¹⁸ This time the fact that Goossen Goebens was entrusted with the management of the firm does indeed emerge from a document. On 17 September 1565 a broadside was published on the occasion of the opening of the firm: *Le Dieu-gard de Navyere, à l’Imprimerie Sedanoise*. The poet was a young nobleman from the town, Charles de Navières, who here addresses the personification of the art of typography (‘Gentille ...’). The imprint runs: ‘A Sedan, Imprimé par Gosuin Goeberi’.¹⁹ His position in the firm thus allowed him to issue this sort of occasional publication in his own name (and at his own expense?). This is the only document in which Goebens gives his name as printer. All the other publications which appeared when he was factor were issued without an imprint.

What was probably the first book to be produced by the press in Sedan is dated 20 June 1565,²⁰ thus only a few weeks after Goebens had left the *Officina*. In the period lasting until his departure in the course of June 1566 (thus again after a full

¹⁶ For a more extensive discussion of the situation in Sedan, see VB ‘Haarlem press’, pp. 253 ff. and the literature there listed.

¹⁷ ‘Factors’ were the representatives, agents, proxies or substitutes of a merchant, sometimes even relatives, who looked after his business interests abroad. As a result of the large distances and difficult communications, it was only very rarely that a factor could remain in constant touch with his employer. He often had to take autonomous decisions in connection with matters of the greatest importance to his master. This position of trust meant that factors usually worked on commission and could generally claim a certain part of the profits obtained.

¹⁸ Cf. the examples of initials reproduced in VB ‘Haarlem press’, illus. 3 (p. 241) and illus. 4 (p. 258) respectively.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 258 and p. 294 (S 4).

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 254 ff., with the literature listed in n. 54; p. 276 and (S 3) on p. 294.

year), he published a total of six works,²¹ including two political pamphlets of great importance for Dutch history: the *Brief discours* of Franciscus Junius (François du Jon)²² and a French version of the famous 'Smeekschrift der Edelen' ('Petition of the Nobles'), containing in addition the so-called 'Promesse', an apocryphal promise of religious freedom which caused a great deal of confusion.²³ The most extensive work was a Protestant martyrology, the *Historien oft gheschiedenissen der vromer martelaren* (anonymous but compiled by Adriaen Cornelisz van Haemstede), a reprint of an Emden publication now supplemented with additions by Guy de Brès, the author of the later official Dutch confession of faith who had been living in Sedan for some years.²⁴

Shortly after this last work had been completed, Goebens' contract expired. He packed the remainder of the edition of the *Historien* in barrels, together with another publication and his personal luggage, and embarked on the journey home by boat down the Meuse. At the end of June 1566, when the cargo was being transferred in Namur, the authorities discovered its subversive contents. The barrels were confiscated on the orders of the region's stadtholder Charles de Berlaymont, the mainstay of Margaret of Parma, the governess of the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain, and were sent through to Antwerp with the request that the Margrave (or sheriff), Jan van Immerseel, should have the individuals who came to collect them arrested. The plan failed, to the intense irritation of Berlaymont, who deemed the Margrave's report on the matter unworthy of an answer.²⁵

With Goebens' departure the press in Sedan came to a standstill. But not for long: another printer, Lenaert der Kinderen, who had worked previously for the *Officina* and then for a few years in Emden, assumed the vacant post.²⁶ He, too, came from Antwerp where he had again entered Plantin's service in January 1566. To Plantin's fury, however, he withdrew from his contractual obligations on 16 October and disappeared. In Sedan he assumed the post of factor (which had been unoccupied for several months since the expiry of Goebens' contract) and resumed the production. He then moved with the entire press to Emden when the Coorn-

²¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 293-4, nos. (S 1)-(S 6). Hitherto only three of these publications were known; see E. van der Vekene, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, pt. 13, no. 142: *Sedan (Ardenne)* (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 48; Baden-Baden 1973), pp. 61-72 (pp. 61 ff.).

²² VB 'Haarlem press', p. 254 and p. 293 (S 1).

²³ For this publication and its political background see *ibidem*, pp. 260-1, and for a description of the title-page, p. 294 (S 6).

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 256-7 and p. 294 (S 5).

²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 255-6.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 263-4.

herts settled in that town and continued the business after their flight from Amsterdam.²⁷

After his return to Antwerp in 1566, Goebens, too, again worked for Plantin for a few months, from the end of July until 25 October,²⁸ whereupon we lose sight of him for a while. Looking back, we can now compare the publications which are known to have appeared in Sedan with those printed in Haarlem. There is such a strong external similarity that it would seem impossible for there to have been two different printers at work from within the small group of likely candidates. Thus in both towns our man follows the French habit of using a Canon Roman (VPT R 7)²⁹ in the chapter titles of octavo books. The typeface is in fact too large for that, but Goebens even applies this technique when the primary letter is neither Roman nor Italic, but Textura. Then we also find in Sedan the same use of Arabic numerals in Textura signatures which we remarked upon in Haarlem. Yet it is perhaps the general effect of the work – an element difficult to describe but no less substantial – which is most convincing.

What Goebens did after leaving the *Officina* is unknown, but we are probably entitled to assume that he went to Kampen together with Augustijn van Hasselt in order to set up a branch for the printing of Bibles under Augustijn's management and at Plantin's expense. I have described the course of this enterprise elsewhere:³⁰ how Augustijn received his last wages from the *Officina* on 2 November together with two printers at the press who were obviously appointed to accompany him; how the plan to establish the press in Kampen failed because the town council was forced by the higher authorities to proceed against clandestine printing at about this time; how they sought refuge in Vianen under the protection of Hendrik van Brederode; and how they started to produce a New Testament and a Dutch Psalter there. The two publications could only be completed when they had fled from Vianen and had obtained a new press in Wesel. The date on which Goebens ended his work in Antwerp, 25 October, is so close to the departure of his colleagues from that city that it seems obvious to assume that there was some connection and that he, too, was part of the team.³¹ The ex-

²⁷ For this removal and its background, see *ibidem*, pp. 264 ff. and P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (pp. 122 ff.).

²⁸ See 'Livre des ouvriers', op. cit. (n. 13), f. 18r.

²⁹ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter referred to as VPT.

³⁰ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel' (hereafter quoted as VB 'Augustijn'), *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90 (esp. pp. 167 ff); *idem*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103, *passim*.

³¹ The fact that two printers from the press went as well (see VB 'Augustijn', p. 170, n. 81), makes

perience he had acquired in the northern Netherlands could undoubtedly prove convenient.

THE LAST REFUGE: EMDEN

If this assumption is correct and Goebens did indeed belong to the team sent to Vianen, he did not leave for Wesel together with Augustijn after the flight from Vianen at the end of April or the beginning of May 1567.³² Instead he reported at the press where he had worked previously and which had recently been transferred to Emden. In a publication of the Coornhert press dated 1567, we thus find not only the characteristic use of Guyot's Great Canon Roman in chapter headings, but also a signature with Arabic numerals in the first gathering. After that we see that the compositor followed the local custom of using Roman numerals for the purpose.³³

In 1568 the Coornherts withdrew from the publishing firm and transferred the business to Jehan Malet, an emigrant from the southern Netherlands. Malet published a single extensive book,³⁴ which appeared with a dedication dated 25 June 1569. He died shortly after. We do not know whether Goebens had entered his service in the meantime or whether he worked for a while for his rival Willem Gail-liart. What is certain is that he remained in Emden: in 1570 he opened a business of his own there. Although it has long been believed that this was a continuation of the Coornhert press which originated in Haarlem, it was not, even if, from 1573 onwards, its device with the familiar representation of the spider, the bee and the rose, can be found in various publications by Goebens.³⁵ He thus appears to have

it virtually certain that a complete team was involved and that two or even three compositors thus also set out on the journey.

³² The town was occupied by the troops of the Count of Megen under the command of Erich of Brunswick on 5 May 1567. Many of Hendrik van Brederode's supporters had already fled and Augustijn van Hasselt and his colleagues had also managed to depart in time. They succeeded in rescuing the printed sheets – the books were to be completed later in Wesel – but the printing-press with all its equipment seems to have remained behind. See VB 'Augustijn', pp. 98 ff.; Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 30: 'A further book'), *passim*.

³³ [Zacharias Ursinus], *Een claer bewijs van het heylighe Avontmael onses Heeren Jesu Christi ... (s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Coornhert press], 1567). – VB 'Haarlem press', p. 296 (E 1). This style of typesetting is treated at greater length on pp. 278–9.

³⁴ Heinrich Bullinger, *Teghens de Wederdoopers, ses boecken [...] in Nederduytsch overgestelt door Gerardum Nicolai* (Emden, [Jehan Malet], 1569). – *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der gedruckten Werke von Heinrich Bullinger*, ed. J. Staedtke. (Heinrich Bullinger Bibliographie, 1; Zürich 1972), nos. 397–8; A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford 1992), p. 303, nos. 206–7.

³⁵ For this printer's device, see H. Grimm, *Deutsche Buchdruckersignete des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Geschichte*,

possessed the two wood blocks with this representation which he must have taken over from the new owner of the press in question, Is(e)brandt ter Steghe, who had settled in Leeuwarden in 1572 as printer to the Court of Friesland. Goebens' purchase of these ornaments seems to be a sign of his attachment to the firm for which he worked for so many years and with which he evidently continued to feel connected. We can probably also see this as a confirmation of his involvement with the press even in its Haarlem period.³⁶

Goebens set up his printing-press in the last years of Emden's short-lived heyday as the most important producer of Protestant literature in the Dutch language. Already in October 1567 the town council, under pressure from Spain, had forbidden 'on pain of death' the printing of books which had not previously been approved by the magistrates. When, in 1568 after the battle at Jemgum, the Spanish troops had approached perilously close to the gates of Emden, such surveillance became still more severe. This was the beginning of the end for the publishers in the town, for they saw their export possibilities diminish drastically under the new regulations. Despite these limitations, Willem Gailliart cautiously carried on with his business for a few years, but then transferred it to Nicolaes (II) Biestkens, possibly one of his collaborators.

These unfavourable circumstances for book production coincided, however, with an extraordinarily rapid growth of the town's prosperity. The initial stream of immigrants, mainly from the southern Netherlands, was followed by a sizeable group of merchants from Amsterdam, who flocked to Emden as a result of the arrival in the Netherlands of the Duke of Alva, who in 1568 succeeded Margaret of Parma as governor for the Spanish king. Their presence entailed such a substantial increase in trade that, within a few years, the greater part of the important Dutch Baltic commerce passed through the port.³⁷ From an economic point of view, therefore,

Sinngehalt und Gestaltung kleiner Kulturdokumente (Wiesbaden 1965), pp. 121 ff. (illus.) For other information about the content and the history of this representation, see Laceulle, pp. 56 ff. and illus. 23-4; and above all I.M. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Dutch humanism in the sixteenth century* (Maarssen 1977), pp. 153 ff. and illus. 103-4.

³⁶ Another striking feature is the fact that in Haarlem and in Sedan, as well as in Emden, a composing stick was used of exactly the same length; see the discussion of this point in VB 'Haarlem press', p. 279, n. 119. This might be due to a chance concurrence of circumstances, but it could also support the argument that the same compositor was at work in each case.

³⁷ In 1568, 135 ships sailed from Emden through the Sound as opposed to the 333 whose home port was Amsterdam. A year later this picture had changed completely: in 1569, 542 ships set sail from Emden and only 139 from Amsterdam. Not until 1604 was Amsterdam again to overtake Emden's share in this trade. See the statistical 'Emdens und Amsterdams Sundverkehr von 1536-1604', in H. de Buhr, *Die Entwicklung Emdens in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg 1967), p. 202. Some of the most important merchants in Amsterdam had settled in Emden for religious reasons as well as commercial considerations, cf. B. Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schifffahrt im 16.*

there must surely have been room for a new press in Emden, and it is thus hardly surprising that Goebens should have found one or more backers prepared to advance him the necessary financial support.

In view of the position of the town, his chances were mainly in the regional market and he adapted his typographical material accordingly. He started with Schwabacher typefaces on two of the most current bodies, 55 and 96 mm, and used the 'Grobe Canon', so generally applied in Germany, for headings. Of the Roman typefaces I have found Goebens using Tavernier's 'mediane' (VPT R 26) and also a small type on a Brevier body which cannot be further identified. The only Italic he had was a limited quantity of Granjon's 'Cicero currens'.³⁸ He also soon purchased various Texturas: according to Vervliet's classification, the typefaces VPT T 3, T 12(b), T 30 (Lettersnijder's still popular Mediaan), T 43, T 49 (for marginalia) and the smallest Gothic typeface available in the Netherlands: Tavernier's Nonpareil (T 51).

This last typeface was rare. It was originally used exclusively by an Anabaptist printer in Franeker who had had it cut for printing Bibles.³⁹ In, or shortly after, 1567 the little typeface was in the hands of Willem Gailliart, who printed three editions of the New Testament with it in 1567/8 but never used it thereafter.⁴⁰ That we should now encounter the types, still in Emden, in Goebens' inventory suggests that Gailliart had given up the idea of exporting editions of the Bible and had thus got rid of a typeface especially designed for the purpose.⁴¹

Jahrhundert (Berlin 1910), p. 214: 'Diese Amsterdamer Herren bedeuteten ziemlich soviel, wie die ganze Kaufmannschaft des damaligen Emden'.

³⁸ A.F. Johnson, 'The italic types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308, no. 12 and fig. 11; also in *id.*, *Selected essays on books and printing*, ed. P.H. Muir (Amsterdam 1970), pp. 260-71, no. 12 and fig. 11.

³⁹ See P. Valkema Blouw, 'Een onbekende doperse drukkerij in Friesland', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 37-63 (esp. pp. 41 ff.). A second cast existed of Tavernier's Nonpareil which had been bought by Plantin in 1565, probably from the type founder himself. Plantin did not use it at the *Officina* but sent it to Augustijn van Hasselt in Wesel who printed various books with it; see VB 'Augustijn' (n. 30), p. 107.

⁴⁰ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 27), pp. 123-4 and illus. 9.

⁴¹ Quite apart from the strict censorship and the limitations this entailed another reason may have been that Gailliart no longer had a compositor at his disposal who could work with such a tiny typeface.

ATTRIBUTIONS TO GOEBENS' PRESS

Six of Goebens' publications (nos. G 8, G 11, G 20, G 25-7)⁴² carry both his name and his device; a seventh (G 19) does indeed have the bee on the title-page but does not give the printer's name. That was not the full extent of his production, however, for, just like other publishers in a time so dangerous for the book trade, he also issued a number of editions without his imprint. We now know a total of 26 works from his press, mainly in Dutch. Two have a text in Low German and one, by a Dutch author, appeared in Latin. For practical reasons I have not looked into any further anonymous publications which the press may have issued in German. Nor, as far as I know, has anybody else. Particularly little seems to be known about Goebens' career as an autonomous publisher. Besides an *Offer des Heeren* of 1578 which is wrongly attributed to him, Tielke⁴³ places six publications in his name. Pettegree,⁴⁴ who adds a seventh (G 11) to these six, also quotes an early mention of an almanac (now lost) and attributes to Goebens another two titles, unfortunately mistakenly. That is all. Archival documents referring to his stay in Emden do not seem to have survived, or at least are not mentioned anywhere, so we can only form an idea of his activities from his stocklist.

There is but one means of establishing what the press produced during the ten years of its activity besides these seven signed publications. We must take the typographical material which appears in them as the starting point of our investigation. Unfortunately most of the typefaces employed are of little use for this purpose. The majority can be found in the work of so many printers that their value as evidence is minimal. But they can indeed serve as a means of control. We can only ascribe a book to Goebens if it is printed with a number of the various typefaces which he had at his disposal.

What is decisive for the attributions to him are above all the ornaments with which the printer decorated his publications. Of these he had several, each one with enough characteristic features for it to be distinguishable from variants else-

⁴² This numeration refers to the List of Goebens' publications at the end of this article.

⁴³ M. Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emden Buchdrucks 1554-1602. Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), pp. 45-116: 'Verzeichnis der Emden Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602', nos. 239, 240, 244, 245 [*recte*: Nic. Biestkens II, Amsterdam], 246, 248, 249. Tielke's list, largely a compilation, has now been completely superseded. This also applies, albeit to a lesser extent, to H.F. Wijnman's articles on Dutch book production in Emden which were so fundamental at the time.

⁴⁴ Pettegree, *op. cit.* (n. 34), Appendix: 'Books printed in Emden, 1554-85: nos. 218, 219, 223, 225, (228), 229, 231 and 232. Nos. 221 and 226 are wrongly given as having been produced by Goebens: they were printed respectively by the Gaillart press (and thus by Nicolaes Biestkens II?) and by Dirck Wylicx in Rees. After the recent appearance of a series of detailed studies in Holland, the history of the sixteenth-century book in Emden has reached its conclusion in Pettegree's list. As this article should show, however, the conclusion is provisional.

where. First, we must of course mention the device with the bee and the spider, the two versions of which were exclusively in his possession: the small one with a cartouche (I) and a larger one without (II). But besides these blocks he also used a few other woodcuts as well as three presumably metal-cast vignettes. One was an arabesque ornament, probably of German origin, a very popular design used by various printers including Plantin and Willem Silvius.⁴⁵ The several existing casts display differences in detail as the result of the process of fabrication and, even after longer use, can easily be differentiated from one another. We see that Goebens' copy was applied in two signed works of 1579: the two editions of *Protocol* (G 25 and G 26). But he owned the vignette long before then: it is on the title-page of a pamphlet, *Het treurliet des doorluchtighen vorstes Jaspar van Chastilion, amirael van Vranckrijck [...]*. ('Ghedrukt Anno 1573'), G 9, a translation from Latin of a poem on the murder of Gaspard de Coligny, an event which also caused a considerable sensation in the Netherlands. We find the ornament again at the end of *De Hemelvaert des eersten ende oversten der Christenen in Nederlandt vervolghers Ruarts Tappaerts (s.l.e.n. 1572; G 6)*. This is a translation of *Clariss. theologi D. Ruardi Tappart [...] Apotheosis*, which appeared in 1559 without a place of publication under the pseudonym Gratianus Verus. The author of this fierce satire on the Dutch inquisitor Ruard Tappert is supposed to be Henricus Geldorpius, a Dutch humanist who had had to leave his country for religious reasons. When he published the book he had recently been appointed rector of the new school in Duisburg and it is thus also printed in Germany. The translator is unnamed. He claims not to know the author but to have undertaken the adaptation on account of the tragic situation of his home country. Reprints of both versions of the book would continue to appear in the Netherlands into the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ The two editions of *Protocol* also contain another arabesque vignette, smaller than the previous one and just as recognizable. The ornament enables us to ascribe to Goebens the only work in Latin we know him to have printed. It is an *Oratio de pacanda et componenda republica ad Belgas (s.l.e.n. 1578)*, G 23 (see illus. 1), which is now attributed to the Frisian Abel Fran(c)kena who emigrated to Emden.⁴⁷ The author published this warning against the disastrous consequences

⁴⁵ For reproductions, see: G. Glorieux, 'Bandeaux et fleurons chez Plantin', *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (De Gulden Passer, 66-7 (1989)), F4A (Plantin's copy) and F4B (Silvius' copy).

⁴⁶ P.J. Blok, 'De schrijver der Apotheosis Ruardi', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 4th S., 2 (1902), pp. 350-66; for Geldorpius, see also H. Brugmans in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1914), cols. 449-51. The *Apotheosis Ruardi* is reprinted in *Bibliotheca Reformatorica Neerlandica*, vol. 1 (s-Gravenhage 1903), pp. 565-636.

⁴⁷ *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Leiden 1930), cols. 565-6; *Biographisch Woordenboek van Protestantsche Godgeleerden in Nederland*, eds. J.P. de Bie & J. Loosjes, vol. 3 (s-Gravenhage [1920]), pp. 114-16.

of continuing the war under the pseudonym Baleus Carfenna Hylander. Others ascribe the authorship to Hubert Languet,⁴⁸ but this seems unlikely now that we know the book was published in Emden.

Another characteristic of the press is a large, somewhat coarsely executed coat of arms with the Dutch lion rampant (illus. 2). That this was an ornament belonging to Goebens emerges from the fact that another pamphlet in which the woodcut appears, *Coppye, uutschrijven ende getrouwe vermaninge [...] aen de Staten [...] der beyder Frieslanden* (s.l.e.n. 1576), G 15, contains one of his ornamental letters (the O, to which we shall return). Goebens used the arms for a number of his publications in 1577: a report on the peace talks at Breda, *Cort ende warachtich verhael* (G 13),⁴⁹ the *Protestatie* of the Prince of Orange against the agreement reached by the States General with Don Juan de Austria, from Nov. 1576 until Nov. 1578 governor in the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain (G 18), and a report on the ensuing talks in Geertruidenberg between the two stadtholders (G 17).

The same decoration also appears on the title-page of *Eendrachtighe Vereeninghe* (G 21), a translation of the Brussels agreement which had been concluded earlier in the year by the States General. At the end we find a third arabesque ornament, this time oblong in shape, which is also used as a tailpiece in an edition of two remonstrances addressed by the Dutch to the electors at the peace talks in Cologne (G 24). Here, moreover, the attribution to our printer is confirmed by two different initial D's, both of which also appear in *Protocol*.

Shortly after, Goebens had another large ornament, a calligraphic ornamental Q, cut for a newsletter with the intriguing title *Een warachtich cort verhael van die wonderbaerlicke miraculeuse veranderinghe ende verscheyden acten, die den 23.24.25. Novembris Anno 76. binnen de stadt Groningen zijn toeghedragen* (A true and brief account of those wondrous and miraculous alterations and diverse acts that have occurred within the city of Groningen on 23, 24 and 25 November 1576), G 16. The piece contains a report on the mutiny of the Spanish garrison in that town against their commanding officer Caspar de Robles, and Goebens was quick in seizing the opportunity of presenting this piece of news to the public. Another publisher was later to issue an edition in German (Kn 275). That Goebens did not publish this himself shows that he had no great interest in the German market. The Low German version of *Protocol* (G 25), almost certainly printed on commission, and the *Christelicke Gebede* (G 11), a small booklet in the vernacular, are thus exceptions. The latter publication appeared in 1575 and may have been the reason why 'Ghozen Ghoebens' was admonished by

⁴⁸ *Index Aureliensis*, 132.220, and elsewhere. The work identifies the causes of the disasters afflicting the country above all in the religious situation.

⁴⁹ On this pamphlet, see P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1500-84* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. Utrecht 1978), pp. 55-6.

the Reformed Church on 23 July 1576 to 'avoid printing anything pertaining to and resembling Anabaptist doctrine' ('de druckerie, der doeperschen lere anhenglich und ghelijckformich, tho vermiden').⁵⁰ A strict watch was still being kept for possible attempts at Anabaptist infiltration.

Goebens also used various title-page illustrations in order to attract attention to his publications. In the same year of 1576 he published a *Warachtige beschrijvinghe* (G 14) of the 'onmenschelijcke ende gants grouwelicke moort, brandt, plonderinge, onghehoorte vrouwen cracht ende maechden schenderye' (inhuman and quite ghastly murder, arson, plunder, unprecedented rape of women and virgins) carried out at the time of the Spanish Fury in Antwerp. A worn woodcut, which has nothing to do with the events, is printed on the title-page. It would appear to be an old block which was still lying about amongst his material.

Two years earlier, however, he had a suitable ornament made for his reprint of the famous *Byencorff* by Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde (G 10). The woodcut represents the Vatican as a tiara-shaped beehive in which the pope is nesting, surrounded by numerous bees flying about: members of the curia, bishops and other ecclesiastical prelates. This representation accompanied the external presentation of the work until late in the seventeenth century; nearly all later publishers took over the same motif. In this case it was the third edition of the work, following the first edition printed secretly by Willem Gailliart and the equally anonymous 1572 reprint by Nicolaus Gevaertius in Wesel.⁵¹ The book could evidently now appear again in the town in which it was originally published. The surveillance of the magistrates was clearly no longer severe enough for the municipal censorship to prevent a publication as it would have done a few years earlier. The work was to be reprinted subsequently on numerous occasions, but then in the liberated Netherlands.

The two last-mentioned publications, the *Warachtige beschrijvinghe* (G 14) and the *Byencorff* (G 10), can both be identified as the work of Goebens thanks to an initial (D 1) which, as we have already seen, also appears in *Protocol* (G 25 and G 26). Both versions of the work contain other ornamental capitals: a variant D (D 2) and the letters O, V and W of the alphabet. In the *Byencorff* we also find the H, the I and the T of the same set. Other applications of these blocks make further attributions possible. The H can thus be found in Rudolf Gualtherus' *Een claer bewijs* (1570), G 3,

⁵⁰ *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der reformierten Gemeinde Emden, 1557-620*, 2 vols. eds. H. Schilling & K.-D. Schreiber (Köln/Weimar/Wien 1989-92), vol. 2, p. 630. I have not had the opportunity to acquaint myself with the content of the *Gebede*.

⁵¹ On these editions and their attributions, see my forthcoming 'Nicolas Gevaerts in Wesel and Homberg, 1571-9 (80)'. [An unknown Dutch printer in Germany: Nicolaes Gevaerts in Wesel and Homberg, 1571-79 (80?)] was published in *Quaerendo*, 27 (1997), pp.197-226. Eds.]

where we also encounter the G and the S. The types are also used in *Een corte, cleyne ende warachtighe beschrijvinghe van Sparendam* (G 7), together with the W, which we have already encountered, and the A, with which we have not yet met. This anonymous report about the siege of Haarlem by an eye-witness (Cornelis Bartholomeessen)⁵² appeared in 1573, with Delft as a fake address. Goebens thus occasionally resorted to this means in order to throw the authorities off the scent.

Or did the Dutch address simply serve to emphasize the reliability of the report? This suggestion is not as odd as it might seem. We must indeed assume that a similar consideration was behind the imprint of *Het inhouden van de declaratie ghedaen op die Gildhal [...] der stadt Londen* (1571), G 5, which runs: 'Ghedruckt tot Londen by Jan Daye, woonende over Aldersgate'. Day presumably was the publisher of the English original, but we see from the typefaces that this is certainly no English publication. The Dutch Textura used here was virtually unknown in England. It is thus hardly surprising to encounter at the beginning of the publication the same initial O which we have already come across previously (in G 15). The purpose of the English address seems clear: it was supposed to persuade the purchaser that the report was worthy of credibility.

This initial O, as we saw, has made it possible to attribute publications with the Dutch lion to Goebens. Other pamphlets with this national woodcut provide the still missing E of the alphabet (G 13) and a calligraphic A (G 17) which also appears in *Protocol* – a further confirmation of the attribution. So we now know all the letters of Goebens' large alphabet except for B, C, F, K, P, Q, X, Y and Z. Some of these initials appear so rarely in printed work in Dutch that we may wonder whether he ever procured them.

JOHAN FRUYTIER'S EMDEN PUBLICATIONS

The initial A of the set – not the aforesaid calligraphic letter – also appears together with the O in an anonymous work dated 1571, *Corte beschrijvinghe vanden ellendighen [...] watervloet [...] in allen landen aen de Noortzee [...] by Johan Fruytiers*, G 4 (illus. 3). The author, an emigrant 'rederijker' – member of a chamber of rhetoric – from Antwerp, had experienced the floods in East Frisia and, in strophic verse, gives an emotional impression of this natural disaster. On the title-page we find a very well-cut copy of the familiar device 'Alle boom die gheen goede vruchten brenghen sullen afghehouden ende int vier gheworpen worden. Matte. III. Cap.' (Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire. Matthew

⁵² This publication does not appear in any of the Dutch pamphlet catalogues. The only known copy, from the Six van Hillegom collection, is in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The Stadsbibliotheek in Haarlem possesses a more extensive text of this chronicle in manuscript.

3:10).⁵³ The original woodcut appears for the first time in 1567 in a book issued by the Dutch press in Sedan, then under Goebens' successor Lenaert der Kinderen. We subsequently find the block in Emden being used by Willem Gailliart on the title-page of various New Testaments. It was probably a publisher's device rather than a printer's device, and thus the property of a third party. This could be the reason why Goebens only used the copy on a single occasion. Who the publisher was that provided this commission is unknown, but it would seem obvious to seek him in Antwerp.⁵⁴

Two years later, in 1573, Goebens produced a collection of *Schrifmetige gebeden op deerste Boeck Moysi, Genesis* (G 8) by Johan Fruytiers.⁵⁵ Our printer there uses a recent acquisition for the first time: Jan van Zuren's device with the bee, the spider and the rose, in a richly decorated cartouche (device 1). The book is of further typographical interest to us because it shows that the press also owned the material necessary for printing musical notes.

Another work which Goebens issued with his new device, but this time without mentioning his name, is an occasional publication: *Twee refereynen waer mede de nieuwe opgerechte Rhetorijcke Camere binnen Wtrecht [...] den Prince van Oraengien willecoem ende oock adieu gheseyt hebben [...] Augusti 1577*, G 19 (illus. 4).⁵⁶ In addition to this, the publication contains 'noch sommige constelicke ghedichten, op desen tijdt binnen Antwerpen ghemaect' (some more artful poems made at this time within Antwerp), including two epistolary poems by the 'rederijker' Willem van Haecht which had already appeared separately that year. Fruytiers may have had a hand in this publication too. His interest in the events in France (especially in the religious troubles), as we know them from a number of his books, can presumably be perceived in the *Corte somme der voornaemster gheschiedenissen in Vrancrijck [...] uut de ware gedruckte Francoysche Historie* (G 1), which appeared in 1570.

Here, too, Goebens was the printer, as we see from the initial N in the book. That his press was already active in the year in question emerged earlier from the

⁵³ P.H. Vogel, 'Die Druckermarken in den Emdener niederländischen Bibeldrucken 1556-68', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 37 (1962), pp. 456-8 (p. 458), with a (reduced) reproduction (Pl. 3). For a full size reproduction, see VB 'Haarlem press', p. 262, illus. 5.

⁵⁴ In contrast to the case of later copies of this device, one of which was being used by Reinder Wylicks in Utrecht. We find another block belonging to Jacob Migoen in Gouda and later to his brother Abraham in Rotterdam; for a reproduction, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), p. 367.

⁵⁵ G.S. Overdiep, *De letterkunde van de Renaissance* (Geschiedenis der Letteren in Nederland, 3; Antwerpen/Brussel/'s-Hertogenbosch [1944]), pp. 168, 173.

⁵⁶ According to the historian P. Bor Christiaensz (1559-1635), the welcome refrain is by Huig Egbertsz of Enschede; see F. Kossmann, 'Geuzenliederen', *Het Boek*, 15 (1926), pp. 185-208 (p. 202); *Het Geuzenliedboek*, 2 vols., eds. E.T. Kuiper & P. Leendertz Jr. (Zutphen 1924-5), vol. I, no. 129.

Gualtherus (G 3). Another work from 1570 which I feel I can ascribe to our man is *Een christelike waerschouwinghe* (G 2). The typefaces correspond to what he owned, but the booklet does not seem to have any initial.⁵⁷ Similarly there is no proof that the *Nieuwe tijdinghe uut Vranckrijck* (G 12) – of 1575? – was printed by him, even if this, too, seems very likely.

Towards the end of his career, in 1578 and 1579, Goebens had more opportunities than ever before to announce himself as a publisher. Various publications from his press appeared with both his name and his device (G 20, G 25-7). The edition of *Protocol* (G 25-6) in two languages, Dutch and Low German, was a particularly important and honourable commission. The work gives a highly extensive, sometimes literal report of a discussion about matters of faith between the Emden preachers and a group of prominent Anabaptists in East Frisia, followers of Menno Simons – a discussion which lasted for three months in the spring of 1578.⁵⁸ After many years Goebens could at last again lay an extensive book on his press. In conjunction with this, he printed in 1579 a *Grondelijcke ende warachtige Verantwoordinge* (G 27), in which the authorities and the preachers countered the objections raised by the Anabaptists to the *Protocol* in their *Voorloopende Waerschouwinge*. For this publication Goebens used his second device with the bee, with the same representation as the first, but somewhat larger and without a cartouche.

After this destiny struck. Just as Goebens was about to remain the only printer in Emden – his last rival Niclaes (II) Biestkens had moved his firm to Amsterdam in 1579 – he had to relinquish his work. We do not know the date of his death, but not a single publication by his press can be dated later than 1579. After being at a standstill for a few years the printing-office was taken over by someone else: on 10 January 1583 Ewaldus Ostfriesse (Friesen, Ewardus Frisius) purchased it from the guardians of Goebens' children who seem to have been minors still. Part of the purchase-money, amounting to 600 guilders, was used to meet certain current obligations.⁵⁹

Finally I should mention a publication which presents a tricky problem. It is a political manifesto, entitled *Schriftelick beweyes*, G 22 (illus. 5), by Count Johann

⁵⁷ I have never actually seen the copy and have had to base myself on photocopies.

⁵⁸ W. van 't Spijker, 'Het gesprek tussen Dopers en Gereformeerden te Emden (1578)', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 7 (1981), pp. 51-65; C. Krahn, 'The Emden disputation of 1578', *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 30 (1956), pp. 256-8.

⁵⁹ Staatsarchiv Aurich, Kontrakt-Protokolle von Emden, vol. 15, p. 975, quoted from H.F. Wijman, 'Grepes uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden (2): De raadselachtige Bijbeldrukkers Nicolaas Biestkens van Diest en Lenaert der Kinderen', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 121-51 (p. 138). See also VB 'Haarlem press', p. 280. For what little is known about this Frisius, see D.E. Rhodes, 'Rembertus Fresen and his writings', *The British Library Journal*, 8 (1982), pp. 203-5 (pp. 204 ff.).

Casimir of the Palatinate. This Protestant Prince there explains his decision to commit himself to the cause of Dutch independence. He even went so far as to fight in the war: with the financial support of the English queen he assembled an army with which he took part in the struggle against Don Juan in Brabant. As the title shows, the proclamation by the count palatine is a translation of a German original, which appeared in Neustadt an der Hart in 1578. The Dutch title-page gives as its imprint, in full: 'Ghedruct tot Embden by Goossen Goebens. Anno 1578'.

Strange though it may seem, this information is incorrect. There is no question of its being an Emden edition. On the title-page we see, besides the very general Texturas VPT T 3 and T 12 (which Goebens indeed owned), Van den Keere's Augustijn (T 23) and Dessendiaan (T 40), two typefaces which never appear elsewhere in his printed work. An Italic, Granjon's 'St. Augustin',⁶⁰ is used as a distinguishing type, while Goebens only owned that punchcutter's smaller 'Cicero currens'.⁶¹ The clearest indication, however, is the initial H at the beginning of the text: a fine, presumably metal, calligraphic letter belonging to a set which was the exclusive property of Willem Silvius⁶² – and which he may even have designed himself.⁶³ All the other typefaces also appear to have been part of his inventory, including two Romans with which a few words are printed at the end.⁶⁴ There is thus no doubt that this is a product of Silvius' press.

There is no clear explanation for this apparently fictitious use of Goebens' name and address. We do not even know if the date is correct. Did this translation indeed appear in 1578 or, with the date of the original, in the following year? In the

⁶⁰ Johnson, art. cit. (n. 38), type no. 13 (fig. 12); *The type specimen of the Vatican Press (1628)*. A facsimile with an introduction and notes by H.D.L. Vervliet (Amsterdam 1967), p. 34, No. 44.

⁶¹ Johnson, op. cit. and art. cit. (n. 38): Type no. 12 (Fig. 11).

⁶² For information on the Antwerp printer-publisher Willem Silvius and a survey of the extensive literature on him, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 201-3. For his Leiden period, see Briels, op. cit. (n. 54), pp. 445 ff. Corrections and supplementary information are to be found in P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius, Christiaen Houweel and anti-Spanish propaganda, 1577 to 1579', *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 3-29.

⁶³ For Silvius as a calligrapher, see T. Croiset van Uchelen, 'Willem Silvius as writing-master', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday*, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 158-78.

⁶⁴ *The Leiden 'Afdruksel' A type specimen of the press of Willem Silvius in his last days*. A facsimile with an introduction and notes by P. Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983). We are here concerned with the Canon Textura in the heading of the leaf and the typefaces 6, 7, 14 (or 12), 24, 25, and 27. See also P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius's remarkable start, 1559-62', *Quaerendo*, 20 (1990), pp. 167-206 (pp. 202-3 = Appendix III).

latter case Goebens may already have been dead and his name could be used without incurring any risk, even for the man himself. This might be what happened. For there is a demonstrable reason for Silvius' reluctance to have the publication appear in his own name: William of Orange was far from pleased about the intervention of the count palatine and was most suspicious of the motives behind his uncalled-for participation. In view of his official position as printer to the States of Holland and, we can suppose, as technical adviser to the Prince on matters of publicity,⁶⁵ Silvius could hardly execute such an order openly. This could have been a reason to seek cover under a false flag.

It is less likely that Goebens, himself no longer able to carry out the order, turned to Silvius for assistance in the printing. For this purpose he could have applied elsewhere, to printers closer to Emden who probably offered more advantageous terms. Yet the possibility cannot be entirely excluded and we need more information in order to establish what actually happened. But after the obscurity that has surrounded Goebens' life and work over the centuries, we can now get some idea of the position he occupied in the world of printers in his own day. It is only a very general idea. We cannot follow all his movements and we probably only know a part of his production. We can assume that various publications have not yet been recognized as his own work. Besides, the publishing firm was by no means large, any more than can have been the editions he printed – circumstances which make it likely that some of the press' publications have been lost altogether. We must resign ourselves to the fact that numerous details of Goebens' existence will always remain hidden, as do those of so many of his colleagues in those turbulent years.

⁶⁵ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 62), pp. 23 ff.

APPENDIX

List of editions printed by Goossen Goebens in Emden

References

BB – *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondé par F. van der Haegen. Ré-édité sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 5 vols. (Bruxelles 1964).

BT – *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck (Nieuwkoop 1968-94).

H & M – C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985)

Kn – W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978).

Mach – J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979).

NUC – *National Union Catalog of pre-1956 Imprints*, 754 vols. (London 1968-81).

Petit – L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. 1.

Pett – Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch revolt. Exile and the development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford 1992).

Tielke – Martin Tielke, *Das Rätsel des Emders Buchdrucks (1554-602). Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), pp. 45-116: 'Verzeichnis der Emders Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602'.

Editions

(G 1) Corte Somme der voornaemster gheschiedenissen in Vrancrijck onder den Coninck Carolo de 9. gheschiet, In dese twee laetste Jaren des alder-heftichsten derden Inlandischen Cryghes, 1568 ende 69. Ghetrocken ende overgeset [...] uut de ware gedruckte Francoysche Historie [...] . Hier na is by ghevoecht het Discours oft Handelinghe des Vredes Anno 70. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Anno 1570'. 8vo).

– Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB).

(G 2) Een Christelicke Waerschouwinghe ende veel begrijpende Vermaninge, van en[de] aengaende het Gdosvruchtich [*sic*] lesen des heyligen Bybels. Oock vander ouder kercken Catechismus, ende het Hooftfondement der heyliger Schriftueren [...]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Anno 1570'. 8vo).

– Copy: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).

(G 3) Rodolphus (Walther) Gualtherus, Een claer bewijs in vijf Predicationen begrepen vanden rechten ende grooten Antichrist, waer hy wonen ende heerschen sal [...]. Ende hoe hy ten laetsten vanden Heere Jesu Christo ghedoot ende wechgenomen sal worden [...]. Uut den Hoochduytsche [...] overgheset. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Gedruct Anno 1570'. 8vo).

BT 5882; Pett 210. – Copies: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM); London, British Library (BL).

(G 4) Johan Fruytiers, Corte Beschrijvinghe vanden ellendighen ende seer beclaghelicken watervloet, die op den eersten Novembris Anno 70. in allen Landen aen de Noortzee ghelegen, is gheschiet; waer door [...] menschen [...] met dusenden verdroncken zijn. Op Ryme ghestelt. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Anno 1571'. Device: Alle Boom (copy). 4to).

Mach F 384; Pett 214, not seen. – Copies: Ghent, UL; Leiden, UL.

(G 5) Het Inhouden van de declaratie ghedaen op die Gildhal (dat is) het Stadthuys, by den Secretario der stadt Londen beroerende die quade seditien ende onghoorsame Ondersaten der Coninghinne Maiesteyt [...] uut den Enghelsche [...] overgheset. Ghe-druckt tot Londen by Jan Daye, woonende over Aldersgate. (*s.a.* [= Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1571♣]. 16mo).

Petit 158. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(G 6) [Hendricus Geldorpius (?)], De Hemelvaert des eersten ende oversten der Christenen in Nederlandt vervolghers, Ruarts Tappaerts van Enchuysen [...]. Uut

den Latijn in Duytsch overgheset, alsoo het int Jaer 1558 na zijn doot eerst gheprent is metten naem Apotheosis [...]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Anno 1572'. 8vo).

BT 8371; Kn 114; Mach T 32. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB.

(G 7) [Cornelis Bartholomeessen], Een corte cleyne ende warachtighe Beschrijvinghe van het innemen van Sparendam. Voort van het belech [...] voor Haerlem in Hollant. Midtsgaders het overgheven, moorden ende bloetvergieten so daer in begaen is tot den 26. Julij toe, beschreven door een die daer in geweest is. ('Ghedruckt tot Delft' [= Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Anno 1573'. 8vo).

– Copy: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

(G 8) Jan Fruytiers, Schriftmetige Gebeden op deerste Boeck Moysi, Genesis. Inghelijcx op alle de Psalmen des Conincklicken Propheetes Davids; midtsgaders sekere Ghebeden [...]. Onlancks [...] by een gestelt. ('Ghedruckt tot Embden, by Goossen Goebens, Anno 1573'. Device I. 12mo).

BB F 12; H & M p. 32; Pett 218; Tielke 239. – Copies: Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR); Dublin, Trinity College Library (TCL); Leiden, UL.

(G 9) Het Treurliet des doorluchtighen Vorstes Jaspar van Chastilion. amirael van Vranckrijck. Die binnen Parijs door een onghehoorde [...] verraderije ende tyrannije ghemoordet is. Overgheset uut den Latijne [...]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Ghedruckt Anno 1573'. 4to).

BT 6920. – Copy: Antwerp, PMM.

(G 10) [Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde], De Byencorff der H. Roomsche Kercke. [3rd edn.] (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 1574 ('Voleyndt den 13. Maij 1574'). Device I (at the end). 8vo).

Pett 219; Tielke 240. – Copies: Amsterdam, Free University Library (FrUL); The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; Nijmegen, UL; Utrecht, UL; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB).

(G 11) Christelicke Gebede, de men tho Huss, unde in der Kercken gebruiken mach. ('Gedrucket tho Embden dorch Goossen Göbens', 1575. (At the end: 'Men vindt se tho Kope by Goossen Goebens, Boeckvorkoper tho Embden'). Device II on last page. 12mo'.

NUC 108, 146; Pett 223. – Copy: Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard UL.

(G 12) Nieuwe Tijdinghe uut Vranckrijck. Verclaringe ende Protestatie Henrici van Montmorancy [...]. Regent ende Genrael Luytenant voor den Coninck in Lan-

guedock, van wegghen den Krijch dien hy [...] teghen den Coninck in der Poelschen name voeret [...]. Getranslateert ende ghedruckt na de Copye van Basel by Samuel Apiario. Int Jaer 1575. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens?, 1575?]. 4to).

– Copy: Leeuwarden, Provincial Library (PB).

(G 13) Cort ende warachtich Verhael, van het gene dat op de handelinge vanden vrede nu coreelinghe [*sic*] tusschen den Prince van Oraengien [...] ende die Spaensche Gouverneur der Nederlanden [...] tot Breda geschiet is. [With:] Replique ofte Verandtwoordinge [...] uut de name van Con. Maiesteyt van Spaengien..., [and:] Duplique [van...] de Prince van Oraengien. (*s.l.a.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1575]. Dutch lion on title-page and last leaf. 4to).

Kn 239 & 238; Mach N 117; Petit 191. – Copies: The Hague, KB; Ghent, UL; Leeuwarden, PB; Leiden, UL.

(G 14) Warachtige Beschrijvinghe van het innemen van Antwerpen, en[de] vande onmenschelijcke [...] moort, brandt, plonderinge, onghehoorde vrouwen cracht en[de] maechden schenderye, by den Spaniaerden [...] den 4. Novemb. Anno 1576 [...] ghestelt door een die daer selfs teghenwoordig gheweest is. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Ghedruckt Anno 1576'. With title-woodcut. 4to).

Petit 211. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

(G 15) Copye. Uutschrijven ende getrouwe Vermaninge van eenen Vermogenden Christelijcken Potentaet aen de Staten ende ghemeyne Inghesetenen der beyder Frieslanden [...]. Uut het Hoochduytsch Exemplair in Nederlantsch overgheset. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Ghedruckt int Jaer 1576'. Dutch lion on title-page. 4to).

Kn 247. – Copies: The Hague, KB; Leeuwarden, PB; Leiden, UL.

(G 16) Een warachtich cort Verhael van die wonderbaerlicke miraculeuse veranderinghe ende verscheyden Acten, die den 23.24.25. Novembris Anno 76 binnen de stadt Groningen zijn toeghedragen. (*s.l.a.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1576]. With title woodcut. 4to).

Kn 274. – Copies: Copenhagen, Royal Library (KB); The Hague, KB.

(G 17). Warachtich Afschrift vande verhandelinge tot Geertruydenberghe, den 23. May Anno 1577 gehouden tusschen de ghesanten [...] van don Jan d'Austria [...] mitsgaders der generale Staten [...] en[de] den [...] Prince va[n] Oraengien [...] Uut de Fransoysche [...] sprake overgheset. (*s.l.a.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1577]. Dutch lion on title-page. 4to).

Kn 299. – Copies: The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; Tilburg, UL.

(G 18) Protestatie des Heeren [...] Wilhelm van Nassou, Prince van Oraenien, etc. met der Staten van Hollandt ende Zeelandt, op den vrede tusschen Don Jan d'Austria, ende de generale Staten der Nederlanden [...] Met de Antwoorde der generale Staten. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Ghedruckt Anno 1577'. Dutch lion on title-page. 4to).

Kn 295; Petit 227. – Copies: Dublin, TCL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL.

(G 19) Twee Refereynen, waer mede de nieuwe opgerechte Rhetorijcke Camere binnen Utrecht, d'Excellentie vanden Prince van Oraengien, Willecoem en[de] oock Adieu gheseyt hebben den 18. ende 22. Augusti Anno 1577. Met noch sommige Constelicke ghedichten, op desen tijdt binnen Antwerpen ghemaect [by Willem van Haecht and others]. (*s.l.a.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1577]. Device I. 4to).

Petit 240. – Copies: Leiden, UL; London, BL.

(G 20) Daniel Tossanus, Predicatie, soo het tot de Begraeffnisse des [...] Heeren Fredericken, des derden dies Naems, Palsgrave by den Rhyn [...] is gehouden [...] den 12. dach [...] Novembris Anno 1577. Overgesettet uut de Hoochduytsche [...] spraecke dorch Joannem Zuydlareum [...]. (Emden, Goossen Goebens, *s.a.* [before 1577♣]). Device I. 4to).

Mach T 279; Pett 225; Tielke 244. – Copy: Ghent, UL.

(G 21) Eendrachtighe Vereeninghe vande generale Staten vande Nederlanden, vergadert wesende tot Brusselle [...] ende gheconfitmeert by mijnen Heeren vande Raedt vande Staten [...] den 9. januarij Anno 1577 [...]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens], Anno Domini 1577. Dutch lion on title-page. 4to).

Kn 281; Petit 220. – Copies: The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

(G 22) Schriftelick Bewijs des Doorluchtighen [...] Heeren Johan Casimiri, Palsgraven opden Rhijn, Hertoge[n] in Beyeren, etc. Daerin [...] die oorsaecken waer door zijne Vorstelicke Genaden beweeght zijn worden tot bevrijdinge der benaudder Nederlanden volck te maken [...]. Uut de Hoochduytsche sprake [...] overgheset. ('Ghedruct tot Embden by Goossen Goebens' [= Leiden, Willem Silvius], 'Anno 1578'. 4to).

Kn 361; Mach C 155; Pett 229; Tielke 246. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL and FrUL; Breda, Stadsbibliotheek; Brussels, KBR (2x); Dublin, TCL; Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; London, BL (2x); New York, Public Library; Utrecht, UL.

(G 23) Oratio de pacanda et componenda republica ad Belgas, in qua malorum publicorum [...] causae verae cum veris eorundem remediis [...] demonstrantur a Baleo Carfenna Hylandro [= Abel Fran[c]kena?]. Anno 1578. (*In fine*: 'Excusa Irenopoli' [= Emden, Goossen Goebens], 'Anno salutis 1578 mense Junio'. 8vo). BT 568; Kn 393; Mach B 72. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, KBR; Cambridge, UL; Dublin, TCL; Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL.

(G 24) Copije des ghenes, soo by den legaten der Nederlandische Staten den Cheurvorsten den 4. Julij verthoont is, Anno 1579 [= caption title]. [Followed by:] COPYE des ghenes, soo door de legaten der Nederlandscher Staten is overgegeven aen Keys. Maiest. commissarien, den 12. Julij Anno 1579. (*s.l.a.n.* [Emden, Goossen Goebens, 1579]. 4to). BT 697. – Copy: Brussels, KBR.

(G 25) Protocol, dath is, alle handelinge des Gesprecks tho Embden [...] mit den Wedderdöperen, de sick Flaminge nömen [...] angefangen den 27. Februarij Anno 1578 unde den 17. Maij dessulvigen Jars geendiget. Mit [...] etlicke andere stücke [...] sonderlick der Wedderdöper Vörloper mit syner antwordt [...]. ('Gedrucket in [...] Embden by Goossen Goebens', 1579. 4to).

Pett 231; Tielke 248. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library); Aurich, Staatsarchiv; Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB); Copenhagen, KB; Emden, Bibliothek Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst (GBK); Goshen (Ind.), Goshen College Biblical Seminary Library (GCL); Greifswald, UB; Halle a/S, Hauptbibliothek der ehem. Frankesche Stiftungen (FrSt); Hamburg, UB; Jever, Bibliothek des Mariengymnasiums (BMG); Leeuwarden, PB; London, Dutch Church Library; Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek; Pennsburg (Pa.), Schwenckfelder Historical Library; Wolfenbüttel, HAB.

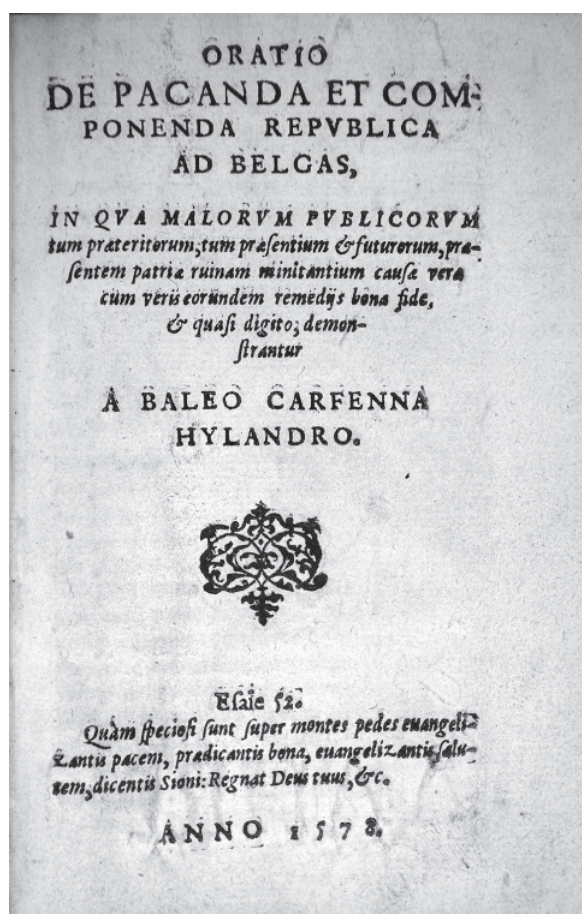
(G 26) Protocol, dat is, alle handelinge des Gesprecks tot Embden [...] met den Wederdooperen, die hen Vlamingen noemen [...] begonnen den 27. Februarij Anno 1578 ende den 17. Mey desselven Jaers gheeyndicht [...]. Item een grondtlijcke beantwoordinge tegen der Wederdooperen Voorlooper [...]. Uut de Sassensche [...] sprake door Dominicum Julium [...] overgheset. ('Gedruckt in' [...] 'Embden, by Goossen Goebens', 1579. Device I. 4to.)

Mach W 22; Pett 232; Tielke 249. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (3x), FrUL (2x) and Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences (KA); Aurich, SB; The Hague, KB; Emden, GBK; Enschedé, Oudheidkamer Twente (OT); Ghent, UL; Goshen (Ind.), GCL; Groningen, UL; London, BL; North Newton (Ka), Bethel College Library; Paris, BnF; Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek; Utrecht, UL.

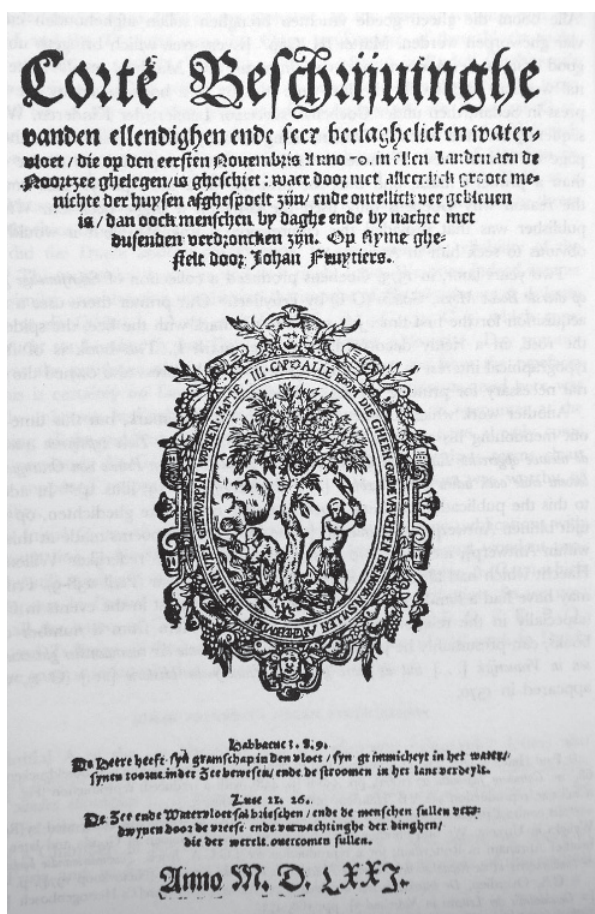
(G 27) Grondelijcke ende warachtige Verantwoordinge der Overicheyt ende der

predicanten tot Embden, opde [...] calumnien, welcke de Wederdoopers in hare Voorloopende Waerschouwingen, tot oneeren des Protocols over dat Gespreck Anno 1578 gehouden, uutgegeven hebben. ('Gedruckt tot Embden by Goossen Goebens. Anno 1579'. Device II. 4to).

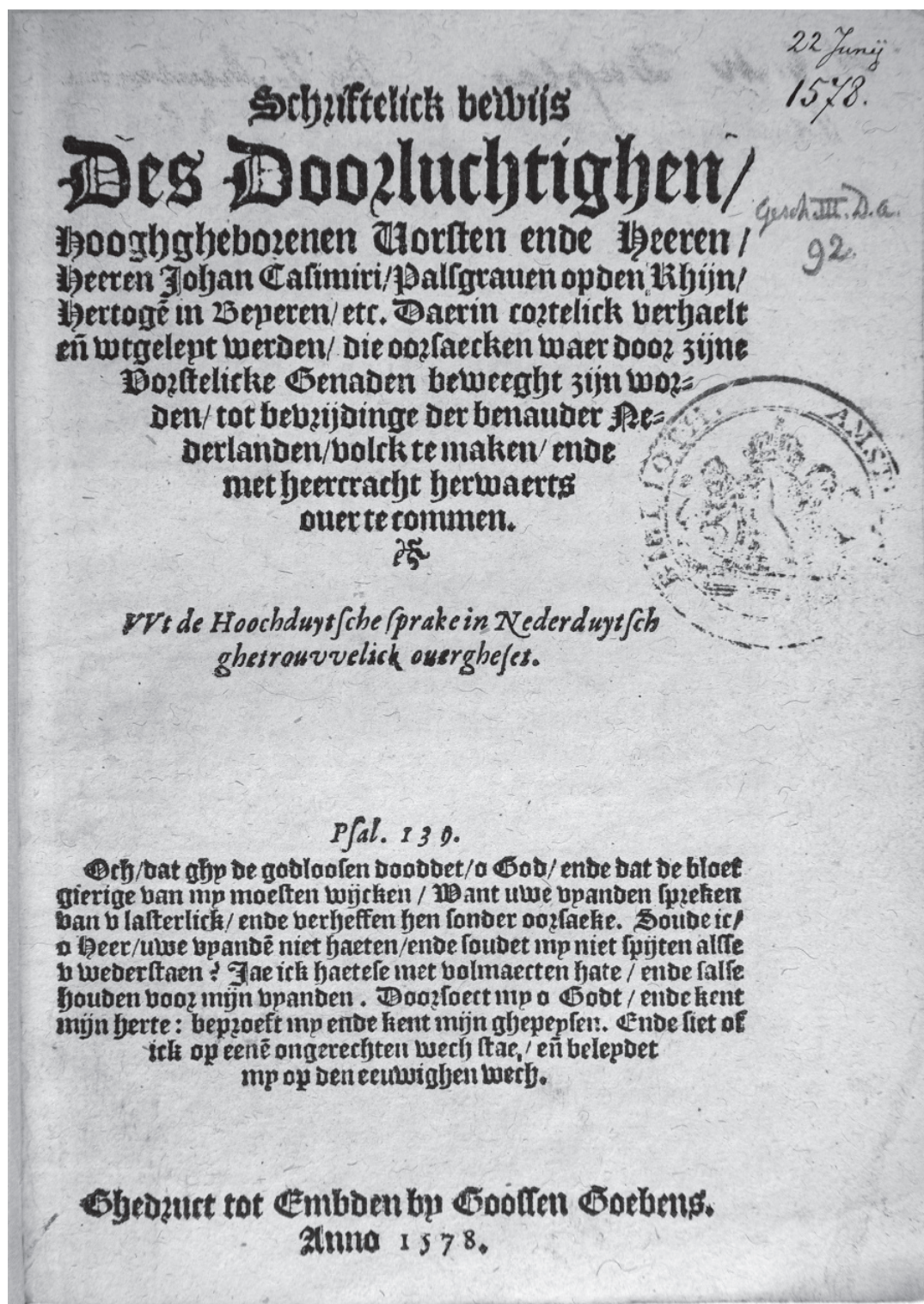
Petit 280. – Copies: Brussels, KBR; Leiden, UL.



Illus. 1 and 2
(Scans from the original publication)



Illus. 3 and 4
(Scans from the original publication)



Illus. 5

(Scan from the original publication)

AN UNKNOWN DUTCH PRINTER IN GERMANY:
NICOLAES GEVAERTS IN WESEL AND HOMBERG,
1571 to 1579 (1580?)



In recent years bibliographical research has revealed the identity and the field of activity of a number of presses which were jointly responsible for a substantial part of the clandestine Dutch book production between 1550 and 1570. It was the period in which the Reformation penetrated vast layers of the population and the demand for editions of the Bible and writings on the new doctrine increased rapidly. We can even say that after 1564 it increased explosively.¹ At the same time the urge for political autonomy manifested itself in a growing resistance to Spanish rule. The ever stricter laws regulating the printing-press, and the increasing accuracy of their application, meant that most publications in the vernacular on political and religious subjects had to appear in secret. The printers defied the prohibition of clandestine publications on a large scale and went underground. A bitter struggle ensued with the central authorities in Brussels, who did everything in their power to eliminate the threat resulting from freedom of the press.²

The war was waged with the greatest commitment and inventiveness by both sides. In order to avoid detection the printers sought safety in anonymity or resorted to such means as pseudonyms, fake addresses and predating, in the hope of misleading their persecutors. In risky publications they also took the precaution of avoiding any ornamentation or even typeface which might have appeared elsewhere in their typographical production – all in an attempt to escape discovery by way of such material. The central authorities responded by setting up a highly functional apparatus of secret agents and informers. They applied typographical analysis, and sometimes even a comparative stylistic analysis of bookbindings,³ in

¹ The most recent (but partly superseded) survey of the history of the Protestant book in the Netherlands is contained in *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v. 1570)*, ed. J.-F. Gilmont (Paris 1990), e.g. A.G. Johnston, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme aux Pays-Bas, 1520-c.1555', pp. 155-86, and *idem* & J.-F. Gilmont, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme à Anvers', pp. 191-216. See, above all, M.E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), *passim*.

² For an extensive description of the measures taken by Church and State in this period against all sorts of dissidence, see J. Decavele, *De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)*, 2 vols. (Brussel 1975), vol. 1, pp. 6-48: 'De repressie'.

³ As we see in a report addressed to the Governess Margaret of Parma, dated 10 March 1562. It was written by Joachimus Hopperus, a member of the High Court of Mechelen: 'Quant au livret

order to find the culprits. Nowadays modern bibliographical research applies similar, but more elaborate, methods even outside the field of incunabula, where such techniques have long been in use. The results have been good, and often surprising.

It has proved possible to reconstruct the production of secret presses of the sixteenth century – even when they never provided a single book with an imprint and the printers or publishers worked in total anonymity. In some cases we have been able to establish the identity on the basis of indirect information, but in others this has not yet been possible and they can only be indicated with a name of convenience. Despite all the risks involved, a small number of these Dutch printers endeavoured to carry on their work in their home town, especially in the north-eastern Netherlands. Others moved beyond the border in order to escape persecution by the authorities and settled in Germany, England and, occasionally, even in the north of France. One of the first to set up a printing-press abroad was the leader of a group of Dutch Anabaptists, Menno Simons. In his flight from the Dutch authorities in 1554, he was offered a hospitable haven on the estate of Fresenburg near Oldesloe, between Hamburg and Lübeck. He was to go on living there in Wüstenfeld, the residence of a small group of followers, until his death in 1561. In 1554 and 1555 they had their own printing shop.⁴

Some of the men who sought refuge in safer places are well-known: it has thus been established that even the famous Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin chose such a solution for certain prohibited publications. In order to publish modern translations of the Bible he entered into partnership with the businessman and sectarian Hendrik Niclaes, the leader of the secret and still mysterious Family of Love. After his flight from Emden, Hendrik Niclaes (HN) had withdrawn to another Hanseatic town, Kampen, where he had set up a printing shop in order to produce the hitherto unpublished part of his writings. The management of the business was in the hands of his former secretary Augustijn van Hasselt, who had turned into an excellent typographer while working for Plantin. Besides works by HN himself, both a Dutch Bible and a New Testament were printed on the press in 1562/3 as a joint venture – two editions which differ from all others printed

en flameing envoye à Son Altesse par ledit Marcqgrave [Jan van Immerseel], semble que yceluy Marcqgrave se doibt informer tant sur la religiure dycelluy qui semble estre d'Anvers, que sur le caractère'. See C. de Clercq, 'Deux épisodes Plantiniens', *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*, 33 (1958), pp. 155–63 (pp. 155–6).

⁴ M. Keyser, 'The Fresenburg Press. An Investigation pertaining to Menno Simons' Printing-office in Holstein, Germany, 1554–1555', *The Dutch Dissenters. A Critical Companion to their History and Ideas*, ed. I.B. Horst (Leiden 1986), pp. 179–86. See also C. Krahn, *Menno Simons (1496–1561). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Theologie der Taufgesinnten* (Karlsruhe 1936), pp. 84–8, and P. Valkema Blouw, 'Drukkers voor Menno Simons en Dirk Philips', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 17 (1991), pp. 31–74 (pp. 44–7).

in Dutch through the use of an Italic typeface for the text.⁵ They were published under the name of one of Plantin's compositors, Lenaert der Kinderen, who subsequently moved to Emden with his master's support. There, probably partly on Plantin's account, he continued the production of New Testaments at the printing shop of Willem Gailliart.⁶

It has now long been known that Emden rapidly became the most important production and export centre of Bibles and other Protestant works in Dutch after the arrival from London in 1554 of Steven Mierdmans, Gillis van der Erven (Ctematius) and various other émigré printers. This came largely to an end when the city authorities, acting under Spanish pressure, introduced a severe censorship in October 1567. We should observe here, however, that mistakes were made at a later date in assessing the book production of the town and that numerous editions which have always been regarded as Emden issues were in fact produced elsewhere.⁷ Of the dozens of Mennonite publications which were ascribed to Emden, for instance, only five or six really seem to have been printed there. The rest were produced in other places, initially in Antwerp, and later mainly in towns in the eastern and north-eastern Netherlands such as Deventer, Steenwijk and Franeker.⁸ Niclaes van Oldenborch and Magnus van den Merberghe must also be excluded as Emden printers. We now know that these were pseudonyms used by various publishers, most of whom were from Antwerp.⁹

⁵ For these publications, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Plantin's betrekkingen met Hendrik Niclaes', *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini* (De Gulden Passer, 66-7; Antwerpen 1988-9), pp. 121-58; *idem*, 'Was Plantin a member of the Family of Love? Notes on his dealings with Hendrik Niclaes', *Quaerendo*, 23 (1993), pp. 3-23.

⁶ P. Valkema Blouw, 'The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7', *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127 (pp. 113 ff.).

⁷ The last lists of Emden printers and of works attributed to Emden to have been compiled in Germany (but which have since been surpassed) are: W. Brandes, *Bibliographie der niedersächsischen Frühdrucke bis zum Jahre 1600* (Baden-Baden 1960), and M. Tielke, 'Verzeichnis der Emder Drucke bis zum Jahre 1602', in his *Das Rätsel des Emder Buchdrucks (1554-1602). Ausstellung in der Landschaftsbibliothek Aurich* (Aurich 1986), pp. 45-120 – A current list of works printed in Emden based on bibliographic research is now available in A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford 1992), pp. 252-317: Appendix 'Books printed in Emden, 1554-1585'. There are some doubtful cases in this list, too, but those are mainly items which cannot be verified since no copy of the book has survived.

⁸ On Deventer, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 4), pp. 55-7; on Franeker: *idem*, 'Een onbekende Doperse drukkerij in Friesland', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 15 (1989), pp. 37-63; on Steenwijk: *idem*, 'Een vergeten ondergrondse drukker: Herman 't Zangers in Steenwijk (1565-1580)', *For Bob de Graaf. Antiquarian Bookseller. Publisher. Bibliographer. Festschrift on the occasion of his 65th birthday*, ed. A. Gerits (Amsterdam 1992), pp. 174-8.

⁹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonyms, or Why Frans

Yet a hitherto unmentioned press has indeed turned up in Emden. We have known for some time that the prototypographer of Sedan came from the southern Netherlands. His name was Goossen Goebens,¹⁰ and, as the factor of a printing shop, he there produced various political and religious works in Dutch in 1565/6. The press in question was originally based in Haarlem where it was set up by the burgomaster Jan van Zuren in 1561 in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to found a humanist publishing firm.¹¹ Until recently, however, nobody knew that this was the press that was transferred to Sedan, and it now also appears that the same firm moved from that town to Emden in 1567, where it continued its publishing activities. This fact emerges from a combination of items of evidence which also make it possible to establish what the firm printed, presumably under the management of the Amsterdam notary and businessman Frans Coornhert.¹² We now know six of his Emden publications. Subsequently, in 1568, he transferred the business to the immigrant Jean Malet, of whom a single publication has survived. Later a part of the inventory again returned to the Netherlands, to Leeuwarden, the capital of Friesland.¹³ In 1570 Goossen Goebens started a press of his own in Emden with different material.¹⁴

Other printers from the Netherlands made for the German border area. Willem Gailliart from Bruges, financed by his father, a wealthy businessman, probably began his career as a printer in Büderich before settling in Emden for good.¹⁵ Another native of the southern Netherlands, Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, moved to Groessen, then just across the German border near Zevenaar, in or shortly before 1558.¹⁶ It is after him that the 'Biestkens' Bible has been named which was so suc-

Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), pp. 165-90, 245-72, *passim*.

¹⁰ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'La première imprimerie à Sedan et la poète Charles de Navière', *Humanisme actif. Mélanges d'art et de littérature offerts à Julien Cain* (Paris 1968), pp. 215-22.

¹¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Haarlem press in Sedan and Emden (1561-9)', *Quaerendo*, 19 (1989), pp. 225-50, 253-98.

¹² For a list of the press' publications in Sedan and Emden, see *ibidem*, pp. 293 ff.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 264 ff. Frans Coornhert was a brother of Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert. It is possible that a third brother, Clement, was also involved in the enterprise.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 278 ff. For Goebens' own press in Emden and his publications, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'The international career of an Emden printer (Goossen Goebens 1560-76)', *Quaerendo*, 27 (1997), pp. 113-40.

¹⁵ H.F. Wijnman, 'Grepes uit de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigrantendrukkerijen te Emden, (I): De totstandkoming van de Emdense uitgaven van de Liesveldt-Bijbel uit 1559 en volgende jaren', *Het Boek*, 36 (1963-4), pp. 140-68 (pp. 148 ff.). For a list of Willem Gailliart's publications, see the bibliographic list in Pettegree, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

¹⁶ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, *in duplo*, 1558-83', *Theatrum orbis librorum. Liber*

cessful for two hundred years and was particularly popular among the followers of Menno Simons. He probably died in 1562. This Nicolaes, to whom fourteen publications can now be ascribed, has long been confused with a younger namesake, possibly his son, who later took over the Gailliart press¹⁷ and ultimately settled with it in Amsterdam in 1578.

In Lübeck two editions of the Bible were produced by the press of another Dutch printer, Mattheus Jacobszoon.¹⁸ It is not yet clear whether that was his true name or whether we are again dealing with a pseudonym. Berendt Petersz settled in Emmerich after becoming the owner, through his mother's death in 1571, of the printing shop in Kampen belonging to his banished father, Peter Warnersen. Subsequently this same Berendt transferred the firm to Bremen. Finally, a few years later, another Dutchman, Derick Wylicx van Santen (Xanten), who had given up his bookshop in Deventer in 1575, continued his career as a successful printer-publisher in Rees, a small German town near Cleves, not far from the Dutch border.

Wesel was another popular haven for clandestine printers. For the period between 1543 and 1569, Josef Benzing, the German book historian and bibliographer, names five printer-publishers from the Netherlands there: Derick van der Straten (Plateanus), Joos Lambrecht, Hans de Braecker or Braeckvelt (who was later also to spend some time in Aachen), Augustijn van Hasselt and Donatus Cor – this last name must be excluded, however, since it was a pseudonym.¹⁹ A sixth German-sounding name, Clais Geifertsen, on the other hand, does indeed appear to have belonged to a Dutchman – as we shall see. But there were more printers from the Netherlands working in Wesel than Benzing assumed: Pieter (Anastasius) de Zuttere, working with the material of Joos Lambrecht, who had died in 1556; Simon Steenberg, who printed a single booklet in Wesel before moving his firm to Deventer,²⁰ and finally

amicorum presented to Nico Israel on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, eds. T. Croiset van Uchelen, K. van der Horst & G. Schilder (Utrecht 1989), pp. 310–31.

¹⁷ The takeover took place in the first half of the 1570s, presumably in 1574, when Willem's father died and he had to carry on his trading company. Over the years the inventory of the printing shop was expanded with material originating from Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, Lenaert der Kinderen and Gillis van der Erven (Ctematius).

¹⁸ M. Keyser, 'De drukkerij van Mattheus Jacobszoon, Lübeck 1554', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 5 (1979), pp. 91–4.

¹⁹ J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, 2nd enl. edn. (Wiesbaden 1982); P. Valkema Blouw, 'Predated Protestant works in Nijhoff-Kronenberg', *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 163–80 (pp. 177–8).

²⁰ I came across this unique booklet in the file of a legal case kept in the Rijksarchief (Provincial Archives) of Gelderland in Arnhem. The discovery was subsequently published by W. Stempel, 'Zum Buchdruck in Wesel zur Zeit der Reformation', *Standfester Glaube. Festschrift für J.F.G. Goeters* (Köln 1991), pp. 129–48 (pp. 141 ff.).

Jean Caen (Jan Canin) from Ghent, who published various works there before settling ultimately in the newly liberated Dordrecht in about 1573.²¹

Benzing could indicate publications by most of the printers he knew in Wesel, but found none by Augustijn van Hasselt ('Ob er gedruckt hat ist fraglich'). It now appears that Augustijn, like Nicolaes Biestkens, belonged to a small group of printers who screened off their underground work to such an extent that there is not a single imprint in any of their publications: thus no book mentions their name or place of residence.²² In the case of this Augustijn, too, Plantin was the man behind the scenes, although, as we might expect, there is no trace of these activities in his account books. The only source of information is the *Chronika* of the Family of Love, Hendrik Nicolaes' sect.²³ We there read of a printing shop which was set up with the material and financial support of Plantin. It was active first in Vianen and then, after that town had fallen into Spanish hands, in Wesel. Although its existence had thus been documented, what it actually published remained a mystery. It is now possible to indicate sixteen or seventeen books printed by Augustijn in Wesel, 'partyische' (heterodox) publications issued between 1567 and 1569 with no mention of their origin. The list could be compiled thanks to the fact that all these editions were printed with types which had once belonged to Plantin, who then used them to equip his agent's printing-press. The material was cast from matrices of the *Officina*. As a result the typographical appearance of what the branch produced is identical with that of Plantin's own printed work set with similar typefaces.²⁴

Whether they were known by name or not, the share of all these anonymous workers in the book production of the sixteenth century could only be discovered by way of a bibliographical investigation. In that process the analysis of typefaces

²¹ For Jan Canin, see J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 194-206. A description of Canin's activities in Wesel will follow. [Paul Valkema Blouw, 'Jan Canin in Wesel, and in Emmerich', published in *Quaerendo*, 28 (1998), pp. 225-9. Eds.]

²² In contrast to his other publications, the last two books by Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest, two tracts by Dirk Philips, give his name in an imprint. They probably only appeared after his death, however, by which time the press had been taken over by Willem Gailliart, who also reprinted anonymously Menno Simons' *Fondamentboeck* in the same year. Gailliart could thus avoid attention for a while without getting anybody else into trouble.

²³ *Cronica: Chronika des Hüs-gesinnes der Liefsten* (hereafter quoted as *Chronika*), a manuscript compiled by Daniel, a 'fellow-elder' of the sect, is preserved in the Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (Library of the Society for Dutch Literature), now in Leiden UL, under shelf-mark LTK 620. The text is published in *Cronica. Ordo sacerdotis. Acta HN. Three Texts on the Family of Love*, ed. A. Hamilton (Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica, 6; Leiden 1988).

²⁴ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90; *idem*, 'A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel', *ibidem*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

played an essential, not to say decisive, role; without such a method the composition of the stock, and sometimes even the existence, of these printing shops would have remained unknown. The obscurity that sometimes impedes our vision of the origin of prohibited and persecuted printed work is thus by no means always impenetrable. For although it may seem surprising that such well-kept secrets can still be revealed after over four hundred years, the technique employed has already proved effective in so many cases that it is impossible to doubt its value. The specific character of ornaments and typefaces means that they cannot be manipulated as items of evidence. In contrast to possibly tendentious historical reports, their authenticity is determined from the outset. Words may lie, but not letters. And the analysis itself can always be verified.

To illustrate this, there follows the account of one such investigation. It introduces us to the hitherto undescribed production of yet another unknown Dutch press in Germany.

‘ABSQUE LABORE NIHIL. 1555’

The recent standard work on Dutch catechisms and confessions by Dr Willem Heijting contains a reproduction of the title-page of a Psalter dating from 1573 with the device ‘Absque labore nihil. 1555’ (‘Nothing without labour. 1555’), W 7.²⁵ The same printer’s device (illus. 1a) can be found in a reprint of this Psalter with the year 1574 (H 1) and on the title-page of the Heidelberg catechism published together with it,²⁶ as well as in a publication of a completely different nature: a *Warachtige nieuwe tydinge* of 1580 (H 15).²⁷ None of the three editions makes any mention of the publisher.

Judging from the typography we are here dealing with a press which printed books and newsletters in Dutch types – or at least in types which were current in the northern Netherlands. Yet the firm was evidently not based in the country. For the device also appears in a work printed at about the same time in Germany:

²⁵ The numbers W 1, W 2, etc. and H 1, H 2 etc. refer to the List of Editions at the end of this article.

²⁶ W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), nos. B 12.31 and B 12.34 (vol. 1, pp. 255, resp. 257 f., and vol. 2, (reprod.) pp. 241-2, resp. 247-8). C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985), p. 30 (Dath. 1573 b) and 31 (reprod.), resp. p. 33 (Dath. 1574 b).

²⁷ J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht, niet voorkomend in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22), no. 90. The author wrongly names Jean Ouwerr in Liège as the owner of this device. This printer, who worked at a far later date, actually only used the motto, not the representation.

an epic description in Latin verse of the town of Duisburg by a certain Johannes Tybius, *Annalium sive antiquitatum veteris Duisburgi libelli tres* (H 10). As the title-page states, this book appeared in September 1579, 'Hombergae ad Rhenum', in Homberg on the Rhine, opposite Duisburg, produced by an otherwise wholly unknown publisher, Nicolaus Gevardus.²⁸

This raises two questions. The first is: are we here dealing with a pseudonym or was this his real name? Benzing²⁹ gives the book by Tybius as his only publication and otherwise simply mentions a single passage which might refer to him.³⁰ This shows that in August 1577 a certain Nikolaus Gerbertz in Homberg was commissioned by the Duke of Cleves to print a placard – which was, however, rejected since the typeface used was found to be too small and the order was then given to Albert Buys(s) in Düsseldorf. The name of the printer, Gerbertz, is not identical to the Latin Gevardus but could be a German version of it. The same place of residence virtually excludes any other explanation. There would thus be no question of a pseudonym. It appears that the man was not only a publisher but also owned a printing shop. So was this Gevardus the same man who used the device from 1573 to 1580 for the two Psalters and the aforesaid newsletter? That is questionable, just as it is still uncertain whether he was a German who also printed in Dutch or a Dutchman who had settled in the neighbouring country.

There is one other report which might refer to our protagonist, even if the name is again slightly different and he appears this time to have resided elsewhere, in Wesel. On 23 April 1573 the magistracy warned 'Clais Geifertzen, Buichdrucker' not to publish anything else without the prior knowledge and consent of the senate.³¹ He had obviously published a newsletter – or even more than one – without taking any notice of a prohibition by the Duke of Cleves, who had been obliged, under pressure from Spain, to issue an edict against such publications. The printer was warned that he would incur banishment by any further transgression, and indeed, that was what happened to him a year later. 'Niclaiss Buechdrucker' was arrested in Wesel on the orders of the Duke's judge on 26 August 1574 and was banished

²⁸ P.J. Mennenöh, *Duisburg in der Geschichte des niederrheinischen Buchdrucks und Buchhandels bis zum Ende der alten Duisburger Universität* (1818) (Duisburg 1970), p. 42, where the device is described and the legend reproduced.

²⁹ Benzing, op. cit. (n. 19), pp. 211 f.

³⁰ H. Averdunk, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg bis zur endgültigen Vereinigung mit dem Hause Hohenzollern*, 1666 (Duisburg 1894), pp. 206 f.

³¹ Reproduced in J.G. Sardemann, 'Ueber einige im XVI. Jahrhundert in Wesel gedruckte Schriften', *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 2 (1865), pp. 358–66 (P. 366); W. Stempel, 'Zeitungen aus Wesel unterstützten den Aufstand der Niederlande. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Weseler Buchdrucks im 16. Jahrhundert', *Monatshefte für Evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes*, 37–8 (1988/9), pp. 363–71 (p. 366) gives an abbreviated version of this decree in n. 9.

together with his wife and child.³² Although Benzing does not see any connection,³³ the similarity of the names leads one to suppose that it was the same person in both cases – in all likelihood a Dutchman whose patronym was ‘Germanized’ in various ways. We know no more about him than this summary information³⁴ and, after all the archival work which has been performed in this domain, it may well be pointless to search for further historical evidence. It thus seems more advisable to tackle the investigation in a different manner and to concentrate on the material remains of the firm: the printed work itself. We must thus assemble as many of the publications of the press as possible on the basis of the typefaces and ornaments used – with the exception of the Tybius (H 10), the publications all appear to have been anonymous – in the hope that the composition of the stock will tell us something more of the person and the career of this printer-publisher.

First of all I should like to point out that the fact that Gevardus was banished from Wesel has given rise to various unfounded attributions to his press. That a *Neue Zeitung auss Nederland* should have appeared in 1572 with the imprint ‘Getruckt zu Nider Wesel’ led the man who first studied Gevardus, the Belgian historian Charles Rahlenbeck, to assume that it was this publication which incurred Gevardus’ condemnation.³⁵ Here was an evidently prohibited newsletter and a printer who was persecuted for such a crime, and the author unhesitatingly placed the two facts in direct connection with one another. This was followed by a recent article in which Walter Stempel, albeit not without reservations, attributed another newsletter with the same imprint to Gevardus: a *Schreckliche und betawerliche Zeitung*, about the massacre in Paris in 1572.³⁶

These attributions of the two *Zeitungen* must be rejected on typographical grounds. There appears to be no similarity whatsoever between their typographical appearance and the one that we shall encounter in Gevardus’ publications in these years. This is a decisive argument. It is dangerous, moreover, to ascribe publications to

³² The written request that this heavy punishment be imposed is reproduced in Stempel (see previous note), pp. 364-6. Benzing, op. cit. (n. 19), p. 481

³³ Benzing, op. cit. (n. 19), p. 481.

³⁴ It might be possible to see an indication of his origin in the fact that in about 1560 the Antwerp printer Severijn Gymnich married Aleyt (Eelken) Goyvaerts, whose parents possessed moveable property and real estate in ‘sgrevenbroecke ende wevelcoven inden Lande van guelick’; see L. van den Branden, ‘De Antwerpse boekverkoper-drukker Severijn Gymnicus, ca. 1529-1567’, *Liber alumnorum E. Rombauts* (Leuven 1968), pp. 145-59 (p. 148).

³⁵ C. Rahlenbeck, ‘Notes sur les auteurs, les imprimeurs et les distributeurs des pamphlets politiques et religieux du XVI^e siècle, XIX: Les imprimeurs clandestins de Wesel’, *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 18 (1862), pp. 421-2 (p. 422). The pamphlet is described in E. Weller, *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen, mit einer Bibliographie (1505-1599)* (Tübingen 1872; repr. Hildesheim 1962), no. 405.

³⁶ Weller (see previous note), no. 397; Stempel, art. cit. (n. 31), p. 371 and Abb. 2.

him or to any other printer from Wesel on the basis of the address 'Nider Wesel', since it is almost certain that this place name was used on more than one occasion as a fake address. Mentions of a place of publication without the name of a printer or any other indication of provenance must generally be treated with caution – and this is particularly true of the sixteenth century.

Since the aforesaid Dutch publications do not contain any woodcut letters or other ornaments we are provisionally limited to the typographical material with which they are printed: the typefaces in the three books. Fortunately their composition has certain valuable characteristics: it would seem that besides Texturas which were generally common in the northern Netherlands such as VPT T 3, T 12 and T 43,³⁷ they contain two other typefaces which do not seem to have been used together anywhere else in this period. These are Van den Keere's Minion Textura (VPT T 50),³⁸ one of the smallest Gothic types ever to have been cut, and a Pica Italic of French origin: Granjon's 'Cicero currens'.³⁹

As far as we know there was only one other printer in these years who owned the same two typefaces, namely Plantin⁴⁰ – but these are not books which we can ascribe to him and it also seems most unlikely that, in view of his enormous range of material, he should ever have used two such heterogeneous types together. It must be added that Granjon's Italic has a striking characteristic in the work of our printer: it is supplemented by another sort of k in the lower case of which both the stem and the lower diagonal extend below the line. The letter thus gives the impression of having been 'sunk' and is an easy means of recognition. A third unusual typeface in these publications is a somewhat worn Pica Roman of unknown origin on a body of 68 mm for twenty lines, which was unusual in the Netherlands at that time.

All three of these typefaces are to be found in *Hantboecxken, ofte: Concordancie* (s.l.e.n.

³⁷ VPT = H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968). See pp. 88 ff., 106 ff., and 162 f.

³⁸ Vervliet, op. cit. (see previous note), pp. 172 f.

³⁹ A.F. Johnson, 'The Italic Types of Robert Granjon', *The Library*, 4th S., 21 (1941), pp. 291-308, no. 12 and fig. 11; also *id.*, *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, ed. P.H. Muir (Amsterdam 1970), pp. 260-71, no. 12 and fig. 11.

⁴⁰ The Italic appears as 'Mediane Cursive droite' under no. 28 in *Index sive Specimen Characterum Christophori Plantini* (1567), as it is reproduced in *Type Specimen Facsimiles*, vol. 11 [16-18]. *Reproductions of Christopher Plantin's Index sive Specimen characterum 1567 & Folio specimen of ca. 1585, together with the Le Bé-Moretus specimen ca. 1599*, with annotations by H.D.L. Vervliet & H. Carter, general ed. J. Dreyfus (London 1972). The typeface is referred to as 'La dernière Italique de granjon sur l'instrument de Cicero' in Plantin's 1566 Inventory; see M. Parker, K. Melis & H.D.L. Vervliet, 'Typographia Plantiniana, II. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds of the Museum Plantin-Moretus', *De Gulden Passer*, 38 (1960), pp. 1-139 (p. 29). Plantin bought cast letters of the typeface in 1565; he acquired matrices of the Minion some years later, but not before 1569.

1576), H 6, a book already published in the Netherlands some time earlier, in 1562,⁴¹ and which was later to be reprinted on several occasions, above all because of its popularity in Mennonite circles. Both on the title-page and on the last page we find a large oval woodcut encircled by the legend: 'Nu bevinde ick met der waerheyd, dat Got den persoon niet en aensiet. Act. 10' ('Of a trueth I perseave that God is not parcial' [Tyndale, NT, Acts of the Apostles 34:10]), illus. 1b – perhaps the publisher's device of the (unknown) person who commissioned it. I have never seen it elsewhere. At the end of the Index there is a fairly large arabesque tailpiece (illus. 1c) and the foreword opens with an ornamental D.

As we know, woodcut initials, provided they are completely identical, are a highly reliable means of identifying anonymous printed work. The aforesaid block now makes it possible to attribute another book to our printer: a miniature edition of *Dat Nieuwe Testament* (H 9) which has this very same D as its only ornament. The typeface is the aforesaid Minion T 50, while the title-page is decorated with a duplicate of a cartouche (illus. 1d) which was used in 1563 for a New Testament from Jan Hendricksz' Mennonite printing-press in Franeker.⁴² Although the date 1577 is mentioned on the title-page we find the year 1578 at the end of the text and see that it is again repeated right at the end of the book.

PRINTER TO DIRCK VOLCKERTSZ COORNHERT

That we are here indeed dealing with a hitherto unknown émigré Dutch printer seems to be confirmed by a slightly earlier work in which we again encounter the three above-mentioned typefaces. The title is *Schyndeucht der secten, met haren verwerde twisticheden [...]* uut Overlandtsche sprake getranslateert door E.U. (s.l.e.n. 1575), H 3. Despite what would seem to be a deliberately misleading piece of information, the tract has always been ascribed to Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert. Presenting himself as an 'onpartijdige' (unsectarian) Catholic, the author expresses his highly independent views in conversations with a Calvinist, a Lutheran and an Anabaptist. With a temporary interruption, Coornhert had been living in exile in Xanten⁴³ since 1572 and it was obvious that he should seek a publisher for his works in the vicinity. That this tract should have appeared in Homberg, at a few hours' walk, can only support his authorship.

⁴¹ This edition is mentioned in [M. Schagen], *Naamlyst der Doopsgezinde schryveren en schriften* [1539-1745] (Amsterdam 1745), p. 50. A copy was owned by I. Le Long (Bibliotheca selectissima (1744), # Oct. 580) and by Gerardus Maatschoen (Amsterdam auction 1752, # Duod. 257).

⁴² For the reproduction of the original border of Jan Hendricksz, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 8: 'Een onbekende Doperse drukkerij'), illus. 2a and 2b.

⁴³ For Coornhert's exile in the Rhineland, see H. Bonger, *Leven en werk van Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert* (Amsterdam 1978), pp. 70 ff.

Now that we have encountered a work by Coornhert among Gevardus' publications we can expect other writings from the period of his exile to have been printed by Gevardus, too. In *Van de toelatinghe ende decreete Godes* of 1572 (W 3, illus. 2), the first work by Coornhert to be published in his own name, we also see both Granjon's 'Cicero currens' with the added k and the Minion T 50. This shows that Coornhert had already found the printer in Wesel – even if the title-page gives another place of publication. For we there have the imprint 'Ghedruct tot Altena ...', an allusion which has placed bibliographers before a hitherto unsolved problem. Neither in Holland nor in Germany is Altena known as a town where anything was printed in the sixteenth century. It now emerges that it was a fake address.

There was a reason for this use of camouflage, since this was a work which strongly opposed the doctrine of predestination of John Calvin and his disciple, the French Protestant theologian Theodore Beza. The polemical nature of the tract could have caused trouble both for the author and the printer. The use of an alibi was thus an obvious solution and, in view of Coornhert's love of puzzles and puns, the choice of 'Altena' is hardly surprising. Apart from the literal meaning of the word in Dutch: 'al te na' ('all too near'), it was the name of one of the two fortresses built by Duke Charles of Gelderland on the IJssel opposite Deventer in 1521 in order to keep the area under control. Seven years later they were stormed and laid waste by the inhabitants of the town – a feat of arms about which Coornhert would undoubtedly have heard in the course of his repeated visits to Deventer.⁴⁴

Besides *Schyndeucht* which has already been mentioned, two other books by Coornhert appeared in 1575. One was his tract *Vande bejaerden doope* (H 4), which has a foreword set in Granjon's Italic. This, too, must have been printed by Gevardus, although the title-page bears a copy of the printer's device 'Siet de Leeuw' ('Behold the Lion'), which was used by the publisher Jan Canin, who had settled in Dordrecht after his Wesel period (illus. 1e). What the 'loan' of this device implies is not clear, but as far as we know it remained a single infraction of the unwritten rules of equity among colleagues.

Apart from the date we only know the title of another publication by Coornhert in 1575: *Veelderhande geestelicke liedekens* (H 5).⁴⁵ This short title is taken from a catalogue of the famous collection of plays belonging to Johan van der Marck which

⁴⁴ M.M. Doornink-Hoogenraad, 'Altena en Morgenster', *Overijsselse Historische Bijdragen*, 93 (1978), pp. 53-8. – Coornhert knew Deventer well. Already in 1544 he was a close friend of Hendrick van Marckel, a merchant who served as burgomaster of the town on several occasions. He stayed with him repeatedly and dedicated to him his *Lydens troost* in 1567.

⁴⁵ See G. Stuiveling, *Rekenschap*, 2nd edn. (Amsterdam 1947), pp. 7-35: 'Coornhert en zijn Lied-boeck', esp. pp. 18-20.

was auctioned in Leiden in 1774.⁴⁶ The book was there bound together with six other works by Coornhert in a volume which has unfortunately disappeared without trace. We cannot therefore establish whether Gevarudus was the printer in this case too, since the author changed publishers in that very year. His *Abrahams uutganc*, a verse play which he published anonymously, bears the imprint of a second Dutch printer in the German border area, Der(i)ck [Wylicx] van Santen. This man was originally based in Deventer as a binder and book dealer but emigrated to Rees in 1575. He started a publishing firm there of mainly popular reprints which, judging from the rapid growth of his stock, was highly successful. Coornhert was apparently soon in touch with him. It is impossible to establish whether, as in other cases, he was also involved in the printer's move to Rees, but, in view of his repeated visits to Deventer, this seems possible.

What is important for our investigation is the fact that *Vande bejaerden doope* enables us to ascribe other books to our printer. It contains an initial D – different from the block we encountered earlier – which belongs to a calligraphic alphabet used in various publications of the press. The first book which we can attribute to the stock on the basis of this ornamental letter is a reprint of *De Bienkorf der heyliger Roomscher Kercke* (s.l.e.n. 1572), W 4. Although it assumes the form of a defence of the Church of Rome, it is in fact a violent attack on the curia and the entire ecclesiastical system. The author, Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde ('Marnix'), a young nobleman who published his book, full of Rabelaisian mockery, under the pseudonym Isaac Rabbotenu, was soon to play an important role in the Dutch Revolt, first as the closest collaborator of William of Orange and later in the leadership of the liberated Netherlands.

The original edition of Marnix' book (illus. 5b) had been published in Emden shortly before, at the end of 1569.⁴⁷ A part of the edition was lost, however, when,

⁴⁶ *Catalogus librorum* [...] *Wijders* [...] *een volledig kabinet van tooneelspellen* [...] *nagelaeten door* [...] *Johan van der Marck*, AE.z. (Leiden 1774), second catalogue, no. 209 (read 909).

⁴⁷ Although Marnix is known to have completed his book in Emden and although it has always been assumed that the work was also printed there, nobody has yet been able to prove who the publisher was. The large calligraphic initials cannot be found in any signed Emden publication, while the typefaces are too common to give a decisive answer. In the meantime, however, a second publication has come to light which contains initials from the same alphabet: an anonymous reprint dating from 1569 of *De verantwoordinge des Princen van Orangien*, the original edition of which appeared in Cologne in the previous year. See W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978), vol. 2, no. 160a. Besides a number of the same ornamental letters, this reprint contains an arabesque S familiar to us from both the Bible and the New Testament of Nicolaes Biestkens van Diest in Groessen. In view of the fact that, after his death in 1562, the inventory of that press was taken over by Gailliart (we regularly come across the arabesque initials in his printed work), the problem seems to me to be solved: *De Bienkorf* was published by Willem Gailliart, with initials he seems to have reserved for

in the summer of 1570, the inquisitor Wilhelmus Lindanus managed to confiscate a dispatch of several hundred copies (probably destined for Antwerp) in the village of Well on the Meuse and had them solemnly burnt.⁴⁸ Because of this loss – and the immense popularity of the book – there was an urgent need for a reprint which could naturally only be produced out of reach of the authorities in Brussels. The original publisher was unable to comply since the Emden magistracy, acting under Spanish pressure, had introduced the death penalty for clandestine publications. Only in 1574 had this measure lost so much of its force that another printer in the town, Goossen Goebens, dared to send the book to press once more.⁴⁹

In Homberg, Gevardus obviously had no cause to fear an intervention by the authorities. His anonymously published reprint contains not only the aforesaid initial D (used on various occasions) but also several other letters from the same set. We thus encounter the E, the I, the N and the T of this calligraphic alphabet (see illus. 3). It also emerges from the typography of the book that the printer had a number of German founts at his disposal: a large Canon (240 mm), a Tertia Fraktur (150 mm) and two Schwabacher typefaces: one on a body of 94 mm and a smaller one on a body of 74 mm for twenty lines. On the title-page use is again made of the Minion Textura.⁵⁰ Yet another ornamental letter from the set, the M, appears in a previously mentioned book by Coornhert, his *Van de toelatinghe ende decreete Godes* (W 3).

A SENSATIONAL BOOK

The N, together with the G, are to be found in an unexpected place – in a book which has on its title-page ‘Gedruckt tot Delft. Anno 1576’. Does this mean that we are on the wrong track? Such an imprint would suggest that we were – albeit wrongly.⁵¹ The ‘Delft’ is misleading. All the typefaces in the book correspond to

more dangerous works.

⁴⁸ The report appears in A. Havensius, *Commentarius de erectione novorum in Belgio episcopatum* (Cologne 1609), p. 114; see P.T. van Beuningen, *Wilhelmus Lindanus als inquisiteur en bisschop. Bijdrage tot zijn biografie (1525-1576)* (Assen 1966), pp. 203, 295.

⁴⁹ Two years later, in 1576, the work also appeared in German; cf. *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts* ..., 22 vols. (Stuttgart 1983-95), hereafter cited as VD, vol. 13, no. M 1045). Bernhard Jobin in Strasburg then issued a large series of editions of a new translation by Johann Fischart. VD 16, vol. 13, nos. M 1046-56, mentions no less than eleven such editions before 1600. There also appeared various translations into French and English, so we are entitled to speak of an international Protestant bestseller.

⁵⁰ The title-page is reproduced in *Marnix van Sinte Aldegonde, Officieel gedenkboek* (Brussel/Amsterdam 1939), p. 74.

⁵¹ Delft was presumably chosen as a fake address since another reprint of the work had appeared there slightly earlier, also in 1576. – Copies in: Amsterdam, UL; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek

the ones we have encountered in work by Gevardus, including the Minion on the title-page. That page is 'decorated' with a somewhat coarse woodcut of a friar in a bedchamber in the company of three scantily dressed females (illus. 4a).

This representation, in such contrast with the clerical state, announces the character of the book (H 7). It is a reprint of the *Historie* of Friar Cornelis Adriaensen of Dordrecht, a satirical work consisting mainly of the texts of a series of sermons. These were supposedly delivered in public between 1566 and 1568 by the main protagonist, the Franciscan Cornelis Adriaensz Brouwer, the guardian of a convent in Bruges. They were recorded, however, by an anonymous opponent who was not only determined to reproduce the outspoken language of the popular preacher as colourfully as possible, but also felt himself called upon to expatiate on his other practices. He thus accused him of 'secret penances', the physical chastigation of female penitents. How far the frank report of these matters actually corresponded to historical reality has long been a subject of sometimes violent controversy.⁵² The same uncertainty also existed until recently about the place of the book's origin. We now know that the earliest edition was published in 1569, the same year as the *Bienkorf*, by Antonis de Solem(p)ne, an emigrant from the southern Netherlands who had opened a printing shop in the English city of Norwich in the previous year. The technical expert there was Albert Christiaensz, who had worked for a year in Vianen as printer for the Dutch Revolt and later acted as a compositor in Sedan and Emden.⁵³

This edition of the *Historie van B. Cornelis* was the first of a series which ran into the early eighteenth century. The religious situation and the individual relationships in Bruges prompted the conclusion that the book was written as the result of a controversy among Catholics in that town. Now that we know that it was produced by a highly Protestant press in England, however, this assumption seems unlikely and the author must be sought elsewhere. Whoever he was, the book with its remarkable details soon became a bestseller in the Protestant northern Netherlands, where it played an informal but, as we can see from the many reprints, a not unimportant part as a means of propaganda against the Catholic Church. It was

(DSB); Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR). That edition has no imprint, but the typeface shows that it was published by the Delft printer Albrecht Hendricksz (previous attributions to Bruges and Norwich are incorrect). Gevardus must certainly have known where this rival edition came from.

⁵² For a list of the extensive literature on the subject, see B. de Troeyer, *Bio-bibliographia Franciscana Neerlandica saeculi XVI*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1969-70), vol. I, p. 278. A later publication is K. Bos-toen, 'Broer Cornelis en zijn historie: een politieke satire', *Literatuur*, I (1985), pp. 254-61.

⁵³ For his activity in Norwich and the production of the press there, see P. Valkema Blouw, 'Albert Christiaensz, a printer in four countries (1565-70): Vianen, Sedan, Emden, Norwich', *Quaerendo*, 26 (1996), pp. 3-36 (pp. 23 ff.).

also in the same circle, in Leiden in 1578, that a sequel was issued with the imprint 'Buyten Noirdwitz' (Outside Norwich) – a feature which suggests that the anonymous publisher knew where the first part had originally been issued.⁵⁴

Gevardus, too, must have known this since he used the same most unusual address for one of his own publications: *Eene wonderlicke Prophetie ende ghesicht* (W 6), 'Ghedrukt buyten Noorwits' in 1573 – a work based on a vision seen in 1351 and recorded by 'Henrich Susa [sic]' in his 'Horologium Sapientiae'. In actual fact we here have a satirical pamphlet dealing with the current political situation in the Netherlands. In the vision represented on the woodcut title-page, the Duke of Alva is depicted as a ram with two horns and a train of seventy crowned foxes. One of the horns symbolizes the secular rule in the Netherlands which is oppressing and impoverishing the inhabitants; the other represents the ecclesiastical hierarchy which supports the government by submitting the population to the iron rules of the Inquisition. The seventy foxes are the States General: the local nobility, the authorities and the rich businessmen who collaborate with the system and help it to survive.⁵⁵ The typefaces show that Gevardus was the printer.⁵⁶

OTHER PUBLICATIONS BY NICOLAES GEVAERTS

At the beginning of his career as a publisher, Gevardus also used another fake address. He obviously then only had at his disposal the four German typefaces we have already mentioned and printed with them *Die warachtige beschrijvinghe vant ver-raedt in Enghelandt*, 'Ghedrukt tot Londen, by Jan Daye' (s.a.), W 2 (illus. 4b).⁵⁷ This newsletter is about events which occurred in October 1571 and must therefore have appeared shortly afterwards. The London printer John Day mentioned on the title-

⁵⁴ A typographical analysis shows that the printer was Willem Silvius in Leiden and not, as was formerly assumed, Antoine de Solemne in Norwich. We thus have a curious case of the (previously unknown) publisher of the original first part mistakenly being regarded as the printer of the sequel (STC 151), while the true publisher was regarded for a while, just as wrongly, as the printer of the original work (by B.A. Vermaseren in *De Gulden Passer*, 36 (1958), pp. 100 ff.). For these attributions see the article quoted in the previous note. [STC: *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640*, eds. A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave, 3 vols. (London 1926; 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, London 1986-91). *Eds.*]

⁵⁵ The image of foxes as (all too) able custodians of their own interests had been current for some time. See M.E. Kronenberg, 'De loose vossen der werelt (Brussel 1517)', *Het Boek*, 14 (1925), pp. 321-33, in connection with a translation of Jean Bouchet's *Les Regnards*.

⁵⁶ We thus find Granjon's 'Cicero currens' together with Gevardus' 68 mm Roman and other types from his inventory, as well as the S-shaped stamps so characteristic of his work.

⁵⁷ L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. (s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. I, no. 157.

page was the publisher of the English original. Besides the typefaces the initial D, which we have already encountered in Coornhert's *Vande bejaerden doope* and in Marnix' *Bienkorf*, indicates Gevardus as the printer. On the title-page, furthermore, we find an ornament which we have not yet come across in his work. It is a probably metal arabesque vignette, replicas of which were used by numerous printers, especially in Germany and the neighbouring countries. Although some copies were also in use in the Netherlands, they nearly all display sufficient differences in the details for it to be possible to distinguish them from each other. This also applies to Gevardus' vignette, which provides us with a new means of recognizing his work.⁵⁸

We also come across the ornament on the title-page of another publication from this period, this time with an explicit mention of the date: 'Gedrucket Anno 1571'. With the title *Waerhaftige Supplicatie, ofte Requeste* (W 1), the text gives the translation of a supplication submitted to Emperor Maximilian II by the Lutheran princes on the Reichstag in Speyer in December 1570, urging him to provide the oppressed Netherlands with assistance.⁵⁹ We here again see the four German typefaces with which Gevaerts started and which thus confirm the attribution. Another pamphlet on which the vignette appears is the *Waerachtige nieuwe tijdinge wat hem met den edelen Grave Lodewijck verlopen heeft binnen Bergen* (W 5), a newsletter dated 1572 which describes the military operations leading to the fall of Mons. Here, too, the four German typefaces are used, although the largest of the two Schwabachers is only applied in certain headings.

We also find the four typefaces in a pamphlet produced for the revolt against the Spanish authorities: *Derthien Artijckelen, gheintituleert: het Advijs der Spaengiaerden op den teghenwoordighen staet vanden Nederlande* (W 8).⁶⁰ Together with a fierce rejoinder this publication gives the contents of a plan ascribed to Cardinal Granvelle to remove all independence from the Netherlands and to turn them into a bastion of Span-

⁵⁸ For a long time this vignette, together with many others of similar workmanship, was taken to be a woodcut. Here, however, we are dealing with a 'cliché' ornament, a metal cast in relief which was mounted on a wooden block in order to be placed between the lead of the type matter. In about 1560 a vast production of such ornaments developed in Germany. They found their way all over Europe; see, for example, E. Soltész, 'Buchschruck-Klischees in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 37 (1962), pp. 416-24, and the reproductions in L. Nielsen, *Boghistoriske Studier till dansk Bibliografi 1550-1600* (Kjøbenhavn 1923), Taf. IX, X. Plantin was the first printer in the Netherlands to use them; see G. Glorieux, 'Bandeaux et fleurons chez C. Plantin', *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini ca. 1520-1589*, eds. M. de Schepper & F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer*, 66-7; Antwerpen 1988/9), pp. 213-35. For the type of vignette used by Gevaerts, see, on page 216, F4A and F4B (the variants used by Plantin and Willem Silvius respectively).

⁵⁹ Knuttel, op. cit. (n. 47), no. 188.

⁶⁰ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), no. N 84; P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. Utrecht 1978), p. 38.

ish power in northern Europe – Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle was the adviser of Philip II of Spain in matters concerning the Low Countries. The authenticity of the work is not certain and was already questioned by contemporaries. It was probably a forgery intended to stimulate hatred of Spanish rule.

In connection with the subversive nature of the publication, it is interesting to note that the imprint runs: ‘Ghedruckt tot Tubinghen, by Ulrich Morhart, Anno 1568’. Assuming that the date is correct, this pamphlet – as far as we know the only Dutch work printed in the name of Ulrich [II] Morhart – was not published by him but by his widow. But is the imprint reliable? The four typefaces used here only correspond in part to what we know of Morhart’s press, but they are entirely identical to those of Gevardus. Since, as we saw, the latter was inclined to use fake addresses, it seems perfectly possible that this was the case here too. If this were so the date would also be dubious: the earliest works which Gevardus is known to have printed did not appear until 1571.

There is another publication by this press so far believed to have been printed in 1568: *Verklaringe ende uutschrift des [...] Prince van Oranien (s.l.a.n.)*, H 12. The manifesto did indeed appear in that year – in Cologne, printed by Godfried Hirtzhorn on the orders of Jacob van Wesenbeke, William of Orange’s agent for publicity and propaganda.⁶¹ This publication was soon followed by various anonymous reprints with the same date. Gevardus’ edition could date from his later period in Homberg: the text is set in Tavernier’s Dessendiaan or ‘Philosophie’ (VPT T 39), evidently a new acquisition for his inventory, and in Guyot’s Ascendonica Roman (VPT R 17) which is used for a number of first lines. The combination provides a typographical appearance very different from what we have so far seen of Gevardus’ work. But how can we be sure that it was issued by his press? This emerges from a large woodcut on the title-page which represents the arms of Prince William of Orange. For the same coarsely cut block is also used for *De waerachtige Geschiedenisse des Schipcrijchs ende het innemen der Stadt Middelborch [...]* (‘Ghedruckt tot Dordrecht, Anno 1574’), H 2 (illus. 5a), where we again find Granjon’s ‘Cicero currens’ together with Gevaerts’ small Schwabacher. This ‘Dordrecht’ is thus just as fictitious as the other addresses behind which our printer hid. The initial H with which the *Verklaringe* (H 11) begins would fit perfectly into his calligraphic alphabet, but that cannot be verified since we have not yet encountered the letter anywhere else.

Although we cannot attribute this publication to our printer (or his successor) with absolute certainty, he is so far the only man within our field who can be taken into consideration on the grounds of the typographical material used. The same applies to another publication, again in Latin verse: *In Helenae pontificiae, hoc est, trans-*

⁶¹ P. Valkema Blouw, ‘A Cologne printer working for William of Orange: Godfried Hirtzhorn jr., 1568-72’, *Quaerendo*, 25 (1995), pp. 12 f.

substantiationis esaviticum nuper a Francisco Agricola [...] editum patrociniū, carmen Leoninum (H 8). This publication, too, is furnished with a fake address: 'Leidae 1576'. In later years, when the liberal Leiden Academy had acquired an international reputation, 'Lugdunum Batavorum' became a popular fake address. 'Leidae' as such, however, appears seldom and this Latinization of the name is unusual outside Holland. But not only is the place of publication fictitious: so is the name of the author, Vincencius Verus. Nobody seems to know who is concealed by this pseudonym.⁶²

The attribution to the press rests once more on the typefaces used: Granjon's Italic for the main text, Gevardus' 68 mm Roman for the marginalia, and for the headings a set of Roman capitals which also appear in other work of his. Otherwise the book only has a particularly large, presumably wooden, capital as the first letter and the title-page is decorated with a frame composed of several hundred small stamps of a rare S-shaped model. These were used by Gevardus in the same year, also as an ornament, in the *Historie van B. Cornelis*. As long as a similar combination of typographical material does not come to light in the work of anyone else, we must regard him as the printer in this case as well.

Finally Werner Teschenmacher's manuscript 'Annales ecclesiasti Reformationis ecclesiarum Cliviae, Juliae, Montium' mentions a book printed by 'Nicolaus Gebhard in Homberg in der Grafschaft Mörs'.⁶³ The title is given as *Der Restitution oder Wiederbringung des rechten und wahrhaften Verstands der vornehmsten Articulen des Christliken Glaubens, Lehr und Lebens*, undoubtedly a reprint of *Eyne Restitution* by Bernhard Rothmann, the preacher and spokesman of the Anabaptists at the time of their short-lived kingdom in Münster. According to this report the edition consisted of 500 copies and was ordered by Caspar Dieterich, who, as Jacob Timans, was the secre-

⁶² The name does not appear in any of the usual works of reference for pseudonyms. Nor have I found the book itself mentioned anywhere. We may wonder whether the author was not Henricus Geldorp (born in Geldrop in 1522 or 1523). This Dutch humanist, who was banished from his country for religious reasons, was appointed rector of a new school in Duisburg in May 1559. After a quarrel with his praeceptor Molanus and Molanus' father-in-law, the geographer Mercator, he was dismissed in the autumn of 1561. He then founded a special school in the same town, which he moved to Homberg after 1573 and which still existed in 1578. He died in 1585 in Ruhrort, where he had been living for some years. On him, see H. Brugmans in *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, vol. 3 (Leiden 1914), cols. 449-51. Geldorp wrote a number of works. One of his best known is his *Apotheosis clariss. theologi D. Ruardi Tappart* published in Germany in 1559, a fierce satire directed against the Dutch inquisitor. The author calls himself Gratianus Verus, a pseudonym strikingly similar to the Vincentius Verus used here. Geldorp is also regarded as the author of *Belgicae liberandae ab Hispanis Hypodeixis* (Knüttel, op. cit. (n. 47), no. 189), which appeared in 1574 after having been printed (in Cologne) in 1571.

⁶³ For this report, see K.W. Bouterwek, 'Zur Wiedertäufer-Literatur', *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 1 (1863), pp. 313-14. The Teschenmacher manuscript is in DSB, Berlin, MSS. Boruss. qu. 21 fol.

tary of the militant sectarian Johan Willemsen. He had brought the reprinted book back from Münster at the time. Unfortunately this reprint can no longer be found among the surviving early editions.⁶⁴

Besides the imprint 'Ulrich Morhart', the name of a German colleague was again used for a later publication. *Prognosticatie van acht jaren, namelick vanden jare 1581 tot [...] 1588* (H 16) appeared in 1580. According to the title-page this prediction was the work of a certain Georgius Ursinus and was published by Johan Beck in Erfurt – but there is no evidence of the latter ever having printed in Dutch. The booklet contains a double quatrain which recurs in a publication of 1587 by Nicolaes' successor Peeter Gevaerts. In or around 1580 the press also issued various ephemera: the *Warachtige nieuwe Tijdinge* with the 'Absque labore nihil' printer's device (H 15) which has already been mentioned; *Een nieuw Tijdinge ende tsamensprekinge [...] op de stadt van Groeningen*, in verse (H 13); and finally *Een wonderlicke nieu Tydinge van het innemen der stadt van Nínhoven* (H 14), a broadside.

That various newsletters should have survived from around 1580 can, of course, be due to chance, but there is reason to think of another explanation. The external appearance of the printed matter seems to have changed completely. The Schwabacher types have been replaced by a Fraktur of 82 mm and this forms a somewhat strange combination with another acquisition, the originally French Textura (VPT T 12). We also see that a new arabesque tailpiece has been applied together with some other large calligraphic initials, also of apparently recent acquisition, white on a black field. These alterations, both in the selection and in the technical execution of the publications, point to changes in the firm and presumably to a different management. With the publication of newsletters and other pamphlet-like works the new man was obviously aiming at a broad readership.

This brings us to the question of how long Gevardus' career can have lasted. The earliest known product of his press is the aforesaid *Waerhaftige Supplicatie* of 1571 (W 1), and the last Tybius' *Annalium [...] libelli tres* of 1579 (H 10). The reprint of the *Verklaringe ende uutschrift* of William of Orange (H 12) gives no year of publication but must have appeared several years after the original date of 1568.

A YOUNGER MEMBER OF THE FAMILY: PE[E]TER GEVAERTS

The name of our printer no longer appears after 1579; none of the publications dated in about 1580 have an imprint. But this did not mean that the firm's activity

⁶⁴ Cf. B. Haller, 'Bernhard Rothmanns gedruckte Schriften. Ein Bestandsverzeichnis', *Jahrbuch für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte*, 78 (1985), pp. 83-102 (nos. VIIla and b, pp. 94 ff.). C. Borchling & B. Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*, vols. 1-3 (Neumünster 1931-57; repr. Nieuwkoop 1976), then reported the existence of a copy in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

had come to an end. In 1587 there appeared, 'ghedruckt tot Woerden, By my Peeter Gebhaerts', *Sommighe oude ende nieuwe prognosticationen for the years 1588 to 1600*.⁶⁵ The booklet is entirely set in German typefaces, as is a publication produced by the press in 1588: *Het Christendom, oft die puncten der Godtsalicheyt*, by the well-known preacher Joannes Ligarius, former leader of the Lutheran congregation in Woerden.⁶⁶ The printer now calls himself Peeter Gevaerts on the title-page and that was also the name which appeared in his marriage banns in Amsterdam in 1602. On that occasion he said that he was fifty years old, a widower and that he came from Antwerp.⁶⁷

We can thus assume that after the completion of Tybius' work in verse in 1579, the firm passed into the hands of a successor, a member of the family who followed a policy of his own in the composition of his stock. As C.P. Burger, Jr. has already observed, the books printed by Peeter Gevaerts are virtually the only source for our knowledge of his existence.⁶⁸ It seems likely that he was a son who initially lived, or had lived, in Germany. This is suggested not only by one of the two forms of his surname which he used after settling in Woerden (Gebhaerts, besides Gevaerts) or by his membership of the Lutheran Church, an altogether exceptional phenomenon in the Dutch book world.⁶⁹ An equally significant indication is the fact that he printed the works he issued in Woerden almost exclusively with German types. This differentiates him from all his colleagues in those years, none of whom ever used a Fractura or a Schwabacher for a work in Dutch. But Gevaerts junior could obviously not do otherwise since he did not own any other typefaces. Only later, in Amsterdam, did he go over to types current in Holland.

Two of the pamphlets which the press issued between about 1580 and 1587 have survived and neither has been described hitherto. In, or shortly after, 1583 there appeared a *Corte verclaringe ghedaen by borghemeesteren [...] van Antwerpen, nopende den aenslach tegen deselve stadt*,⁷⁰ a reprint, as is stated in the title, of an Antwerp municipal publi-

⁶⁵ E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr., *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam/'s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 4, p. 298, no. 673. — This contains a double quatrain that has been taken directly from Ursinus' *Prognosticatie* (H 16); see *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondé par F. van der Haegen. Réédité sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 5 vols. (Bruxelles 1964), hereafter cited as *BB*, vol. 5, p. 400, no. U 3.

⁶⁶ Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 65), vol. 4, p. 299, no. 674.

⁶⁷ M.M. Kleerkooper & W.P. van Stockum Jr., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw. Biographische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen*, 2 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1914-16), vol. 2, p. 235; Briels, op. cit. (n. 21), p. 285.

⁶⁸ Moes & Burger, op. cit. (n. 65), vol. 4, p. 309.

⁶⁹ In 1609 he was still a member of the Lutheran congregation in Amsterdam after an apparently temporary switch-over to the Reformed congregation. See Briels op. cit. (n. 21), p. 315.

⁷⁰ *Corte verclaringe, ghedaen bij borghemeesteren, schepenen ende raedt der stadt van Antwerpen, nopende den aenslagh*

cation published by Plantin. On the title-page we again find the coarsely cut arms of the Prince of Orange, which, together with the German typefaces, shows that we are here dealing with a product of our press. A reprint of the *Articulen ende conditien* of the surrender of Antwerp in 1585 appeared at about that time.⁷¹ That event aroused so much interest even in the northern Netherlands that at least six different reprints of the report were issued. The great concern is understandable, for the fall of Antwerp had vast political and economic consequences and led to a definite separation between the northern and the southern Netherlands. The title-page of Gevaerts' edition bears a woodcut intended to show the arms of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, governor of the Netherlands (1578-92) under Philip II of Spain - executed just as coarsely as those of William of Orange and presumably by the same hand, possibly by the printer himself.

As we have already observed there is every reason to attribute these publications which appeared between 1580 and 1585 to Nicolaes' successor, Pe(e)ter Gevaerts. In contrast to the previous publications, they are all of an ephemeral nature, printed in quarto or, on one occasion, as a single leaf, and not too much care is paid to their execution. In this they correspond to the work he is later known to have printed in Amsterdam. But where was he based in these years? There is a gap in our knowledge of his whereabouts between Homberg in 1579 and Woerden in 1587 which cannot be filled either by historical or by bibliographical means. With the help of typefaces, initials and other ornaments it may be possible to reconstruct, and eventually to date, the production of a press in so far as it survives. Sometimes, on the basis of individual characteristics of the composition, we can even deduce which printer was actually at work. But it is not possible by way of an exclusively bibliographical analysis to establish where a particular printing shop was based: only a documentary source can provide that information.

The later history of the firm falls outside the scope of this article. Peeter's career was one of setbacks and recoveries; he settled twice in Amsterdam but seems to have lived also in Gouda and again in Woerden. In so far as the surviving printed work made it possible these activities have been described by Dr Burger. But even this eminent connoisseur of the Dutch book was, as he himself had to admit, unable to provide a clear picture of his life and his firm. Too much information is lacking.

tegen de selve stadt aenghericht den 17 deser maent Januarij 1583 stylo novo [...] Na die rechte copye [...] tot Antwerpen [...] by Christoffel Plantijn [...] 1583 (s.l.a.n. [Woerden?, Peeter Gevaerts, 1583♣], 4to).
 – Copy: The Hague, KB.

⁷¹ *Articulen ende conditien van den tractate [...] ghesloten tusschen de [...] Prince van Parma [...] inden name vande Co. Ma^t. van Spaengnien [...] ende de stadt van Antwerpen [...] den 17. Aug. 1583.* ('Ghedrukt tHantwerpen', s.n., 1585 [= Woerden?, Peeter Gevaerts, 1585♣], 4to). – Copy: Amsterdam, UL. – An edition with the same imprint, but with the spelling 'gesloten', had appeared previously in Antwerp [published by Mattheus de Rissche]. For a description of the title see Van Someren (n. 27), no. III

The same applies to Peeter's predecessor: a large part of his existence escapes us. Yet, in what has been said, it has been possible to catch a glimpse of the activities of one of the few printing shops which were still working for the market of the northern Netherlands in the early 1570s. It was a difficult time for publishers and printers in that area. The circumstances attending the war brought about an economic recession which seriously affected the local book trade. That also applied to the important export trade which Wesel, and above all Emden, had built up in the two previous decades. Threatened by the advance of the initially successful Spanish army, the authorities of these towns found themselves obliged to introduce such a strict censorship that it was almost impossible to continue the Dutch-language production of Protestant works and Bibles. For the printers concerned this meant the end of a heyday. Thereafter only a few of them managed to survive by seeking a market in their own region. Nicolaes Gevaerts, too, was a victim of this repression in Wesel. In Homberg, however, where there was no danger of Spanish intervention, he discovered opportunities of which he made good use in his brief career as an independent publisher. We probably only know a part of what he printed. Only a single copy survives of most of his publications and, in view of their rarity, we can assume that others have been completely lost. Produced outside the more important centres of the book trade, the editions are unlikely to have been large. But his work for Coornhert alone entitles Gevaerts to be mentioned among the Dutch printers who committed themselves to freedom of expression. He does not deserve to be entirely forgotten.

APPENDIX

List of editions printed by Nicolaes Gevaerts

References:

BB — *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondé par F. van der Haegen. Ré-édité sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 5 vols. (Bruxelles 1964).

Boekenooogen — J.G. Boekenooogen, *Catalogus der werken over de Doopsgezinden en hunne geschiedenis, aanwezig in de bibliotheek der Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam 1919).

BT — *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94).

Graesse — J.G.T. Graesse, *Thrésor de livres rares et précieux ou Nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*, vol. 7: *Supplément* (Dresde, [etc.], 1869).

Heijting — W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica, 27; Nieuwkoop 1989).

H & M — C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985).

Kn — W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1889; repr. Utrecht 1978).

Mach — J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979).

Mennenöh — P.J. Mennenöh, *Duisburg in der Geschichte des niederrheinischen Buchdrucks und Buchhandels bis zum Ende der alten Duisburger Universität (1818)* (Duisburg 1970).

Petit — L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit te Leiden*, 4 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1882-1934), vol. I.

Someren — J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht niet voorkomend in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22).

In Wesel:

W 1. Waerhaftige SUPPLICATIE, ofte Requeste den alderdoorluchtichsten [...] Maximiliano [...] Keyser vanden Romeynen etc. [...] by die Chürvorsten, Vorsten, Stenden, unde Verwanten der Augsburgscher Confession [...] tot Speyr opten Rijcxdach overgegeven den 9en dach Decembris im Jaer 1570. (*s.l.e.n.* [Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts], Gedrucket Anno 1571. 8vo).

Kn 188. – Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB).

W 2. Die warachtige BESCHRIJVINGHE vant verraedt in Enghelandt [in October 1571] (Ghedruckt tot Londen, by Jan Daye, *s.a.* [= Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts, 1571♣]. 8vo).

Petit 157. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

W 3. Dirck Volckertsz COORNHERT, Van de Toelatinghe ende Decrete Godes bedenckinghe of de heylighe Schrift ooc in hout sulcx als Meesters Johan Calvijn ende Theodore Besa daer van leeren [...] (Ghedruckt tot Altena, *s.n.* [= Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts], 1572. 8vo).

BB C 108; Mach C 646. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x); Ghent, UL (2x); Gouda, Librije; Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek (SB); Leiden, UL; Utrecht, UL.

W 4. [Philips van MARNIX van Sint Aldegonde], De Bienkorf der heyliger Roomscher Kercke [...] Ghemaect [...] van Isaac Rabbotenu van Loven [...]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts], ghedruckt Anno 1572. 8vo).

Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, Godsdiensdige en kerklijke geschriften. [...] uitgeg. [...] door J.J. van Toorenenbergen, 3 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1871-91), vol. 3, pp. 97 f.

Copies: Amsterdam, UL; Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR); Groningen, UL; The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

W 5. Waerachtige nieuwe TIDINGE wat hem met den Edelen Grave Lodewijck verlopen heeft binnen Bergen, van den 24. Mayus tot in Julio in desen teghenwoordigen Jare 1572. Oock mede twarachtich verhael des slachs geschiet in Julio ... (*s.l.e.n.* [Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts], ghedruckt int Jaer 1572. 4to).

Copy: The Hague, KB.

W 6. Eene wonderlicke PROPHETIE ende ghesicht, dienende op desen teghenwoordigen tijdt, ende nochtans gemaect anno 1351 door Henrich Susa, van eenen Ram met twee Hoornen, ende met 70 Vossen die hem aenhinghen, hoe die gheregeert ende tonderghebracht zijn [...] uut een latijnsch boecxken genaemt: *Horologium Sapientiae*, verduytschet [...]. ('Ghedruckt buyten Noorwits', *s.n.* [= Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts], 1573. 4to).

Graesse, p. 450. – Copy: Private property Holland.

W 7. De PSALMEN Davids ende ander Lofsanghen, uut den Francoyschen dichte in Nederlandtschen overghesettet, door Petrum Dathenum. Midtsgaders den Christelicken Catechismo, Ceremonien ende ghebeden. (*s.l.e.n.* [Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts], ghedruckt Anno 1573. 12mo).

H & M, p. 30 (Dath. 1573 b) with illus. 4; Heijting B 12.31, with illus.. – Copy: Brussels, KBR.

W 8. Derthien ARTIJCKELEN, gheintituleert: Het Advijs der Spaengiaerden, op den teghenwoordighen staet vanden Nederlande. Gecomposeert ofte gefingeert door den Cardinael Grandvelle [...] Daerna hebby de Refutacien [...] der voorseyder Artijckelen [...]. (Ghedruckt tot Tubinghen, by Ulrich Morhart, Anno 1568 [= Wesel, Nicolaes Gevaerts, c.1573?]. 8vo).

Mach N 84. – Copies: Amsterdam, Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences (KA); Ghent, UL.

In Homberg:

H 1. DAVIDS PSALMEN ende ander Lofsangen. Uut den Francoyschen Dichte in Nederlandtschen overghesettet [...] door Petrum Dathenum. Midtsgaders den Christelicken Catechismo, Ceremonien ende Ghebeden. Nu wederom van nieus oversien, ghecorrigeert ende verbeteret. (*s.l.* [Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts], ghedruct Anno 1574. 12mo).

H & M, p. 33 (Dath. 1574 b); Heijting B 12.34, with 2 reproductions – Copy: Ghent, UL.

H 2. De waerachtige GESCHIEDENISSE des Schipcrijchs ende het innemen der Stadt Middelborch geschiet in Zeelandt. (Ghedruckt tot Dordrecht, Anno 1574. [= Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts, 1574♣]. 8vo.)

Someren 61. – Copy: Utrecht, UL.

H 3. [Dirck Volckertsz COORNHERT], Schyndeucht der Secten, met haren verwerde twisticheden om de Ceremonien ende anders; In acht gesproken naecktelick ontdeckt, Door een Liefhebber der waerheyt [...] ende uut Overlandtsche sprake getranslateert door E.U., [fict.]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts], ghedruckt Anno 1575. 8vo).

BB C 102. – Copy: Amsterdam, UL.

H 4. Dierick Volckherts COORNHERT, Vande bejaerden Doope. Corte ende getrouwe waerschouwinghe aen allen Aenhangen der selver, vrundtlick gheschre-

ven. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts], gedrukt Anno 1575. 8vo).

BB C 138. – Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library).

H 5. Dirck Volckertsz COORNHERT, [Veelderhande geestelicke Liedekens]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg?, Nicolaes Gevaerts?], 1575).

– No copy known; see notes 43 and 44.

H 6. HANTBOECXKEN, ofte: Concordancie. Dat is, De ghelijckluydende plaetsen der Heyliger Schrift byeenvergadert. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts], 1576. 16mo).

Boekenooogen, p. 212. – Copy: Amsterdam, UL (Mennonite Library).

H 7. HISTORIE van B. Cornelis Adriaensen van Dordrecht, Minrebroeder binnen Brugghe. Inde welcke warachtelick verhaelt wert de Discipline ende secrete Penitentie oft Geesselinghe die hy gebruyckte [...] veel wonderlicke Sermoonen die hy te Brugge gepredickt heeft [... etc.]. (Gedrukt tot Delft, *s.n.* [= Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts], 1576. 8vo).

Mach C 692. – Copies: Dordrecht, Municipal Archives; Ghent, UL; The Hague, KB.

H 8. Vincentius VERUS [pseud.?], In Helenae pontificiae, hoc est, transsubstantiationis esaviticum nuper a Francisco Agricola, alias Georgaeo editum patrocinium, carmen Leoninum. (Leidae *s.n.* [= Homberg?, Nicolaes Gevaerts?] 1576. 4to).

Copy: Utrecht, UL.

H 9. Dat Nieuwe TESTAMENT ons liefs Heeren Jesu Christi [...]. Gedrukt na de Cope van Nicolaes Biestkens. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts], 1577 [at the end: 'Ghedrukt in het Jaer 1578']). 16mo).

Catalogus der Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden, 3 vols. (Leiden 1887-9), vol. I, col. 594.

Copy: Leiden, UL.

H 10. Johannes TYBIUS, Annalium sive antiquitatum veteris Duisburgi libelli tres. (Hombergae ad Rhenum, Nicolaus Gevardus, 1579 Sept. 4to).

Mennenöh p. 42. – Copy: Köln (Cologne), UL.

H 11. [Bernhard ROTHMANN, Eyne Restitution edder Eine wedderstellinge rechter unde gesunder Christliker leer, gelovens unde levens [...]. (Homberg, Nicolaes Gevaerts, *s.a.*, 1574?)].

No copy known; see n. 61.

H 12. VERKLARINGE ende uitschrift des Duerluchtighsten, Hoochgeborenen Vorsten [...] Willem Prince van Oranien ec/ [*sic*] ende zijner Excellentien noot-sakelicken defensie teghen den Duca De Alba, ende zijne grouwelijcke tyrannye. (*s.l.a.n.* [Homberg, Nicolaes (or Peter?) Gevaerts, 1574♣?, 1580?]. 4to).
BB G 55; Mach W 77. – Copy: Ghent, UL.

Pe(e)ter(?) Gevaerts

H 13. Een nieuw TIJDINGE ende tsamensprekinge, gemaect op de stadt van Groeningen, ende op die van Leeuwarden, waer in sy malcanderen haren noot ende toecomenden jammer claghen. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Pe(e)ter? Gevaerts, 1580]. 8vo).
BT 6402. – Copy: Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum (PMM).

H 14. Een wonderlicke nieu TYDINGE van het innemen der stadt van Nijmegen, ende de gevanckenisse vanden Grave van Egmont [...] den 29. sten Meerte Anno 1580. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Pe(e)ter? Gevaerts, 1580]. single leaf. f^o).
Petit 305. – Copy: Leiden, UL.

H 15. Warachtige nieuwe TIJDINGE ende schoone victorie [...] door den vromen Heere, Monsieur a Lonche [...] capiteyn voor den Prinche van Oraenien [...] opt faict ende innemen der stadt van Diest op den 9. Junii lestleden [...]. (*s.l.e.n.* [Homberg, Pe(e)ter? Gevaerts], 1580. 4to).
Someren 90. – Copy: Utrecht, UL.

H 16. Georgius URSINUS, Prognosticatie van acht jaren, namelick vanden jare 1581 tot datmen schrijven sal 1588. Daerinne grondelick ende gewisz aengeteeckent werdt, wat hem inde boven geroerde acht jaren begeven ende toedraghen sal [...]. (Ghedrukt tot Erffort, door Johan Beck [? = Homberg, Pe(e)ter? Gevaerts], int jaer 1580. 4to).
BB U 3; Kn 551; Petit 320. – Copies: The Hague, KB; Leiden, UL.

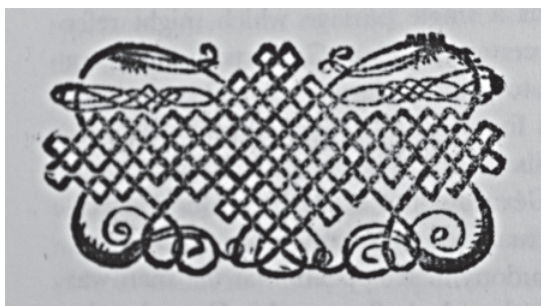
Illus. 1a



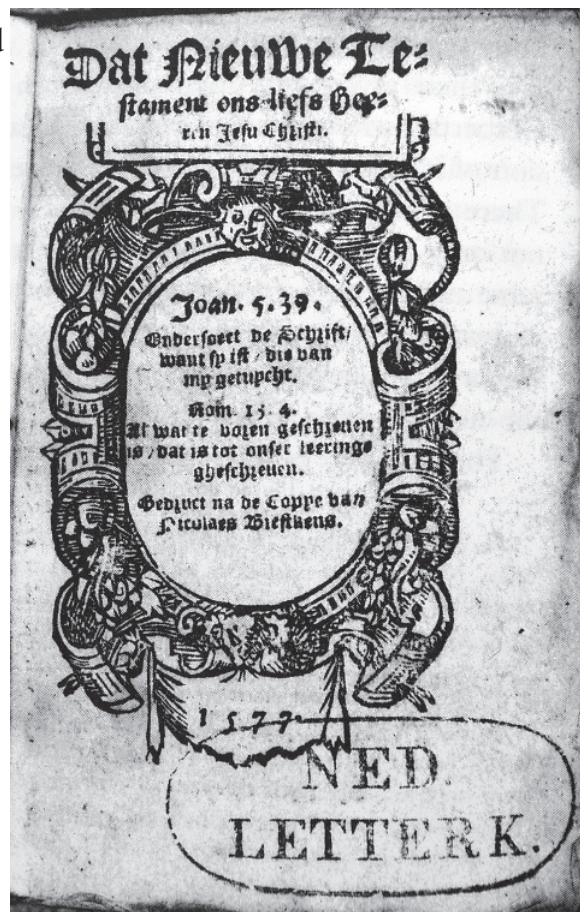
Illus. 1b



Illus. 1c

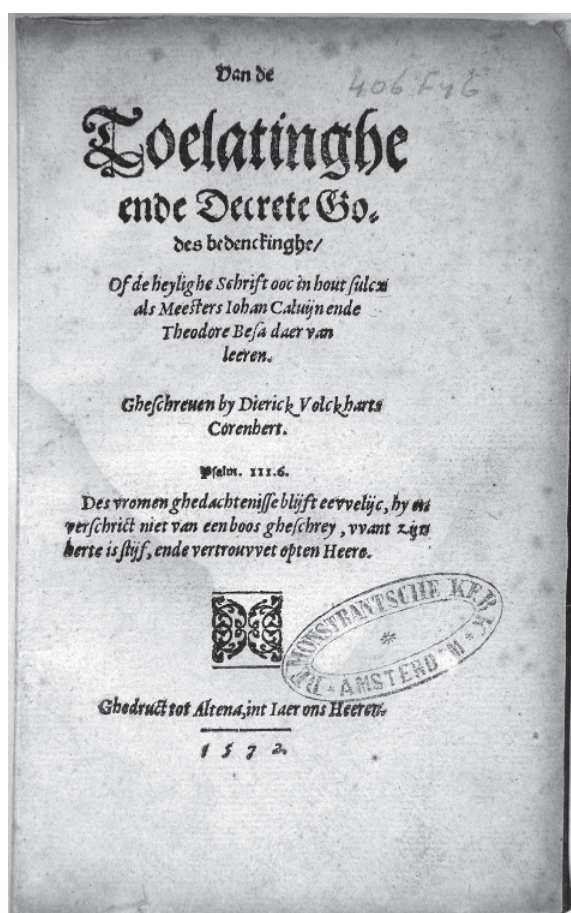


Illus. 1d

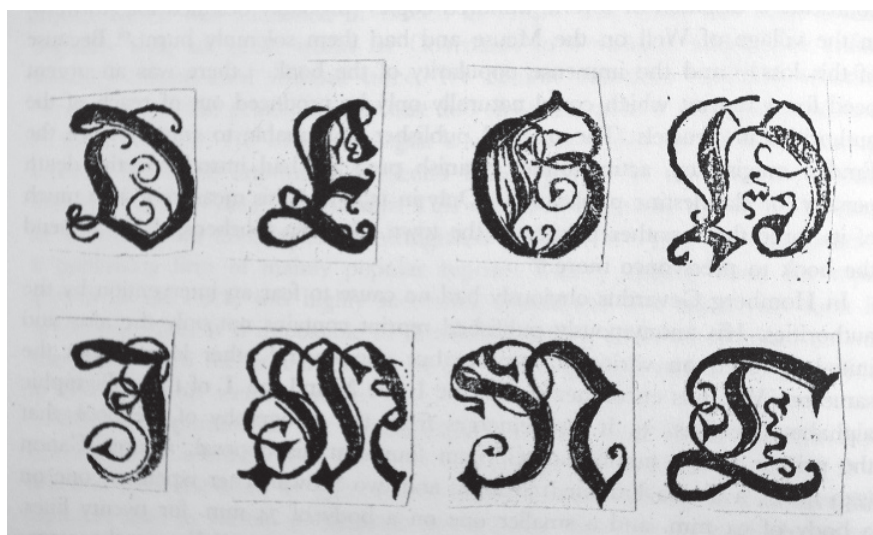


Illus. 1e





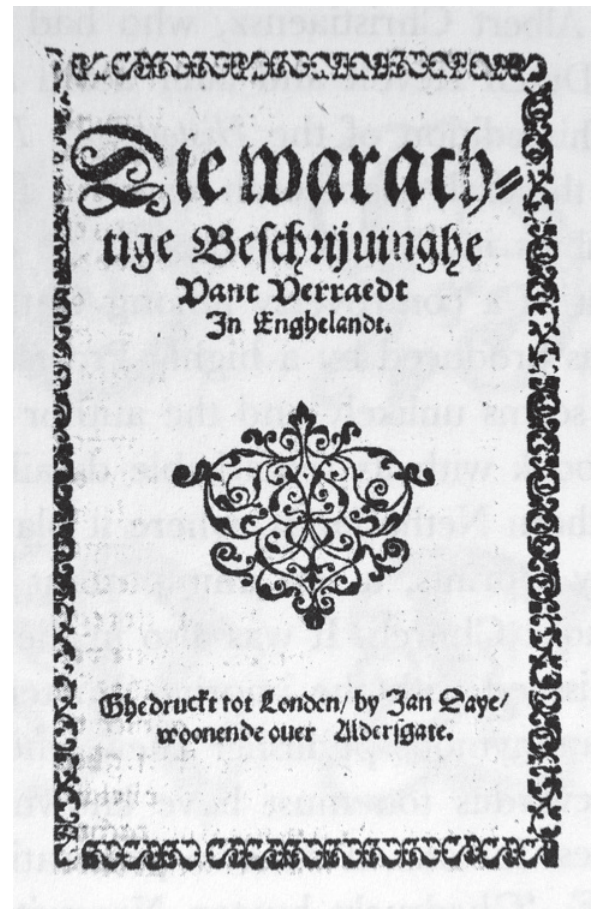
Illus. 2



Illus. 3



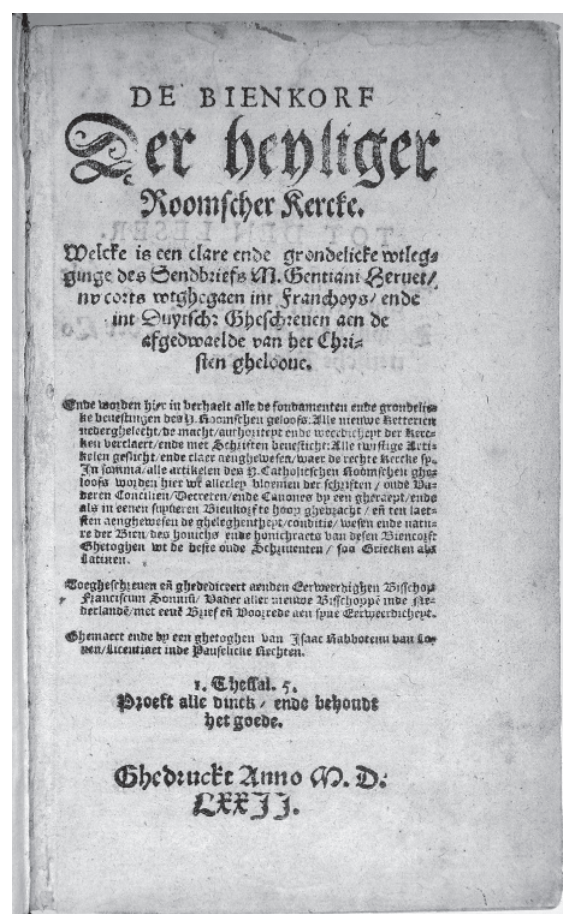
Illus. 4a



Illus. 4b



Illus. 5a



Illus. 5b

(All illustrations scanned from the original publication)

JAN CANIN IN WESEL,
AND IN EMMERICH?



In the spring of 1572, the conquest by the Sea-Beggars of Den Briel, at the time a fortified port on the isle of Voorne at the mouth of the river Meuse, to the southwest of Rotterdam, marked a turning point in what had hitherto been a singularly unsuccessful military campaign on the part of the rebellious Netherlands. Spanish rule had proved vulnerable from the sea and, after the defection of a number of towns in Holland and Zeeland, the first free meeting of the States could be held in Dordrecht in the same year. The recognition of William of Orange as stadtholder and his acceptance of the Protestant faith formed cohesive elements in the struggle for liberty.

In the same year the first printer for the States of Holland and Zeeland settled in Dordrecht. Although he had no official appointment, he produced a series of publications for the delegates until the removal of the meetings to Delft, where he was replaced by the widow of the printer-publisher Herman Schinckel who had been executed in 1567. Soon after she remarried with Albrecht Hendricksz, future printer to the States General, and in so doing established the foundations of a dynasty of printers for the government. To start with, however, it was Jan Canin (or Jean Caen) who printed for the States. He had settled in Dordrecht shortly after the defection of the town on 25 July 1572. As early as 29 June 1573 he was appointed elder of the local consistory.¹ His arrival probably coincided with that of two other southerners: the preacher Jan Lippius (Lippens) and David de Courcelles (Corse-lis), a 'French' schoolmaster. In his new residence Canin set up a publishing house specialized in Calvinist literature. It soon grew into the largest firm in that domain in the liberated Netherlands.

Canin did not come from the northern Netherlands, but was born in Ghent in about 1534. In 1565 he was a member of the consistory of Breda, probably in the capacity of deacon, together with Lippius and Robert Janssen de Lannoy, both of whom were also from the south. His profession was recorded as 'verrier', glazier, and he may have been admitted to that 'decorative' guild because of his trade as a

¹ J.G.C.A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1974), pp. 194-206, quotation a^a (p. 198).

bookbinder.² In Breda Canin had been involved in the iconoclastic riots of 1566. Consequently, on 17 August 1568, the Council of Troubles sentenced him to life-long banishment and the loss of his property.³ He had, however, made a timely escape and had moved with his family to Wesel where his third and fourth sons were born.⁴ But he could not remain long there either: he was ordered to leave the town on 18 January 1569, banished, together with the aforesaid David de Courcelles, for having printed a suspicious book on Courcelles' initiative.⁵ A few days later the local authorities postponed the banishment to Easter on humanitarian grounds - on the condition, as far as Canin was concerned, that he should not print anything else without the explicit approval of the town council.

We know nothing of Courcelles' book - not even the title - and no other publications produced by Canin while he was in Wesel have so far been identified. Nevertheless half a dozen anonymous printed works have survived which could be ascribed to him on the basis of their external features. Three give the town of Wesel as an address but contain no further name. The others have no imprint whatsoever. The publications are only identifiable as Canin's products from their decorations: we see that the printer already had various ornaments at his disposal in Wesel which he was later to use in numerous signed works in Dordrecht. These include an alphabet of woodcut initials and certain easily recognizable vignettes which he alone possessed and which are thus characteristic of his work. This peculiarity never seems to have been noticed in the past - indeed, all too little use has been made of the possibilities of research into typographical material for the entire second half of the sixteenth century. When it comes to the identification of type-faces this hesitation is understandable since it requires an experienced eye, but the

² Before printers and bookbinders in different towns had an organization of their own, they were admitted to various guilds, such as that of the saddlers in Utrecht. We can deduce from Canin's later career that he had had a sound training as a printer - but certainly not, as has been assumed (Briels, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 194), in Wesel with Augustijn van Hasselt. The latter did not settle there until after May 1567 and in that year Canin already had a press of his own.

³ A.J.M. Beenakker, *Breda in de eerste storm van de opstand. Van ketterij tot beeldenstorm, 1545-1569* (Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Zuiden van Nederland, 20; Tilburg 1971), pp. 41, 43, 61, 70, 166; A.L.E. Verheijden, *Le Conseil des Troubles. Liste des condamnés (1567-1573)* (Bruxelles 1961), s.v. Calen.

⁴ Both gave Wesel as their place of birth on the occasion of their marriage in Dordrecht in 1594, on 26 and 12 April respectively. Briels, op. cit. (n. 1), quotations (a) on p. 214 and on p. 221 (Trouwboek, no. 16). See also Briels' tree of the Canin family on p. 197 of his book.

⁵ For the text of the decision, see Briels, op. cit. (n. 1), quotation (a), p. 198. The view that the banishment involved Augustijn van Hasselt is incorrect. Augustijn's departure from Wesel was a result of the sale of the press by Plantin to the Family of Love of Hendrik Niclaes. See P. Valkema Blouw, 'Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90 (pp. 174 ff.); *idem*, 'Was Plantin a member of the Family of Love? Notes on his dealings with Hendrik Niclaes', *ibid.*, 23 (1993), pp. 3-23 (pp. 17 f.).

recognition of woodcut ornaments does not necessarily present an insurmountable problem to a bibliographer. Much more work still needs to be done in this domain and it seems certain that the picture of Dutch book production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has yet to undergo various changes.

All but two of the six books I have mentioned, each one in octavo, bear the year 1567, and there is no reason to doubt the reliability of this date. One of them is a translation of Martin Luther's *Sommighe troostelijke vermaninge* [...], with a preface by his disciple, the German theologian Flacius Illyricus.⁶ Another is a polemical tract, also by Flacius, *Grondelijcke bewijsinghe dat het VI. capittel Johannis, tot der Calvinisten meyninghe vanden Nachtmael niet en dient* [...].⁷ A third is a translation of the 'Nürnbergger Kinderpredigten', ascribed to the German theologians Andreas Osiander and Dominicus Schleupner: *Catechismus oft Predicatie voor de kinderkens* [...].⁸ Then comes a translation of *Ecclesiasticus ofte dat Boeck Jesus Syrach ghenaeamt* [...].⁹ and a sermon by Jacobus Andreae: *Een christelijc [sic] predicatie vander leder Jacobs, Genesis 28 [...]* gepredict [...] Anno [15]65.¹⁰ This last work has no date and could also be from 1566. The sixth publication, finally, which also lacks a date, is *De medicijne der sielen* by U[rbanus] R[hegius],¹¹ a translation of his *Selen ertzney für die gesunden und krancken*.

⁶ J.W. Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618* (Haarlem 1911), p. 103; J.C. Schultze Jacobi, *Oud en nieuw*, vol. 2 (Rotterdam 1863), p. 35. – Copy: Antwerp, Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive), shelf-mark Pamphl. 64/8.

⁷ J. Machiels, *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt voor 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent*, 2 vols. (Gent 1979), F 137: the VandeVelde copy, auction sale 1831, no. 5737 (5).

⁸ W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), no. A 6.1; G. Seebass, *Bibliographia Osiandrica* (Nieuwkoop 1971), no. 21.54; *Index Aureliensis*, 123.489. – Copies: Amsterdam, Library of the Free University (FrUL); Nürnberg, Germanisches Museum; Utrecht, UL.

⁹ I. Le Long, *Boek-zaal der Nederduitsche Bybels* (Amsterdam 1732; Hoorn 1764), p. 681: 'volgens den tekst van Luther' ('after Luther's text'). – Copies: Amsterdam, UL and FrUL.

¹⁰ *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968-94), no. 5066 ['1565']; Machiels, op. cit. (n. 7), A 352 ['1566']. – Copies: Antwerp, Stadsarchief (Municipal Archive); Deventer, Stadsarchief en Athenaeum Bibliotheek (SAB); Ghent, UL; London, British Library (BL).

¹¹ Copies: Amsterdam, UL, London BL (BM Gen. Cat. of Books, 197, 496). This edition is neither in J.M. de Bujanda, *Index d'Anvers 1569, 1570, 1571* (Index des livres interdits, 1; Sherbrooke/Genève 1988), nor in G. Franz, *Huberinus-Rhegius-Holbein. Bibliografische und druckgeschichtliche Untersuchung der verbreitetsten Trost- und Erbauungsschriften des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Nieuwkoop 1973). This is probably the edition a copy of which was confiscated in Antwerp in 1570; see *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, 12 (1876), p. 452. An earlier edition, with the fake imprint Claes van Oldenborch, 1536, was published by Frans Fraet [in 1552-4], also in Antwerp; see P. Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonyms, or Why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), p. 268; W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kro-

These are all texts by Lutheran theologians. The magistracy of Wesel was still entirely devoted to that confession and had even tried to impose a strict form of Lutheranism on the inhabitants a few years earlier, the '*Weseler Bekenntnis*' of 1562. It was above all Walloon immigrants who objected, and in the ensuing conflict, during which the intransigent Lutheran Tilemann Heshusen had to leave the town, Calvinism also prevailed among the many refugees from the Netherlands. In the years after the '*Weseler Konvent*' (1568), when the Reformed Protestants devised a form of organization for their movement, the Lutherans steadily lost more and more influence and finally even forfeited the right to hold public services.¹²

In what he published after 1567/8, Canin, too, followed this change, which probably ran parallel to his own religious evolution as it emerges from the books he was to produce in later years in free Holland. With his banishment the press temporarily came to a standstill. Only in 1570, as far as we know, was he again in a position to bring out a few books. In that year he published an edition of the particularly popular Psalms of P[etrus] Dath[enus], after the French verse translation of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze: '*van nieus overghesien ende ghecorrigeert*' ('newly revised and corrected'). In the same year he issued a translation by J.D.R. (J. de Raedt?) of another work which was much in demand, *De wortel, den oorspronck ende het fundament der Wederdooperen*, by Guy de Brès, the leader of the Calvinists in the southern Netherlands. The translator was probably the same man who signed the translation, also from the French, of another successful book in 1569: *Historie van de Spaensche Inquisitie*, by an author who hid behind the still unsolved pseudonym Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus. This work, too, appeared in Wesel, but was published by Augustijn van Hasselt, in the last year of his activity there.

The two publications of 1570 are the first to bear the printer's device which Canin was to continue to use for the rest of his career, the well-known '*Siet de Leeuw*' ('Behold the Lion') - the lion of Judah, a woodcut by the designer Arnold Nicolai who also did a great deal of work for Plantin and Silvius. What was later to be the customary mention of '*de vermaerde coopstadt Dordrecht*', the renowned merchant city of Dordrecht, is still lacking, however.

So where did our man find a place to work after his expulsion from Wesel? Unfortunately this still remains a mystery and, for the time being, we must be satisfied with the assumption that it was again somewhere in Germany. It seems impos-

nenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliografie van 1500-1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71), no. 1790.

¹² W. Rotscheid, 'Uebergang der Gemeinde Wesel von dem lutherischen zum reformierten Bekenntnis im 16. Jahrhundert', *Monatshefte für evangelische Kirchengeschichte des Rheinlandes*, 13 (1919), pp. 225-56. A. Wolters, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Wesel* (Bonn 1868) is still important. For a recent publication on the ecclesiastical development, see W. Stempel, 'Die Reformation in der Stadt Wesel', *Geschichte der Stadt Wesel*, ed. J. Prieur, vol. 2 (Düsseldorf 1991), pp. 9-73 (pp. 45 ff.)

sible that his Protestant publications were produced in the Netherlands before Dordrecht, his later residence, had fallen to the States. This means that the so-called Dort Bible of 1571/2 was not printed there either, even if a part of the edition may well have reached the public from that town.

In view of the lack of direct evidence, our only chance lies in discovering some further items of information which can help us on our way. Without such indications the choice of a place of publication becomes problematic and we incur the danger of a fanciful solution leading a life of its own and thus becoming the source of further erroneous attributions. In this respect scholars have been known to proceed somewhat rashly in the past.¹³

Luck is hardly on our side. Canin's initials and vignettes can indeed be recognized in some unsigned printed work and the typefaces also correspond to his own - but apart from that we cannot count on any assistance. Where Canin repaired after his expulsion from Wesel seems to defy reconstruction. We can certainly establish that he continued to print and that the confessional direction of his publications changed: his press produced no more Lutheran books, only texts of Calvinist origin.

This new direction of his production after Wesel could point (I say this with reservations) to a stay of some years in the Palatinate - in Frankenthal, for example, where a group of Dutch emigrants was permitted to settle thanks to the protection of the elector Frederick III, the first German prince who converted to Calvinism. For we see that Canin had been connected with the two preachers in this haven: Petrus Dathenus and Gaspar van der Heyden (Heidanus). In 1570, as I said, Canin published a reprint of Dathenus' particularly successful Psalm translation. The title-page of the book informs us that this is a revised version. The author may thus have been personally involved in the publication, even if we find the same information in other editions with which, as far as we know, he had nothing to do.

There may be a better indication in yet another book: *Protocol, dat is de gansche Handelinghe des Gesprecks te Franckenthal [...], met dien welcke men Wederdoopers noemt [...]* 28. May begonnen, ende den 19. Juny deses 1571 Jaers voleyndicht. The report of this conference appeared in the same year of 1571 in a translation from German (the language in which the minutes were recorded) by Gaspar van der Heyden. The swift publication could suggest direct contact between translator and printer, which made it possible to produce the book at short notice - and thus a residence in, or close to, Frankenthal. The choice of printer would therefore have been determined geographically and the connection with the two preachers would be obvious. This, however, remains a hypothesis resting on an unsteady foundation.

¹³ A typical example are the lists of Dutch books printed in Emden which, until recently, contained dozens of titles which were not printed there but elsewhere.

We do, nevertheless, have a further item of information. In 1571, besides the aforesaid *Protocol*, Canin published a second Protestant book: *Een cort begryp der gansche Christelicke religie* by Theodorus Beza, the French theologian and disciple of Calvin's,¹⁴ translated by W[illem] V[an] [Zuylen van] N[yevelt], the son of the homonymous poet, the author of the well-known *Souterliedekens*, a rhymed version of the psalms. He, too, had emigrated and resided in Emmerich where he earned his livelihood as a bookbinder.¹⁵ Such a connection between Canin and a writer living in the town suggests another possibility: in this case Emmerich appears to have been a preferable place of residence since it was not far from Wesel and - this is also an important factor - it was close to the border. What Canin published was intended for the Netherlands. Good communications with that area were consequently of the utmost importance for him. Unfortunately the old archive of Emmerich has largely disappeared and there is no available evidence indicating a residence by Canin. His second place of refuge therefore remains unknown, even if we now know what he produced there. So this is an example of the limitations one can encounter in bibliographical research.

¹⁴ F. Gardy, *Bibliographie des œuvres théologiques, littéraires, historiques et juridiques de Théodore de Bèze* (Genève 1960), no. 90 (with the title-page reproduced); Heijting, op. cit. (n. 8), no. E 21. – Copy: Geneva, UL.

¹⁵ Some years later, in 1579 and in 1581, Canin published in Dordrecht this author's translation of Casparus Olevianus' *Den vasten grondt*.

PRINTED IN HOLLAND:
THE ANONYMOUS *TEMPORIS FILIA VERITAS*,
[LEIDEN] 1589



‘Temporis filia Veritas’ is an ancient proverb expressing with Roman succinctness the notion that truth often reveals itself only after the passage of time: Truth as the daughter of Time or Tempus – the Greek Chronos. It personifies an historical phenomenon through two characters from classical mythology, where gods, goddesses, and a host of lesser denizens of Olympus gave visible form to various abstract concepts. In his *Adagia*, Erasmus borrowed this proverb from the Roman author and archaeologist Aulus Gellius (*Noctes attici* XII, 11.7) whose memory uncharacteristically failed him when he wished to give his source. Even in his time then, its origins may have been shrouded in a distant past, probably in Greece.

We can safely assume that the proverb’s revival in the sixteenth century derived largely from Erasmus’ quotation. It even worked its way into the English royal palaces. Queen Mary, for example, made it her personal motto, while various artists within and outside her court rendered it in literary and pictorial interpretations. The subject certainly lent itself well to such use: a young and shapely Truth accompanied by an aged and rather decrepit Father Time formed an attractive combination for any artist. Dr Saxl gives a few telling examples in one of his articles.¹ The proverb gained popularity in the Netherlands as well. Hadrianus Junius (when will we see a fitting monograph about this important humanist, considered a second Erasmus in his own time?) published his *Philippeis, seu in nuptias Divi Philippi [...] et heroinae Mariae ...* in London in 1554.² This epic poem on Queen Mary’s political marriage to the future King Philip II of Spain contains a dedication ‘In Regis & Reginae symbola [...] Mariae Veritatis Temporis Filia ...’. In the *Emblemata* (Antwerp 1565) by the same Junius, emblem no. 53, entitled ‘Veritas tempore revelatur, dissidio obruitur’, includes a depiction of ‘Veritas, Temporis nata’. This engraving reappears in Geoffrey Whitney’s *A choice of emblemes* (Leiden

¹ F. Saxl, ‘Veritas filia temporis’, *Philosophy and History. Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer* (Oxford 1996), pp. 197–222.

² Cf. *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640*, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926); 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols., hereafter quoted as *STC* (London 1986–91), no. 14860.5–61.

1586), the first English emblem book.³

Our concern here is the fact that this proverb served somewhat later, in 1589, as the title of an anonymous tract that presents a few puzzles. J.A. van Dorsten, later professor at the University of Leiden, came across this *Temporis Filia Veritas, a mery devise called the Troublsome travell of Tyme, and the daungerous delivery of her Daughter Trueth*⁴ in an early Leiden auction catalogue.⁵ In 1630 the printer-publisher Govert Basson liquidated his business in that town, established as a bookshop by his father Thomas in 1584. For that occasion he printed a list of what was to be sold from the stocks of the bookshop and of the firm's own publications.⁶ At the end this catalogue includes a section with the remaining stock of books in sheets, which he offered, 'om by Halff dosijnen, dosijnen ende by de Riem te vercoopen' (to be sold by the half-dozen, dozen, and by the ream). One of these books is entitled *Temporis filia Veritas*.

Besides this remnant of one of Basson's own (?) publications, the catalogue reports another interesting item at the end: 'Spiegel der Gerechtigheyt van H.N. [Hendrik Niclaes] ende meer andere verscheyden Boecken van de selfde, in Duyts, Latijn, Francoys ende Engels' ('The Mirror of Justice' by H.N. and several other books of various nature by the same, in Dutch, Latin, French, and English).⁷ From this description one can conclude that remnants of several publications of the Family of Love found their way to Leiden. Herman de la Fontaine Verwey emphasized the importance of this discovery, suggesting that one could infer 'that Basson moved the entire printing-office of the Family of Love from Cologne to Leiden and continued it there'.⁸ As we shall see, this conclusion proved only partly true.

³ For the difference between Junius' and Whitney's interpretations of the proverb, see D. Gordon, "'Veritas filia temporis': Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 3 (1939/40), pp. 228-40 (pp. 236-8, illus.).

⁴ STC 23875. The only known copy is in Cambridge, UL, cf. C.E. Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library, Cambridge: 1475-1640*, 4 vols. (Cambridge 1900-7), no. 6791. The Luttrell Society has published a modern edition by F.P. Wilson.

⁵ J.A. van Dorsten, *Thomas Basson 1555-1613, English printer at Leiden* (Leiden 1961), pp. 67-8, n. 2, and p. 118, no. 20. He later supplemented this book with an article of the same title in *Quaerendo*, 15 (1985), pp. 195-224, which includes (on p. 198) a reproduction of the *Veritas* title-page.

⁶ *Catalogus Officinae Librariae Godefridi Basson. Boeck-winckel Van Govert Basson Boeckverkoper en Drucker tot Leyden. Dewelcke men int openbaer t' zijnen Huyse beginnen sal te verkopen, op Maendach den XV. Aprilis 1630* ('Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Godefridum Basson', 1630). — Copy: Oxford, Bodleian Library. See T.S.J.G. Bögels, *Govert Basson: printer, bookseller, publisher, Leiden 1612-1630* (Nieuwkoop 1992), pp. 185 ff., p. 286, no. 186, and appendix VI.

⁷ Bögels, op. cit. (n. 5), pp. 7-9, 329; Van Dorsten, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 64 ff, with a photographic reproduction on p. 69. and pp. 7-9

⁸ H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Thomas Basson en het Huis der Liefde', *Het Boek*, 35 (1961-2), pp.

When a Dutch publishing house of this period holds such unusual items as an English tract alongside remnants of several editions from the printing-office of a sect that also published in that language, one naturally supposes some sort of connection. Van Dorsten believed there was such a connection, but all attempts to gain further insight into the relationship between these publications failed; nothing in the pamphlet indicated a connection between its author and the Family of Love. In its text, a conversation between 'Balthesar the Barber' and 'Bennion the Button-maker', representatives of four religions explain their beliefs: a Catholic, a Protestant, a Puritan, and 'a playne Plowman whose religion was unknown'. Afterward the King chooses the evangelistic views of the Plowman and orders his subjects to obey Christ and model their lives on his example. The choice of words does not demonstrate the author's adherence to any particular religious persuasion.⁹ Even if one sees this as in line with Hendrik Niclaes' well-known caution regarding the outside world, it provides too weak an argument to place the author in Niclaes' circles.

Although the content did not provide sufficient evidence to link this book to the Family of Love, it was still possible that *Temporis filia Veritas* came from their printing-office or was printed using their typographic materials. About the early 1980s, Van Dorsten sent me a photocopy of the unique copy in Cambridge, asking whether this could have been printed in Leiden, and whether Thomas Basson could have had something to do with it. Little ground had been gained on this point since the publication of his book twenty years earlier. We had meanwhile learned that Basson did not print his Leiden publications himself until 1594, but had them printed by two printers in that city, Johan Paedts and Andries Verschout. We had also learned that he had 'lent' his name to Plantin for the publication of a few political pamphlets (seven discovered so far) in various languages – French, Dutch, and Latin.¹⁰ Basson never returned to this foreign territory in later years, so we can suppose that Plantin hid behind his colleague in order to bring these pamphlets onto the market unobserved. We already knew that this 'architypographus' more than once used the names of family members or other associates to provide an imprint for publications that he did not wish to issue under his own name.

A study of the typographical aspects of the *Veritas* now shows that what Van Dorsten (and De la Fontaine Verwey) suspected was at least partly true.¹¹ Its types dif-

219-24, at p. 224.

⁹ For a summary of the content of the book, see Van Dorsten, art. cit. (n. 4), pp. 206-8.

¹⁰ Reported by the present writer on 18 April 1980 in a lecture for the 'Gezelschap Petrus Scriverius' (a Dutch bibliographical society), entitled 'De zgn. eerste pers van Thomas Basson' (Thomas Basson's so-called 'first press'). See Van Dorsten, art. cit. (n. 4), pp. 200-1.

¹¹ Van Dorsten had previously published 'Temporis filia Veritas, wetenschap en religievrede' in

fer from those of all the printers mentioned above: the type used for the main text is a worn and mixed Pica Roman not found in the Family of Love's publications, and none of the other types appear in them either. But the book does use a distinctive ornament from the still mysterious press responsible for the new editions of Hendrik Niclaes' works published during the last phase of the sect's existence. This press, in or near Cologne, used printing materials acquired from Plantin in 1569. For the previous two years, it had been active at Wesel under Plantin's former employee, Augustijn van Hasselt. At the time of the take-over, Plantin took his French types back; the other typographical materials went with the remaining inventory to the Family of Love. They added new types, and their books also show material that the sect had used earlier in Antwerp and Kampen. Augustijn had previously worked as Niclaes' secretary, and now came along with the printing shop to operate the press for him. Disappointed by the fact that his new job gave him virtually no opportunity to practice his trade – and probably for other reasons as well – he left the movement with a few other members in 1573.¹² We do not know who succeeded him as printer there. In that very year, however, his successor(s) began to publish an extensive series of reprints: all of Niclaes' works in thoroughly revised editions. The printing-office also issued quite a number of English and a few French translations.

THE END OF THE FAMILY OF LOVE

Hendrik Niclaes probably died around 1580 at about the age of eighty – spiritually no longer the leader he had once been. Thereafter the Family of Love, which had formed a sort of commune in or near Cologne during the last part of their prophet's life, quickly fell apart. We know nothing about the course of events during this dissolution, nor about what happened to the property of the sect and its remaining followers – there were probably not many. The printing-office's last sizeable book appeared in 1578–80: a revised reprint of Niclaes' *Speculum justitiae, de Spiegel der gerechtigheit*, comprising more than 1,100 pages. Two more books and about ten allegorical prints appeared in 1580; no later products of the press are known. In these last years some of the publications give the publisher's name as Niclas Bohmbargen, an otherwise wholly unknown figure. He was probably Augustijn van Hasselt's succes-

Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis, 89 (1976), pp. 413–19; an English translation appeared under the title 'Temporis filia Veritas, learning and religious peace' in Van Dorsten's *The Anglo-Dutch renaissance: seven essays* (Leiden 1988), pp. 38–45. In spite of the title, this study contains no information about this book or its author.

¹² For this schism, and its theological background in particular, see A. Hamilton, 'Hiël and the Hiëlists: the doctrine and followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 243–86, at pp. 251 ff.

sor, but the total absence of information about him or his career has raised doubts about his very existence.

Nothing is known about the fate of the printing-office in the first years after 1580. Did an as yet unidentified person in Germany use it? One initial in the *Veritas* certainly appears in *Epistolae H.N.*, *The Principall Epistles of HN* (STC 18552), one of the English translations printed in Cologne around 1575. It is an arabesque capital W, wider than it is high, later used in publications of both Thomas Basson and his son.¹³ This, by the way, is only one of the Cologne initials, vignettes, and woodcuts that found their way to Leiden together with the remaining stock of the publications.

That this legacy of the Family of Love should have come into the hands of Thomas Basson is not as strange as it might seem, because he had been a bookseller in Cologne before setting up in Leiden. The move took place in 1583/4. So we know that he had connections with the book trade in that city, even though it remains uncertain whether he had relations with members of the sect when he was there.¹⁴ That would probably have given him an advantage over his colleagues in the Low Countries when it came to taking over the press.

One might note, of course, that the use of the relevant initial W does not prove that Basson printed the *Temporis filia Veritas*. In the years 1586 to 1587, he had all his publications produced by others, so he had no printing-office of his own at the time. After that comes a gap in his publications until 1594. From that date on, we find him using a wide assortment of the Cologne ornaments, but did he already own them earlier? The *Temporis filia Veritas* could have been a publisher's remnant stock, like the books of the Family of Love, and might have been acquired together with them. Since the *Veritas* dates from 1589 – much too late for a publication of the sect itself – we might postulate an intermediate use of the material by an unknown printer.

Arguing against this is the fact that Basson's auction catalogue includes the *Temporis filia Veritas* in a list of the firm's own publications, while it reports the publications of the Family of Love separately. This suggests that Basson published the book himself. This supposition seems to be supported by the identity of the anonymous author himself, which can be deduced from a publication of a very different nature, entitled *Vermaninge ende onderrichtinge voor die Borghers van Shertogenbossche*.¹⁵ This piece, dated 4 August 1580 and printed on one side of a single sheet, must have been intended to be posted on a wall. What makes it relevant here is the opening

¹³ For a reproduction, see Bögels, op. cit. (n. 5), no. B 17 (p. 309).

¹⁴ About his possible relations, see J. van Dorsten, 'Garter Knights and Familists', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), pp. 179–88, at pp. 186 ff.

¹⁵ Not described in any of the pamphlet catalogues. The only known copy is in Amsterdam, UL.

of its text: 'De waerheyt is de Dochter des tijts machmen wel seggen. Want metter tijt worden alle verholentheden ontdeckt ...' (One may indeed say that truth is the daughter of time, because all hidden things are revealed with time) This literal translation of our proverb introduces an appeal to the residents of 's-Hertogenbosch to keep their truly best interests in mind and to realize that their future can best be guaranteed by joining the 'staatsgezinden' – the anti-Spanish Dutch party.

Of course, the mere fact that the author of the *Vermaninge* quotes this proverb does not prove that his identity corresponds with the person who later used it as the title of a book. So on what basis can we conclude, if not with certainty then at least with sufficient probability, that the author of the *Veritas* was indeed the same as the person who directed this appeal to the people of 's-Hertogenbosch? The basis for the identification is this: Basson had previously published another work by the author of the *Vermaninge* – his only known job for a private individual up to that time. He issued this anonymous book in 1587 under the title *Belgicae oratio gratulatoria ad [...] Elizabetham, ...*, one of his few publications from this early period.¹⁶ The *Resolutiën* of the Republic's governing assembly, the States General, include a report of the ban issued against this work even before its publication. This mentions its author by name: Henricus Agylaeus.¹⁷

THE REMARKABLE CAREER OF HENRICUS AGYLAEUS

Born in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1532/3, Henricus Agylaeus received his doctorate in law at Louvain.¹⁸ He was banished from his native city on religious grounds in 1558, but was able to return to live there again in 1562. During his banishment he published various text editions of classic works on jurisprudence, issued abroad.¹⁹ Because of his activities as a leader of the Protestants in Den Bosch, he had to flee

¹⁶ Van Dorsten, op. cit. (n. 4), 'Checklist', no. 13 (p. 75); *id.*, art. cit. (n. 4), pp. 204-6 (illus.). The publisher's address reads 'Lugduni Batavorum, Apud Thomam Basson, Anno 1587'. The anonymous printer was Andries Verschout. Besides the Oxford copy, there is one at the Leiden Municipal Archives: Bijlagen Thesauriers Rekening (Appendices Treasurer's Account) 1588, f. 673.

¹⁷ For this ban and the grounds on which it was declared, see Van Dorsten, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 24-5 and appendix 4, documents B 1-2 (pp. 106-7); the sources cited for B 1 and B 2 should be interchanged). For supplementary information, see *ibidem*, pp. 204-6 (illus.). It turned out rather well for Basson: because the authorities failed to issue the ban against his publication in good time, the town reimbursed his costs.

¹⁸ See W. Meindersma, 'Een Bosschenaar uit de zestiende eeuw: Mr. Henricus Agylaeus', *Taxandria*, 17 (1910), pp. 235-46, 258-69, 308-29.

¹⁹ See F.L. Hoffmann, 'Henri Agileus, de Bois-le-Duc (Suite et fin; publications d'Agileus)', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 19 (1863), pp. 12-18.

again in 1567.²⁰ He turns up in Zaltbommel in 1575, having previously occupied the post of Pensionary of Middelburg for one year. In 1577 he returned to his native city where he resumed a leading role in local politics and in the city's Protestant circles. After the political reversal of 1579, in which the city definitively accepted the authority of the Spanish King, Agylaeus fled once again, this time for good. In that year he published his *Eenvoudighe ende warachtige verantwoordinge der uutgewekene borgeren der stadt Shertogenbossche*, issued anonymously by the printer to the States of Holland, Willem Silvius in Leiden.²¹ A later appeal to the people of Den Bosch can also be attributed to Agylaeus, along with the 1580 *Vermaninge* already mentioned.²² After a brief stay elsewhere (in Heusden?) Agylaeus settled in Utrecht in 1580, and in the following years proved himself an enthusiastic follower of the Earl of Leicester. He was appointed Attorney-General to the Court of Utrecht in August 1586, but left for England in September 1588. He turns up again in Utrecht in January 1590, but Leicester had died in the meantime and a new town council had been appointed. That was the end of Agylaeus' political role.²³

His support for Leicester's politics must have been partly inspired by his anglo-philic attitude. As early as 1561 he had dedicated one of his books to Queen Elizabeth, and in the following years he continued to believe that she was prepared to support the Dutch struggle for independence. This was surely part of the reason for his trip to England, but we know nothing of his immediate motives.

In view of all of these grounds, is it not natural to suppose that Agylaeus was the author of *Temporis filia Veritas*? All available evidence points in his direction: few Dutchmen could match his command of the English language; he had a personal

²⁰ J.A.G.C. Trosée, 'Henricus Agylaeus en de Bossche beeldstormerijen', *Taxandria*, 37 (1930), pp. 137-52, 161-77, 193-209, 225-47. For the resulting debate, see H. van Alfen, 'Het historisch oordeel omtrent Henricus Agylaeus in de jaren 1566-1567 in het geding', *Taxandria*, 38 (1931), pp. 20-44, and J.A.G.C. Trosée, 'Naar aanleiding van het Dordrechtse archiefstuk, waarin Henricus Agylaeus voorkomt', *ibidem*, pp. 65-76, 95-112, 161-77.

²¹ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. ('s-Gravenhage 1890-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn, no. 464; *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), no. V 52, reprinted in C.R. Hermans, *Verzameling van kronyken, charters en oorkonden betreffende de Stad en Meijerij van 's-Hertogenbosch*, 3 vols. ('s-Hertogenbosch 1846-8), pp. 547-94, which attributes it to Agylaeus on p. xxi. Mistaken attributions of the printing to Jan Scheffer probably rests on the coat of arms of the city of Den Bosch on the title-page, but this is merely copied from the original woodcut used by Scheffer.

²² *Apologie, beschermreden ende antwoorde der vertrocken borgheren van Shertogenbossche* ..., printed on 2 November 1579 [in Dordrecht, by Jan Canin]; Kn 465. Jan Canin also printed the *Vermaninge*, as its initial shows.

²³ For the political situation in Utrecht, see H. Bannatyne, 'Utrecht in crisis 1586-1588', *The Dutch in crisis, 1585-1588: people and politics in Leicester's time* (Leiden 1988), pp. 35-52.

acquaintance with the country and many of its representatives; he had just returned from a visit there, and Basson had published a book by him a few years before (his only publication by a private individual before 1594). Moreover, he had already used the classical proverb that served as a title for the new book. Finally, in his 'To the Reader' at the end of the book, the author laments that he has been '... most cruelly persecuted and imprisoned, as also most despitefully spoiled and impoverished to my utter discredit and undoing ...' by personal setbacks, a complaint one might well expect from Agylaeus, who had been forced to flee his home city three times, leaving many of his possessions behind.²⁴ Thomas Basson, who had meanwhile acquired the remaining stock of the editions published by the Family of Love, as well as the ornamental stock of their printing-office, was prepared to publish another work by the author, this time printing it himself. Besides one of the initials brought back from Cologne, he used a badly worn body type he had acquired (or borrowed) and which he thereafter discarded. Only after a lapse of five years was he to return to printing and publishing (using a new collection of types), this time with lasting success.

We seem, then, to have found a solution to the intriguing question of the anonymous author and printer of one of the very rare English language publications produced in the northern Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Some readers may raise objections to the methodology used to identify author, printer, and publisher, and some may even reject the ascriptions. I believe, however, that there is sufficient evidence pointing toward Agylaeus as author – and one can hardly doubt the origins of the book as a product of Basson's press. When historical research reveals insufficient material to provide definitive facts, we must make use of certain probabilities to reconstruct a logical course of events. In bibliographical matters, we must surely also accept that watertight proof is sometimes not possible. But with that reservation, it appears that *Temporis filia Veritas* has finally revealed her identity.

²⁴ The entire passage is quoted in Van Dorsten, art. cit. (n. 4), p. 207.

THE ANONYMOUS WORK OF GILLIS VAN DEN RADE, ANTWERP 1577 to 1585



For historians – and not only for historians – bibliography has long served as an auxiliary science, as a means of obtaining the most complete survey possible of the literature in a particular field. The discipline limited itself almost entirely to this ancillary function and, as the number of titles grew, new techniques were developed to master the flow of information. Bibliography thus plays an essential part in every form of historical research.

Now, however, that is no longer its sole use. We know that bibliographical methods can also contribute in themselves to increasing our knowledge of historical developments. Where other sources are silent it is sometimes possible to derive data from printed work which, quite independently of the information contained in the text, tell us about unknown facts. These can refer to the genesis of the printed work itself: the publication of writings which were suspect from a political or a religious point of view often entailed the death penalty, and those involved did all they could to disappear entirely behind their editions. But it is also possible to draw more precise conclusions from the circumstances and the form in which the work came into existence. These go beyond the discovery of the place or date of publication, and extend to the context in which certain historical events took place.

Some time ago I gave an example of such an analysis in a study of the collaboration between Willem Silvius, then recently appointed official printer to the States of Holland and the Leiden Academy, and his young Antwerp colleague Christiaen Houweel (Hauwelius).¹ What they produced shows that they were actively involved in the anti-Spanish propaganda of the Orange party – the adherents of Prince William of Orange. The dozens of pamphlets they produced appeared in Antwerp because Silvius' own press, which had in the meantime been moved to Leiden, was too far from the centre of the struggle. Nevertheless his services were still called upon. As the Prince's agent he was evidently the technical supervisor of the political publications produced for Orange's side. In the summer of 1580 he relinquished this function, possibly because of ill health – he died in the following year. His place was taken by the printer of the Antwerp Calvinists, Gillis van den

¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Willem Silvius, Christiaen Houweel and anti-Spanish propaganda, 1577 to 1579', *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 3-29.

Rade (van den Raede, Radaeus), and no further use was made of Houweel.

In 1975 Leon Voet drew attention to a deficiency in our knowledge of the sixteenth-century book in the Low Countries: 'The part played by the Antwerp printers in the spread of this literature still awaits a thorough investigation.'² The author had in mind the production of the period between 1575 and 1585, when resistance against Spanish rule set off a veritable pamphlet war between its supporters and its opponents. Professor Voet made his own contribution: thanks to his Plantin bibliography³ we now have a good survey of what the proto-typographer printed for the States General, for example, in those years. Van den Rade's activities for the Orange party, on the other hand, have hitherto hardly been recognized and his not insignificant role as printer to Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde (generally referred to as Marnix) has not yet received the attention it deserves.

Gillis van den Rade was born in Ghent in about 1541 and was trained as a printer in that town by Hendrik (I) van den Keere. According to his own declaration he continued to work for Van den Keere's firm for another eight years after his four-year-long apprenticeship. On 20 July 1570 Plantin gave him a printer's certificate,⁴ after which Van den Rade had himself inscribed as a burgher of Antwerp on 1 June 1571. Also in 1570 the first printed work bearing his name appeared, an almanac. Received as a master in the Sint-Lucasgilde (St Luke's Guild) – which had recently become an obligatory step for printers, too – he finally obtained a licence as printer-publisher on 9 March 1576.⁵ By that time he had already produced a series of books commissioned by third parties, such as the widow of Gerard van Salenson in Ghent and the publishers Bellerus, Soolmans, Steelsius and T(h)iелens in Antwerp.⁶ I have only encountered very few clandestine publications by him in these years. In 1575 he printed anonymously an eye-witness report of the siege of

² L. Voet, 'De typografische bedrijvigheid te Antwerpen in de 16e eeuw', *Antwerpen in de XVIe eeuw* (1975), pp. 233–55 (p. 242).

³ L. Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589). A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. In collaboration with J. Voet-Grisolle (Amsterdam 1980–3), hereafter cited as Voet PP.

⁴ *Certificats délivrés aux imprimeurs des Pays-Bas par Christophe Plantin*, ed. P. Rombouts (Antwerpen/Gent 1881), pp. 15, 94.

⁵ A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 182–3, s.v.

⁶ For a survey of his production (or that part of it to be found in Belgian libraries), see *Belgica Typographica 1541–1600. Catalogus librorum impressorum ab anno MDXLI ad annum MDC in regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum partes sunt*, eds. E. Cockx-Indestege, G. Glorieux & B. Op de Beeck, 4 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1968–94), hereafter cited as BT, vol. 4: Indices, pp. 416–17.

Leiden: *Discours du siege que les Espagnols ont tenu devant la ville de Leyden* (Kn 225).⁷ The Dutch historian Robert Fruin attributed the work ‘on firm grounds’ to Guillaume de Maulde, Sieur de Mansart, a friend of William of Orange. The printer does not give his name and the book was probably especially commissioned by the author. Apparently the print run was small. Another pamphlet is even rarer, *Een Discoers ofte Vertooch ghedaen voor den Coninck van Vranckerijcke* (Kn 232), written, according to the anonymous translator (‘oversetter’), by a nobleman from Florence and then translated into French.

Van den Rade must have become independent by the time Van den Keere transferred his firm to his son, Hendrik (II) van den Keere, in 1566. Hendrik soon gave up printing and, in the years that followed, made his name as a punchcutter.⁸ We do not know what Van den Rade did between 1567 and 1569: he may well have been a paid employee elsewhere. He appears to have acquired the inventory of the Van den Keere press, or at least part of it, for the number of its ornaments which we subsequently encounter in his work is striking.⁹

SOMMIER DISCOURS

In 1577 Van den Rade was involved in a publication which was to have major consequences for his later career. In that year a packet of letters from the then Spanish governor, Don Juan, was intercepted, and would subsequently fall into the hands of the supporters of William of Orange. The compromising content was perfectly suited to the propaganda campaign against the Spanish king, and the Prince decided to use the documents for his own political ends. The correspondence was to be published in its entirety, preceded by an introductory text by Marnix. On 9 September 1577 the States General gave the printing order for this *Sommier discours* to Willem Silvius, ‘printer to the King’ (‘drukker des Conings’), who obtained a privilege of four years for the publication and at the same time permission to publish translations of it.

Silvius, as we have seen, had recently been appointed printer to the States of Holland and also had to print for the newly founded Leiden Academy. His appointment started on 28 June 1577, the day on which he took the oath, and

⁷ W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, 10 vols. (’s-Gravenhage 1889-1920; repr. Utrecht 1978), hereafter cited as Kn.

⁸ For Van den Rade’s earliest publications, see J. Machiels, *De boekdrukkunst te Gent tot 1560* (Gent 1994), pp. 280-3.

⁹ I have found nos. 2, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 14 reproduced in Pl. 24 of Machiels, op. cit. (n. 8). It is quite possible, however, that Van den Rade owned cast type which was different from that used by Van de Keere.

it included the obligation to establish his firm in Holland, a move for which he received a compensation of 400 Flemish pounds. Acceptance of this appointment and the duties it entailed meant that Silvius had to transfer his press to Leiden forthwith. The new and unexpected order now posed a problem. When the States General, who wanted to distribute the *Sommier discours* abroad as quickly as possible, urged him to hurry after only a week, Silvius found that he had to involve a few colleagues in the printing process, since his own presses – either still *en route* from Antwerp to Leiden or not yet set up – could not produce the book on time. The printing of the intercepted letters, a number of which were in Spanish, was now entrusted to Plantin. The first part, Marnix' text, was given to Gillis van den Rade.

In both editions of the *Sommier discours* (BT 4373 and 4374), which appeared in the name of Willem Silvius, although he had not printed them, we find, in the part produced by Van den Rade, an initial characteristic of his press: a large ornamental C which we encounter in a number of his other books. The typefaces used also point to him. Shortly afterwards he (re)printed for Silvius *De Pacificatie van Ghent*, with a few supplements.¹⁰ The address on the title-page runs 'Leyden inde drye Coninghen' ('Leiden, in the three Kings') – the name of the premises in the alley called 'Maarsmansteeg' which Silvius had recently bought and where, after the sale of his Antwerp house, he would soon hang out his sign 'in den gulden Engel' ('in the golden Angel'). Van den Rade printed the first sheets of this publication himself, using one of his largest ornamental letters, while in the later part we find five initials belonging to him. He was consequently involved at an early stage in the propaganda campaign of the Orange party.

Silvius' appointment as printer to the States of Holland required him to leave Antwerp, but it soon emerged that his presence was needed there far more than it was in Leiden. In 1578 and 1579 a political struggle of unprecedented violence broke out, which was reflected in a stream of publications. More writings were published than ever before. In the pamphlet catalogues this period occupies considerably more space than earlier or later ones. We know that William of Orange attached a great deal of importance to this form of propaganda and took a personal part in it. In 1568/9 he had his military operations already accompanied by a series of printed manifestoes and appeals to the Dutch people.¹¹ In the years that followed, however, he used this means less and less: the money at hand was put to other purposes. A new stream was now released, however, in a publicity campaign characterized as 'a

¹⁰ Kn, vol. I, no. 269; J. Machiels, 'Overzicht van de gedrukte uitgaven van de Pacificatietekst', *Opstand en pacificatie in de Lage Landen ...* (Gent 1976), pp. 122–35, no. 14. The edition is expanded by the *Confirmatie des Conincx* and the *Commissiën*.

¹¹ P. Valkema Blouw, 'A Cologne printer working for William of Orange: Godfried Hirtzhorn jr., 1568–72', *Quaerendo*, 25 (1995), pp. 3–23, *passim*.

struggle for life or death.’¹²

Bibliographical research proves that Willem Silvius was directly involved in this campaign. We find his material applied in various publications, and some pamphlets have survived with an *ex dono* in his own hand. Christiaen Houweel was involved in this production, too.¹³ What is striking is the repeated use of fake addresses, often the name of a town in France for the publications in French, while other pamphlets appeared without an imprint. All this printed work had to be financed – the ephemeral nature of such political writings generally made an unsubsidized publication unattractive to a printer. This, too, is an indication of a centralized campaign.

In the summer of 1580 Silvius’ Antwerp activities, and consequently his collaboration with Houweel, came to an end. He was either dismissed or gave notice, and returned to Leiden, where he had himself inscribed at the Academy and carried out his duties as printer to the States and university book dealer until his death in the following year. In accordance with a previous agreement his son Carel succeeded him in both functions. Carel, however, was unable to maintain the heavily committed firm and was declared bankrupt in 1582, whereby the printing-house went into liquidation¹⁴ and Plantin took over the book trade. In 1584 Plantin was also appointed printer to the Academy as successor to the young Silvius.

As far as we now know – reports about the matter are particularly scarce – the propaganda campaign of the Orange party in Antwerp continued under the leadership of Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde. Marnix, a member of the Council of State since 1577 and in the meantime secretary of the Prince, was himself active in composing political pamphlets. His controversial writings and those of various supporters obviously came out anonymously and without an imprint. They appear to have been produced increasingly by the press of Van den Rade, who also worked for the Antwerp Calvinists and was, for example, the printer of Dathenus’ translation of the Psalms which appeared without the name of the publisher in

¹² P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandsche opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Nijmegen 1956; repr. Utrecht 1978), p. 83.

¹³ This is dealt with more extensively in Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 1), *passim*.

¹⁴ See *The Leiden ‘Afdrucksel’. A type specimen of the press of Willem Silvius in its last days (1582)*. A facsimile with an introduction and notes by P. Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983).

1579.¹⁵ In the following year he would publish Marnix' Psalm translation.¹⁶

Although it is usually quite easy to establish what was produced by Van den Rade's press, a large part of his unsigned printed work has not yet been attributed to him. His place in the world of Antwerp publishers is thus insufficiently clear. Political and other risky publications which he produced without an imprint can usually be identified as his by the initials used or by the vignettes on the title-pages (and sometimes at the end, or even, occasionally, both at the end and on the title-page). Many of these initials can be found in the publications he produced in the northern Netherlands after 1585, when he fled from Antwerp and had found a safe refuge in Franeker as printer both to the newly founded Franeker Academy and to the States of Friesland.¹⁷ With the exception of a few theological publications – in those years dangerous ground even in the north – his subsequent editions appeared openly with his name on them, and it emerges from his printed work that he had taken all his Antwerp material with him. All sorts of book decorations applied in anonymous publications from before 1586 can be clearly recognized in his signed works produced in the northern Netherlands. The typefaces – Van den Rade had a large selection – are generally not significant enough to be of any use for an identification, but they, too, obviously form a means of checking the attributions.¹⁸

I have not attempted to recover all the ornaments used by Van den Rade, but have limited myself to identifying the vignettes and initials in anonymous printed work which can thereby be attributed to him. What follows does not claim to be a complete survey of his output – partly because, with a single exception, I shall not

¹⁵ BT 7897bis (with the Ghent address); C.A. Höweler & F.H. Matter, *Fontes hymnodiae neerlandicae impressi 1539-1700. De melodieën van het Nederlandstalig geestelijk lied 1539-1700. Een bibliografie van de gedrukte bronnen* (Nieuwkoop 1985), Dath 1579^d and [1572]^{a1} (*sic*); W. Heijting, *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse Reformatie tot 1585*, 2 vols. (Nieuwkoop 1989), B. 12.42 and 47. – The duodecimo edition of this same year (Höweler & Matter, Dath 1579^e) was probably also printed by Van den Rade, but I have never seen it.

¹⁶ BT 495; Höweler & Matter, op. cit. (n. 15), Marnix 1580 and the literature there listed; R. Watson, 'The privilege for Philip van Marnix' *Het Boeck der Psalmen* Antwerp 1580, and the translation of the Psalms into Dutch verse in the 16th century', *The Book Collector*, 27 (1978), pp. 191-204.

¹⁷ For Van den Rade's Franeker publications, see J.J. Kalma, *Het fonds van academiedrukker Aegidius Van den Rade, Franeker 1586-1613*, A card index preserved at the Fryske Akademy in Leeuwarden; various libraries have photocopies of this important bibliographical collection.

¹⁸ An exception should perhaps be made of Granjon's 'Immortel', a typeface of which Van den Rade possessed a limited amount of cast type. The typeface was also owned by Plantin (who never seems to have used it, however), but is otherwise very rare in the Netherlands.

be dealing with works he printed in Antwerp and which appeared in the name of a colleague. For his *signed* work, see the titles in the index volume of *Belgica Typographica*.

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL PUBLICATIONS

The first order Van den Rade carried out for the Orange party as successor of the Silvius-Houweel combination was, as far as I can determine, the *Sendtbrief* of 1 August 1579 by William of Orange, about the recently concluded agreement between Margaret, Duchess of Parma, the governess of the Netherlands under Philip II of Spain, and the provinces which had seceded. This report appeared both in French and in Dutch (BT 4886 and 4891-2; Kn 476 and 477). Before that, in 1578, Van den Rade had already printed a political text for the Antwerp Calvinists, the *Supplicatie* addressed to the archduke Matthias of Austria, the then governor of the Low Countries, and the Council of State, drawn up on the orders of the synod of Dordrecht by Gaspar van der Heyden, Taffin, Villiers and Dathenus (BT 4443, Kn 363). The French original (*Requête*, BT 4148, Kn 365-6) was still printed by Christiaen Houweel's press, which subsequently produced an enlarged reprint (BT 4149, Kn 367).

The Calvinist minister Pierre L'Oyseleur 'dit de Villiers' was also the author of *Ministrorum qui verbum Dei in reformatis in Belgio ecclesiis concionantur [...] Epistola* (BT 2127), which was printed by Van den Rade, as was his *Ratio ineundae concordiae inter ecclesias reformatas* (Kn 515). Both writings appeared in 1579 without an imprint. The *Ratio* has not hitherto been recognized as an Antwerp edition, and this is understandable since the printer, perhaps at the suggestion of Marnix, tried to give the piece a German appearance presumably in imitation of Villiers' oration which was delivered and published in Worms. In 1579 Van den Rade also published for the Reformed community of Antwerp a *Vriendelijcke waerschouwinghe aen de Staten van Artois, van Henegouwe ende van Douay* (BT 4826, Kn 422), in an attempt to prevent the secession of those areas. He may also have printed in the same year BT 4825, *Een vriendelijcke vermaninghe tot allen liefhebbers der vryheyt ...* (Kn 426), but the typographical material of the pamphlet provides insufficient evidence for a definite attribution. What is certain is that he printed the *Remonstrance* of the city of Antwerp in two languages in the summer of 1579, together with a petition to William of Orange to promulgate its contents (BT 4126, 4128; Kn 474-5). In 1575, moreover, he printed, with or without giving his name, various publications on coinage for Guillaem van Parijs who, as the artist who produced the woodcut representations of the coins, had a privilege for these editions but, at least in those years, does not always seem

to have had at his disposal a sufficient printing capacity himself.¹⁹

A year later Van den Rade published Marnix' *Psalmen* and a reprint of the Dutch confession of faith by Guy de Brès, this second work at the expense of the publisher Jasper Troyens. For a long time the book could not be found, but a few years ago the library of the Vrije Universiteit (Free University) in Amsterdam acquired a copy.²⁰ I have not encountered a single unsigned work by Van den Rade dating from 1580. In that year the political situation was evidently such that he could produce all his publications in his own name.

Understandably enough this did not apply in 1581 to an edition of the *Apologie ou deffense de [...] Guillaume, Prince d' Orange* (Kn 554), produced by Van den Raede with the fake address 'Delft'. Various editions exist of this famous text, probably written by Villiers. The reprint in question has hitherto been attributed to the Delft publisher (and later printer to the States) Albrecht Hendricksz. But even though he appears subsequently to have owned the woodcut of the coat of arms printed on page 86, the typefaces point unequivocally to Van den Rade. So this was one of those pirated editions against which the young Silvius tried in vain to protect himself.

In 1582 Van den Rade does not seem to have received any orders of a political nature, except, perhaps, for the *Histoire des troubles* which he printed in that year and to which we shall return. *Belgica Typographica* only lists four editions with his imprint for 1582. What he did produce was an unsigned edition of a *Warachtigh verhael* about the attempt to assassinate the Prince and a few others in Bruges in July (BT 7156, Kn 602), as well as a French edition of it (BT 4805-6, Kn 605), and, also in both languages, a report about the betrayal of Captain William Semple, who defected to the enemy in Liere with his Scotch garrison (BT 5301, 6121; Kn 615, 616). In this same year (or in the previous one), moreover, he printed without a date Gerardus Goossen's *Dialogus van drie vroukens*, presumably commissioned by the author.²¹

¹⁹ The question of whether Guillaem van Parijs printed anything himself, and if so what, deserves further investigation.

²⁰ The copy is not yet mentioned in Höweler & Matter, op. cit. (n. 15), Marnix 1580 (p. 40), or in Heijting, op. cit. (n. 15), no. D. 12.4.

²¹ *Een dialogus van drie vroukens, te weten: Papistische leere, Sweerelts wreetheyt, Schriftuerlijck bewijs ... (s.l.e.n. 1582 [recte 1581?])*. The only known copy, from the Meulman collection, is in Leiden UL. The work is written against Johannes Engelram. The author, 'a doctor of medicine and modern poet' ('Doctoer in de Medecijnen ende Poëet modern'), is reported to have been in London in 1567. From there he went to Canterbury in 1570 or 1571. As a consequence of the difficulties entailed by the book in question he left for London, probably in 1583. See Jan van der Noot, *Het Bosken en Het Theatre*, eds. W.A.P. Smit & W. Vermeer (Amsterdam 1953), pp. 360-2; K. Bostoen in *Dokumentaal*, II (1982), pp. 78-86, no. 1.4 (p. 82).

While, according to *Belgica Typographica*, Van den Rade only published a single book in his own name in 1583, he printed various political tracts anonymously, including one that is generally ascribed to Marnix, *Ernstighe vermaninghe vanden standt ende gheleghentheydt der Christenheyt* (BT 6289, Kn 627).²² The same press also produced a French edition of this important work, under the title *Remonstrance serieuse* (BT 4131, 6290; Kn 628).²³ Marnix' authorship of another pamphlet printed by Van den Rade is disputed: *Responce d'un bon patriot [...] au libelle [...] Avis d'un bourgeois de la ville de Gand ...* (BT 4140, 6629; Kn 633, 634). The church historian Van Toorenenbergen published it as though it were from Marnix' hand,²⁴ but the attribution is not widely accepted. Van den Rade printed the text twice. On the title-page of one of these editions Champagny – Frédéric Perrenot, Lord of Champagny, Cardinal Granvelle's youngest brother, fiercely opposed to both Spanish rule and the Reformation – is named as the author of the 'libelle fameux' under attack – a piece of information lacking in the other one. Another tract directed against Champagny and the Spaniards, which Van den Rade published twice, is *Een claer vertooch* (BT 1708, Kn 661, 662), addressed to the 'good patriots of the town of Ghent' ('de goede patriotten der stede van Ghent') – which does not mean, as Vanderhaeghen thought, that it was actually printed in Ghent. A further anti-Spanish work is BT 1888, *Lettre d'un gentilhomme de Haynaut [...] touchant les affaires de l'estat present du Pays bas* (Kn 667, 668). In 1583 Van den Rade also published a fiercely anti-Catholic book, a verse translation from the French of Simon Rosario's *Antitheses Christi et Antichristi* (which appeared in Geneva in 1578): *Teghenstellinghe oft verghelyckinghe der wercken Jesu Christi ende des Paus* (BT 4468).

In 1584 Van den Rade was again printing a great many political pamphlets at the instigation of, or commissioned by, Marnix, including his *Ad potentissimos [...] reges principes [...] commonefactio* (van Someren 105,²⁵ not in BT; BT 2047 is printed by Richard Schilders in Middelburg). He also published a very negative *Ondersoekinghe ende examinatie vande middelen [...] door de welcke de inghesetene [...] met [...] den Coninck van*

²² Geurts, op. cit. (n. 12) gives a summary of the content on p. 218.

²³ A Latin translation appeared in the same year in Middelburg (Kn 626).

²⁴ J.J. van Toorenenbergen, *Marnixiana anonyma. Nieuwe verscheidenheden uit en over zijn nalatenschap* ('s-Gravenhage 1903), pp. 25 ff.; for a reprint see pp. 39-61. See also Geurts, op. cit. (n. 12), pp. 121-2. The attribution is virtually rejected by G. Oosterhof, *La vie littéraire de Marnix de Sainte-Aldegonde et son 'Tableau des differens de la religion'* (Kampen 1909), p. 46, n. 2.

²⁵ Cf. J.F. van Someren, *Pamfletten in de Bibliotheek der Rijks-Universiteit Utrecht niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, 2 vols. (Utrecht 1915-22).

Spaignen [...] zouden moghen accorderen (BT 2247, Kn 677),²⁶ an answer to a proposal by Ghent. Then there was a *Discours d'un gentil-homme amateur de la patrie [...] sur le fait de la paix ...* (BT 918, Kn 705), which is perhaps wrongly ascribed to Marnix and of which Van den Rade also produced a Dutch translation, *Een bedencken by eenen edelman liefhebber des vaderlantds (sic) ...* (BT 279, Kn 709). Another edition was published without an imprint by Jan van Brecht in Brussels (BT 5171). In the northern Netherlands, too, an edition was published (by Albrecht Hendricksz), under the different title: *Een goet advijs opt stuck vande vrede ende oorloghe ...* (BT 1284, Kn 708; BT 1283 and Kn 706, 707 are seventeenth-century reprints).

A work of a very different nature concerns an earthquake that occurred in 'certain villages' in Switzerland, the *Waerachtich verhael van de eertbevinghe gheschiet in sommige dorpen [...] in Switserlandt* (BT 7152), which Van den Rade printed in 1584 and of which he also placed a French version on the market (BT 5667). In this latter edition the printer used a large initial P, a spectacular ornament which had once belonged to his former master. The vignettes in BT 6729 (Kn 685a), *Sententie [...] jeghens Walter Sethon*, show that this, too, was printed by Van den Rade. In 1585, finally, his last year in Antwerp, he printed for Marnix his anonymous *Bref recit de l'estat de la ville d'Anvers, du temps de l'assiegement et rendition d'icelle*, in which the author defends his conduct (BT 2247, Kn 677).²⁷

CHRONIEK HISTORIE – HISTOIRE DES TROUBLES

Some time ago B.A. Vermaseren devoted a study in *De Gulden Passer* to a chronicle which appeared in 1582, 'Gilb. Roy, alias Theophilus, auteur van de anonieme "Chronyc Historie ..." of "Histoire des troubles ... des Pays Bas" (1582)'.²⁸ The *Chronyc Historie* consists of three parts, the first two of which are an almost literal translation of a historical work published in Basel in 1575, *Niderlendischer ersten Kriegen, Empörungen, Zweitrachten Ursprung, anfang und end*. Based on mainly German and

²⁶ Ghent UL has a variant with certain differences in spelling, see J.K. van der Wulp, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. Over de geschiedenis van Nederland: aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam 1866-8), vol. 1, p. 91, no. 597; also F. Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliographie gantoise. Recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs de Gand (1483-1850)*, 7 vols. (Gand 1958-69), vol. 6, p. 275, no. 14019, note.

²⁷ Apart from Leiden, Utrecht UL also has a copy. – The title-page is reproduced in *Marnix van Sinte Aldegonde. Officieel gedenkboek*, eds. H. Werveke et al. (Amsterdam/Brussel [1939]), p. 46.

²⁸ B.A. Vermaseren, 'Gilb. Roy, alias Theophilus, auteur van de anonieme "Chronic Historie ..." of "Histoire des troubles [...] des Pays-Bas" (1582)', *De Gulden Passer*, 36 (1958), pp. 91-111.

French sources, including printed news reports and official publications which the author included in part or in their entirety, the book provides a description of the events in the first phase of the struggle against Spain, from 1566 to October 1568. The title-page of the Dutch version names the compiler as Adam Henricpetri, jurist and professor in Basel.²⁹

Wherever possible the anonymous Dutch translator replaced the German of the often extensive quotations by the original Dutch texts. He also expanded the work considerably. He continued the chronicle in a similar manner up to the beginning of March 1580 and thereby doubled its length. The work is thus the first continuous historical account produced in the Netherlands. For a whole generation of Dutchmen who could only read their own language the book was the sole available survey of the stirring events of the previous years.

So who was the author who continued the work of Henricpetri and described the further course of the Dutch fight for freedom? In the nineteenth century the work was mistakenly attributed to Jean-François Le Petit as well as to Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde³⁰ – the last one an ascription still to be found in the new edition of the English *STC*.³¹ Subsequently Carel Rijckewaert was put forward, a Flemish refugee who was the minister of the Dutch emigrants in Norwich in 1567.³² For the name of this town appears in the (fictitious) imprint on the title-page of the book, 'Gedruct tot Noordwitz na de Copie van Basel.' Another argument for the attribution was seen in the fact that the author of the sequel often calls himself Theophilus, a name used several times as a pseudonym by Rijckewaert, even in his correspondence. Although this ascription was more or less generally accepted,

²⁹ For the writer and his work, see B.A. Vermaseren, 'Dr. Adam Henricpetri uit Basel en zijn boek over het begin van onze opstand', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 13 (1959), pp. 189-216, which also has references to earlier literature.

³⁰ W.J.C. Moens, 'Bibliography of "Chronyc Historie der Nederlandtscher oorlogen, etc."', *Archaeologia*, 51 (1888), pp. 205-12 (pp. 207 ff).

³¹ *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland and of English Books printed abroad, 1475-1640*, first comp. by A.W. Pollard & C.R. Redgrave (London 1926); 2nd edn., rev. and enl., begun by W.A. Jackson & F.S. Ferguson, completed by K.F. Pantzer, 3 vols. (London 1976-91), vol. 2, p. 140, no. 17450.

³² For him and his presumed authorship, see C. Rahlenbeck, 'Notes sur les auteurs, les imprimeurs et les distributeurs des pamphlets politiques et religieux du 16e siècle, 18: Théophile', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, 18 (1862), pp. 416-20; P.J. Blok, 'Theophilus – Henricpetri', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 4th S., 7 (1909), pp. 195-207; A.A. van Schelven, *De Nederlandsche vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland ...* (s-Gravenhage 1909), pp. 196-8, 202.

Vermaseren suggested another solution.³³ With a string of subtle arguments he attributed it to Gilbert (Le) Roy (Regius), a Frenchman who was in touch with William of Orange and who was staying in Antwerp at the time.

Yet none of these views can be accepted now that we know that the Dutch book was not printed in Norwich or Antwerp, as was once thought, but far away from the scene of political conflict – in Leeuwarden. A typographical investigation shows that it was produced by the press of Peter Hendricksz van Campen, then a still unknown publisher who had succeeded Is(e)brandt ter Steghe as printer to the Court of Friesland in that very same year of 1579.³⁴ This origin does not of course lead us to the name of the compiler, but his knowledge of all sorts of regional details makes it likely that he was someone from Friesland itself. And indeed, who else would entrust a manuscript to a printer who had just set himself up in that remote part of the country?³⁵

Two years after the publication of the *Chronyc Historie* a French edition appeared, *Histoire des troubles et guerres civiles du Pays-Bas ...*,³⁶ a translation quite possibly intended to influence the French-speaking inhabitants of the southern Netherlands. The book appears to have been published by Gillis van den Rade. It is printed in typefaces from his press which include five woodcut initials owned by him alone. An attempt has been made to link this edition, too, to the name of Roy, this time as the translator. And yet there are no indications that he was so directly involved in the propaganda campaign of the Orange party in these years, and it is very doubtful whether he knew Dutch well enough to be able to carry out such a task.

What is indeed reported is that Roy was working on a general history of the Netherlands and for this purpose assembled 'authentic memoirs and original pieces' ('autentieke memorien ende originele stucken').³⁷ These activities, however, were probably connected with his ambition to be appointed official historiographer

³³ B.A. Vermaseren, 'Dr. Gilbert Roy of Regius, een gunsteling van Prins Willem van Oranje', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, II (1956), pp. 40-68.

³⁴ P. Valkema Blouw, 'Van Friese herkomst: de Chronyc Historie, Noortwitz 1579', *Philologia Frisica Anno 1984. Lezingen en neipetearen fan it tsiende Frysk Filologekongres, Oktober 1984* (Ljouwert 1986), pp. 96-112.

³⁵ For a few other arguments which also suggest that the book originated in Friesland, see *ibidem*, pp. 99-100.

³⁶ For a description of the book and the possible author, see: *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*. Fondée par F. van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de M.-T. Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles 1964-75), vol. 3, p. 818, no. L 54.

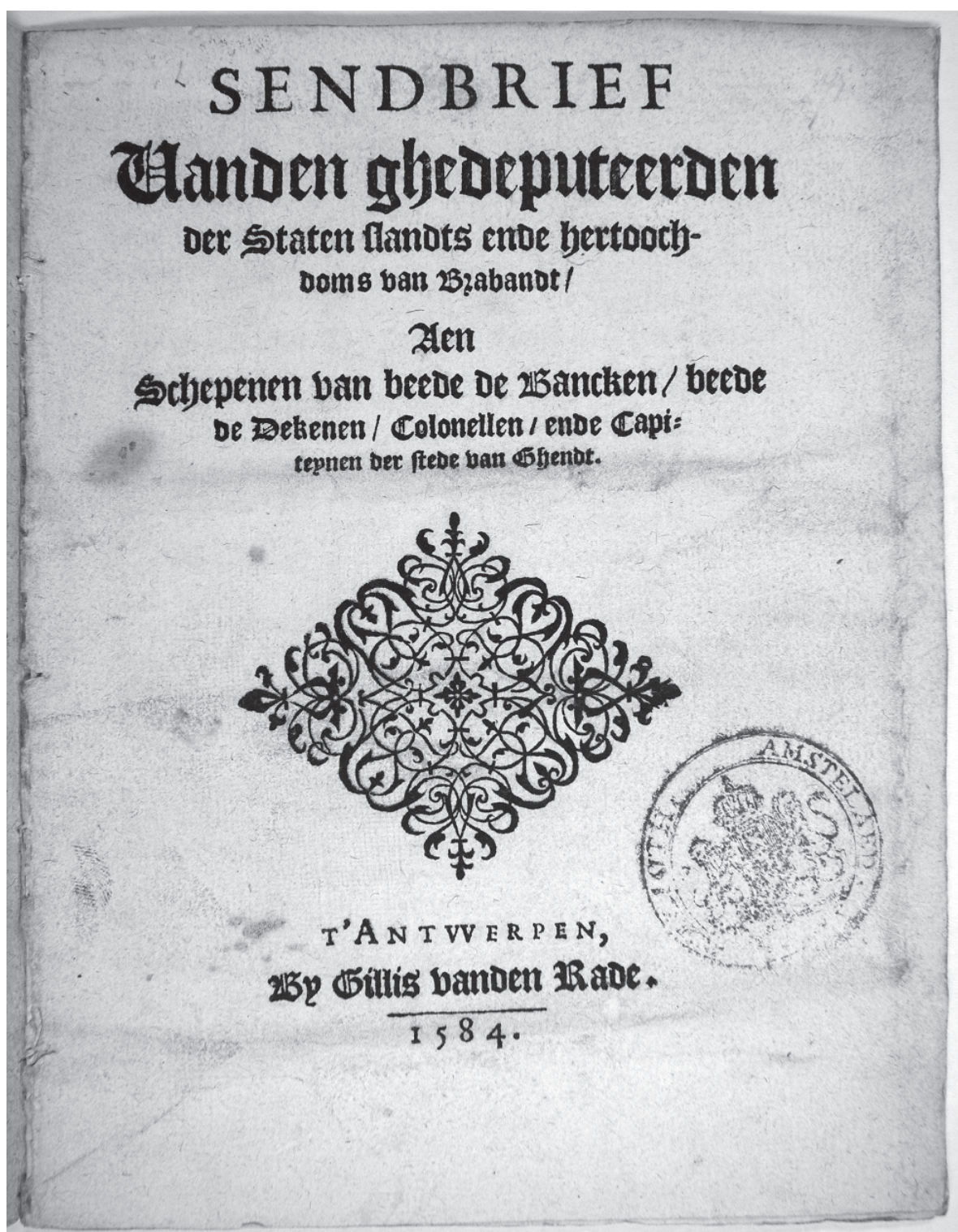
³⁷ This is reported in a short chronicle by Philip Galle, *Een cort verhael van de gedincweerdichste saken ...* (1579), Voet PP 1230. Cited after B.A. Vermaseren, 'De Antwerpse graveur Filips Galle en zijn kroniekje over de opstand (1579)', *De Gulden Passer*, 35 (1957), pp. 139-47.

by the States General – an attempt which was frustrated. The Antwerp archivist Prims has attributed to him a voluminous manuscript, the *Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas, 1565-1580* (as the title of the text edition runs).³⁸ The report from Antwerp after May 1578 is so detailed that we are almost certainly dealing with an author who was living in that town – and we know that Roy had been living there since the spring of that year. He must thus be taken into consideration as the author of the *Mémoires*. Prims at any rate published his attribution as an unproven hypothesis. Vermaseren rejected it,³⁹ but his objections can be overruled now that we know that the *Chronyc Historie* does not appear to be by Roy. For Vermaseren based his rejection of Roy's authorship mainly on the difference between the political views in the book and those in the manuscript, which would be hard to explain if the two were by the same author. Yet the differences are less surprising if, as would now seem to be the case, we are dealing with two different compilers, each of whom had his own view of the events. Prims' hypothesis consequently has a fair chance of being right.

So Gillis van den Rade appears to have held a by no means insignificant place in the propaganda campaign against Spanish rule. It is therefore understandable that, after the fall of Antwerp, he should have availed himself of a permit by the authorities to leave the town and that he should have seized the opportunity of continuing his career in the liberated north. His sons, too, would have a future there.

³⁸ F. Prims, 'Dr. Gilbert Roy, schrijver der "Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas"', *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen*, Klasse der Letteren ..., 4/ 2 (Antwerpen 1942), p. 8.

³⁹ B.A. Vermaseren, 'Rond het auteurschap der Mémoires anonymes sur les troubles des Pays-Bas', *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, II (1956), pp. 200-34.



1 and 2: Ornament used by Van den Rade, on a signed (Kn. 678) and unsigned (KN. 661) title-page
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Pamphlet E4a and pamphlet E3ca)

Een claer Hertooch

der heymelijcke raetslaghen ende practijcken
die de gheimene vanden ghebruycken om dese Nederlanden we-
deromme der Spaensche tyrannie ende Inquisitie te onderwerpen.
Midsgaders de eenighe remedien ende middelen om de selue
daervan te bevryden / ende wederomme in hare
vozighe voorspoet te brenghene.

1583.

Aen de goede patriotten der Stede van Ghent
ende allen anderen liefhebberen
des Vaderlands.

By eenen Liefhebber des Vaderlandts.



1583.

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THE FIRST PROHIBITED BOOK IN THE NETHERLANDS

SUMMA DER GODLIKEN SCRIFTUREN (1523)



In the spring of 1524 the inhabitants of the northern Netherlands encountered a new phenomenon: censorship by the authorities. The Court of Holland had issued an order prohibiting two recently published books – a hitherto unknown intervention by the secular powers.¹ One of the publications specified was a translation of the Matthew Gospel (NK 369),² probably by Johan Pelt, the custodian of the Franciscans in Amsterdam. The publisher was the printer Doen Pietersz in that same town.³ The other work was the *Summa der Godliker Scrifturen*, a manual of questions concerning faith and human existence based on evangelical principles, and consequently a hitherto unique collection of guidelines for public and private life.⁴ The book bears no date but cannot have appeared before 1523, since it contains an abridged translation of Martin Luther's *Von weltlicher Obrigkeit* which came out with a dedication dated 1 January 1523. We can thus regard the *Summa* as one of

¹ Order of the Emperor dated 23 March 1524; see *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, ed. P. Fredericq, 5 vols. (Gent 1889-1905), vol. 4 (1900), pp. 265-6, no. 205.

² W. Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, vols. 1-3, pts. 1-5 ('s-Gravenhage 1923-71), referred to as NK.

³ C.C. de Bruin, *De Statenbijbel en zijn voorgangers. Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen vanaf de Reformatie tot 1637*, ed. F.G.M. Broeyer (Haarlem/Brussel 1993), pp. 67-72; E.W. Moes & C.P. Burger Jr, *De Amsterdamse boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw*, 4 vols. [begun by both, after vol. 2 continued by Dr Burger] (Amsterdam/'s-Gravenhage 1900-15; repr. Utrecht 1988), vol. 1 (Amsterdam 1900), no. 39. The book was prohibited since 'certain errors' were found in the glosses, the explanatory notes at the end of each chapter ('overmidts [...] in de glossen zekere dwalingen bevonden zijn geweest'). Doen Pietersz was never approached. The only known copy may well be incomplete at the end and lack a colophon. Internal evidence shows that the book cannot have appeared before 1522, but there is no good reason to think that it was indeed published in that year. The following year 1523 is also a possibility.

⁴ For the history, the significance, national as well as international (there are French, English and Italian translations), and all other aspects of this work, see J. Trapman, *De 'Summa der Godliker Scrifturen' (1523)* (Leiden 1978; thesis Leiden), *passim*. The author published supplementary information in his 'Le rôle des „sacramentaires” des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 63 (1983), pp. 1-24, 9 ff.; and later in 'Il testo originale e le traduzioni', *Introduzione [e] Nota bibliografica, estratto da Il Sommario della Santa Scrittura*, ed. Cesare Bianco (Torino 1988), pp. 1-24, 47-51.

the first two books to be specifically prohibited by the Dutch magistrates. Martin Luther's writings had already been the object of an earlier general condemnation.⁵

While Doen Pietersz had launched the translation of the Matthew Gospel under his own name, the *Summa* (NK 1134) appeared anonymously and without an imprint. Nobody has yet succeeded in identifying the author of the book with any certainty. There are now substantial objections to the traditional attribution to Henricus Bomelius. Nor has anyone managed to establish which was the original edition. There are several early editions, but the origin and date of these publications are still a matter of speculation.⁶ In what follows, I shall endeavour to provide an answer to these last questions, but I do not propose to tackle the problem of the authorship.

We know that the government in Holland intervened after the publication of the *Summa* and had the book confiscated. Measures were also taken in the province of Zeeland.⁷ Information existed – but apparently at first no proof – that Jan Seversz, a Leiden parchment-maker as well as a printer, had published it.⁸ He was an ambitious and highly active man, with various important publications in his name, including an extensive history of the Netherlands (the so-called *Divisiekronek*),⁹ a translation of the *Byenboec* by Thomas of Cantimpré, and, for the bishopric of Utrecht, both a fine *Missaal* and a *Breviarium*. A prominent artist, Lucas van Leyden, designed woodcuts for him. Besides these and other works of significance, he also printed all sorts of minor works for the southern Netherlands, such as school

⁵ The first edict by Emperor Charles V against Luther's teaching and writings in the Netherlands dates from 20 March 1521. See *Corpus documentorum*, op. cit. (n. 1), vol. 4 (1900), pp. 43–45, 522, no. 42.

⁶ An extensive survey of earlier research can be found in Trapman, op. cit. (n. 3), chapter 1: 'Geschiedenis van het onderzoek' (pp. 1–13).

⁷ Bet[aeld] bij ordonnancie alsboven (van Wet en Raad): 'Geert van Eek duerwaerder over de copie van een placat byden welcken verboden wiert teeuwangelie van Sinte Matheus ende tbouccken genaemt de somma vanden godlijken geschrifte'. 2 sts. (Paid by decree as above (by Law and Council): 'Geert van Eek bailiff for the copy of an edict which prohibited the Gospel of St Matthew and the booklet named the somma vanden godlijken geschrifte.' 2 stivers); Stadsrekening Middelburg (Accounts of the town of Middelburg) of 1523, ff. 122 ff., *Archief. Vroegere en latere mededeelingen van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen*, 6 (1888), p. 324.

⁸ M.E. Kronenberg, 'Lotgevallen van Jan Seversz, boekdrukker te Leiden (c.1502–1524) en te Antwerpen (c.1527–c.1530)', *Het Boek*, 13 (1924), pp. 1–38, 142. See also her *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam 1948), pp. 83–8, and her 'Samenwerking van Willem Vorsterman en Jan Seversz. te Antwerpen (1528)', *Het Boek*, 28 (1944–6), pp. 295–9. For further literature, see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop 1975), pp. 200–1. – Also J. Gerritsen, 'Jan Seversz prints a chronicle', *Quaerendo*, 21 (1991), pp. 99–124, in answer to K. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekronek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in de tijd van Erasmus* (Hilversum 1988).

⁹ Tilmans, op. cit. (n. 8); Gerritsen, art. cit. (n. 8).

books on parchment and, from 1520 on, early Protestant literature which included a number of reprints of tracts by Martin Luther.¹⁰

In November 1523 the Court of Holland sent a messenger to Jan Seversz and summoned him to The Hague 'to discuss certain matters' ('om zekere saicken diemen mit hem te spreekken hadde'). Seversz took no notice of the summons, whereupon the public prosecutor dispatched a representative to Delft (where copies of the *Summa* had also been sold) in order to track the printer down. We do not know whether this visit provided confirmation of the suspicions, but we do know that, in the months thereafter, the Court summoned Jan Seversz on four occasions, the last of which was on 11 May 1524.¹¹ The suspect never reacted. On 1 April a new edict by Emperor Charles V was issued, strictly forbidding the printing, sale and possession of heretical books.¹²

After that Jan Seversz was condemned by default on 13 July to life-long banishment from Holland and Zeeland and to the confiscation of all his belongings. This last penalty could subsequently be redeemed by his wife and, some years later, his banishment, too, was revoked. In the meantime, however, Seversz had not waited for the shower to pass but had taken to his legs.¹³ On 24 May 1524 he had himself registered as one of the new citizens, the 'nye borgers', of Utrecht. His stay there was brief, however, for after less than a month, on 17 June, he was officially ordered to relinquish his citizenship and to leave Utrecht for good 'since he was infected by the work of Luther' ('want hij mettet werck van Lutheryen besmet is'). He left the town, but not before he had protested against the decision and had indeed managed to obtain permission to return. Within a matter of weeks, however, on 17 May 1525, he was again banished from the town, this time for ever and with all his assistants ('met alle syne dienres die met hem printen'), at the request of the Utrecht guilds.¹⁴

So Jan Seversz did not flee all alone, but did so together with his assistants and,

¹⁰ M.E. Kronenberg, 'Over twee titelranden van Jan Seversz te Leiden (1515 en c.1521?) en over het merk met het soldeerlampje', *Het Boek*, 26 (1940-2), pp. 240-6; M.E. Kronenberg, 'Bij een onbekende Luther-druk van Jan Seversz. te Leiden (met datum v Augustus 1520)', *Het Boek*, 37 (1965-6), pp. 73-6, where she described two recently discovered works by Luther printed by Seversz (NK 2227, NK 2307).

¹¹ *Corpus documentorum*, op. cit. (n. 1), vol. 4 (1900), nos. 183, 193, 195, 201, 212, 213, 224; vol. 5 (1902), nos. 430, 640.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 4, no. 209.

¹³ G.A. Evers, 'Boekdrukker, ketter en banneling: Jan Seversz te Utrecht', *Bibliotheekleven*, 3 (1918), pp. 241-3. He presumably fled around 19 October 1523, when proceedings against him by a fellow citizen were interrupted and afterwards never resumed. See J.D. Bangs, 'Further adventures of Jan Seversz., bookprinter and parchmentmaker of Leiden', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), pp. 128-43 (130 ff., 139).

¹⁴ *Corpus documentorum*, op. cit. (n. 1), vol. 4, nos. 218, 289.

we can probably assume, took with him a printing-press and other typographical material. The question now is: did he use these, and if so, what did he print with them? So far not a single publication by Seversz from this period has come to light, any more than unsigned publications in which his material can be recognized. Miss Kronenberg looked in vain for books produced in these years which she could attribute to him, and consequently concluded that the original edition of the *Summa* could not be found and that all copies had evidently been lost.

Yet we should not accept this conclusion without further investigation. There is actually a small group of Protestant publications which can be regarded as the possible work of Jan Seversz. Two of these, translations of Luther (NK 4259 and NK 4260, Benzing 1849 and 970 respectively¹⁵), and perhaps even a third (NK 3827)¹⁶, are dated 1524. A fourth, and that is edition (a) of the prohibited *Summa der Godliker Scrijturen* (NK 3910), has among its initials a woodcut letter D which we encounter subsequently in Leiden in various publications by Seversz' successor Peter Jansz.¹⁷ What these books have in common is the typeface, the commonly applied Pica Textura of Henric Lettersnijder (VPT T 30)¹⁸, but with a very special detail: instead of slashes (/) – at the time the usual symbol for a comma or division – we here find backslashes (\). As far as I can survey, this particular use of backslashes is not met with anywhere else in the northern Netherlands in these years.¹⁹

Jan Seversz, who had so far worked mainly with Henric Lettersnijder's

¹⁵ J. Benzing, *Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod* (Baden-Baden 1966), referred to as Benzing.

¹⁶ The first leaf of the only known copy (Stadtbibliothek Lübeck) is missing. There might have been a date on it.

¹⁷ For a reproduction, see Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 8: 'Lotgevallen'), p. 22, illus. X, and W. Nijhoff, *L' Art typographique dans les Pays-Bas pendant les années 1500 à 1540. Reproduction en fac-simile des caractères typographiques, marques d'imprimeurs, gravures sur bois et autres ornements pendant cette période*, 2 vols. & supplement (La Haye 1926–35), hereafter cited as NAT, vol. I, *Les Pays-Bas septentrionaux*, Inconnus I 4. Apart from the work of Peter Jansz we also encounter the initial later in a publication of Jan Matthijsz in Leiden: *Een seer schoone oeffeninghe vander passion [...] Jhesu Christi (s.a. [1547])*. – Copy: The Hague, Royal Library (KB), which was actually printed by his fellow townsman Peter Jansz, as we see, for example, from the large title woodcut. See also the remarks in the note to NK 3465, which refer to the initial D in a signed publication of Peter Jansz (NK 3624), there dated c.1537.

¹⁸ H.D.L. Vervliet, *Sixteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries* (Amsterdam 1968), hereafter referred to as VPT.

¹⁹ Nijhoff, op. cit. (n. 17), whose study can be regarded as very complete in the indication and reproduction of typefaces, only gives two other examples of type matter with reversed commas, both of a later date. The earliest is a Prognostication of 1531 by Salomon de Jode, published (but perhaps also printed) by Hendrik Peetersen van Middelburch, NK 1198; NAT i.v., III 10. The other is Antonio de Guevara, *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio* (Antwerp, Frans Aertssen, 1536), NK 1033; NAT Anvers, Derniers imprimeurs III 9, 10.

English Textura (VPT T 20) as a typeface, obviously acquired a newly cast fount of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura in 1523 with an eye to producing clandestine publications.²⁰ In this he was following a general trend. His competitors in the southern Netherlands had long been using this smaller typeface for octavo (and consequently, because of the lower cost of paper, relatively cheap) books, which also had the advantage of being easy to hide if the contents so required. I believe that the first book which Seversz printed with this typeface was the *Summa* in Leiden in 1523. When he had to flee at the end of that year he did not take with him his large, and thus far heavier, English Textura,²¹ but his new typeface. We can suppose that the other publications in these types were produced on the way. This is indicated by their year of publication, 1524, and the complete disappearance of the cast type thereafter.²² Jan Seversz then found refuge with colleagues in Antwerp where he could use the typographical material at hand.²³

The course of events I have just described cannot be proved – but it seems to me the most logical explanation. The hypothesis rests on the striking coincidence that nothing produced by Seversz is known from the period in which he and his assistants were working in Utrecht (and possibly elsewhere), but that, in these very same few months, a typeface was being used in a combination which does not appear anywhere else. I believe that there can be no objection to this theory, which provides a plausible explanation for the sudden appearance and disappearance of the type with which the *Summa* is printed. Anyway, it would be hard to suggest another printer in the northern Netherlands who was prepared to tackle such works at the time. The *Officina Corveriana* in Zwolle had ended its activities in 1522 or 1523 for good reason. And that we are here dealing with the first, or at any rate a very early, edition of the *Summa* is also confirmed by the lack of the supplements we find in later editions.

A striking feature of this *Summa* is its title-page. A semi-Gothic woodcut compartment encloses, below, the figures of three wise men or scholars shown from

²⁰ In his early years Seversz used another fount of Lettersnijder's Pica Textura, see NAT i.v. II 6.

²¹ He no longer had a free use of his typographical material in Leiden. On 12 March 1524 his possessions were inventoried with an eye to confiscation.

²² Besides the typeface there is a further element which establishes a link between the *Summa* and the 1524 editions: the woodcut initial D which appears both in the *Summa* (reproduction in NAT Inconnus I 4) and in NK 4260, where the text opens with it. We find the block later, again in Leiden, in a signed work of Peter Jansz (NK 3624): *Een seer schoone ende devote oeffeninghe* (s.a. [c.1537?]) and later still in *Fasciculus myrrae* (Leiden, Peter Jansz, 12 May 1554). – Copy: Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR).

²³ Kronenberg, art. cit., (n. 8: 'Lotgevallen'), pp. 25 ff.; Kronenberg, art. cit. (n. 7: 'Samenwerking'), pp. 295-9; A. Dermul, 'Vorsterman's Nieuw Testament van Juli 1528', *De Gulden Passer*, 26 (1949), pp. 253-6.

the waist up (illus. 1). The same woodcut was used in Delft by Cornelis Henricz Lettersnijder in 1527. It appears on the title-page of a book to which the authorities could hardly object: *Een corte declaracie en[de] a[n]twoert [...] teghen zo[m]mige articule[n] der Lutherane[n]* (NK 752), by Joannes Eckius, one of Luther's fiercest opponents. Nevertheless this translation was prohibited, apparently because a permit had not been requested before publication. The Court in Brussels was obviously eager to keep all publications in the vernacular concerning the new doctrine, whether for or against, out of public reach.

No such decoration appears in another early edition (b) of the *Summa* (NK 1968),²⁴ formerly regarded as the original by J.J. van Toorenenbergen²⁵ (illus. 2). He ascribed it to 1523, but that this is wrong has already been established by Miss Kronenberg. The edition is expanded with a translation of the *Testament Jesu Christi* by the German humanist and reformer Johannes Oecolampadius and can now be attributed on typographical grounds to Willem Vorsterman in Antwerp.²⁶ He may have published the book in collaboration with the banished Jan Seversz with whom he had had business dealings for some years.²⁷

The date of publication of this reprint is probably 1526, since a contemporary source says that the *Summa* was available in Antwerp around Christmas.²⁸ That, too, is the date (albeit fictitious) of another reprint, edition (c), NK 3911, also with the *Testament*, but now expanded with a sequel to the main work, *Dat ander deel van die Summa*. This time the anonymous publisher was Adriaen van Berghen, the man who did so much for the distribution of early evangelical writings in the vernacular. The

²⁴ See also NK, vol. 2, p. lvi. – Copies: Amsterdam, UL (2x, one of which is incomplete).

²⁵ *Het oudste Nederlandsche verboden boek. 1523. Oeconomica Christiana, Summe der Godliker Schrifturen*, expl. and ed. J.J. van Toorenenbergen (Monumenta Reformationis Belgicae, 1; Leiden 1882).

²⁶ The book is printed in a rare typeface, a Small Pica Roman only to be found in the Netherlands in the work of Vorsterman and Hubert de Croock in Bruges. For Vervliet, op. cit. (n. 18) this was a reason to name the typeface after Hubert de Croock (VPT R 29), although its Dutch origin is by no means certain. The typeface, for example, lacks a w, replaced here by a very different German letter. The book also contains all the known Schoeffer capitals, which Vorsterman characteristically uses everywhere as the first letters of new paragraphs.

²⁷ Above all where school books printed on parchment were concerned. For these relations, see P.A. Tiele, 'Aanteekeningen van een Leidsch boekverkooper 1514-23', *Bibliographische Adversaria*, 4 (1878-82), pp. 65-76 (66 ff.); M.E. Kronenberg, 'Het zoogenaamde winkelkasboek van Jan Seversz.', *Het Boek*, 14 (1925), pp. 334-8; J.D. Bangs, 'Reconsidering Lutheran booktrade: the so-called "Winkelkasboek" of Pieter Claesz van Balen', *Quaerendo*, 9 (1979), pp. 227-60 (243 ff.).

²⁸ J. Decavele, 'Vroege reformatische bedrijvigheid in de grote Nederlandse steden. Claes van der Elst te Brussel, Antwerpen, Amsterdam en Leiden (1524-1528)', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, 70 (1990), pp. 13-29 (23-4). The choice of this date by Adriaen van Berghen for his undoubtedly antedated reprint (NK 3911) could be seen as a confirmation of the year 1526 – see below.

typeface shows that the new edition did not appear before 1530 or 1531.²⁹ The only known copy, in Stuttgart, was lost in the Second World War. Fortunately certain photographs, including those of the title-pages, have survived.³⁰ These show that Van Berghen had the title compartment of the first edition cut anew in wood. It is an excellent copy which proves that, although the publisher did not have the original woodcut at his disposal, he wanted his reprint to resemble the original as closely as possible. For the second part he had a suitable compartment made in which the three male figures are replaced by three female ones, personifying Faith, Hope and Charity (illus. 3).

The original block with the scholars still existed, however. We find it in a *Nieuwe Testament* of 1531 (NK 402) by another Antwerp publisher, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten, and again in an edition dating from 1533 of this same *Nieuwe Testament* printed by Cornelis Henricz Lettersnijder.³¹

The original compartment, used by Seversz and Lettersnijder, thus also appears in an Antwerp publication.³² Are we consequently entitled to conclude that the block had indeed ended up there? This would be in conflict with the fact that we still find the three figures of the scholars used in Leiden in 1546 by Jacob Jorisz.³³ So the course of events was otherwise: the *Nieuwe Testament* of Hillen van Hoochstraten was not printed by him but by his colleague from Delft, Cornelis Lettersnijder, as we see from the initials and various typographical elements. A number of Antwerp post-incunabula were actually produced by presses in the northern Netherlands. Several examples exist of this hitherto little known phenomenon. In order to increase their production capacity, printers applied to a colleague in the north, especially in the case of reprints.³⁴

²⁹ In 1530 or 1531 Van Berghen replaced the w belonging to his Lettersnijder Pica Textura (VPT T 30) with a Bastarda w, an alteration which was permanent. For reproductions, see NAT, Adriaen van Berghen X 41 and XIV 55 respectively. See also P. Valkema Blouw, 'The Van Oldenborch and Vanden Merberghe pseudonym, or Why Frans Fraet had to die', *Quaerendo*, 22 (1992), pp. 165-90, 245-72 (259).

³⁰ In the F.S. Knipscheer apparatus (Amsterdam UL, Dept. of MSS, private collections), folder 5.

³¹ Not in NK. See A.A. den Hollander, 'Recently discovered: a copy of the 1533 edition of the New Testament by the Delft printer Cornelis Henricz Lettersnijder', *Quaerendo*, 25 (1995), pp. 310-12.

³² Reproduced in NAT, Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten XVII 70.

³³ On the title-page of *Ordinantie ende Statuten, des Keyserlike Maesteyt, inhouwende die gemeyn welvaert va[n] lantpachters [...] angae[n] de coren granen staende op die velde* (30 juni 1546) (Leiden, Jacob Jansz [...], s.a. [1546]). – Copy: London, BL.

³⁴ This emerges convincingly from, for example, NK 391, a New Testament published in 1527 by Michiel Hillen van Hoochstraten. The six large initials it contains, reproduced in NAT, Hillen v. H. XV 57 and XVI 59, and the four initials from NK 402 reproduced in NAT, Hillen v. H. XVI 61, all belonged to Cornelis Henricz Lettersnijder; see NAT, IV 13 letters d, i, p and s and IV 14

The deceptive similarity of the two frames, the original and the copy, has led to some confusion. In 1966 H.F. Wijnman still believed that they were printed from the same block and thus came to various mistaken attributions.³⁵ Yet Wouter Nijhoff had already reproduced the original woodcut in his unsurpassed *Art typographique*,³⁶ so that it was possible to compare the two copies with one another. We thus see clearly that they are truly made from two different blocks, even if the similarity is indeed striking.

Just as Mattheus Crom had taken over the position of the most important Protestant publisher in the southern Netherlands from the banished Adriaen van Berghen, so his brother-in-law and successor Steven Mierdmans carried on the same function. In the four years or so that Mierdmans worked in Antwerp – he left his country for London in 1546 or 1547 – he, too, published a new edition (d) of the *Summa* (NK 1969), with the same text as Van Berghen's edition and with his title compartment. The material he acquired from Van Berghen's inventory apparently included the ornaments. The only known copy of this edition is in the Utrecht University Library (illus. 4).³⁷

Something similar happened to the vacancy which Mierdmans left on his departure for London. His sister-in-law took over the management of the bookshop connected with the firm, but his role as clandestine printer was at least partly filled by Hans van Ruremunde, who carried on the family business of his father (and later of his widowed mother) from 1546 to 1553.³⁸ After his marriage in this last year, Van Ruremunde abandoned his risky publications and limited himself to the book trade. We do not know of any edition of the *Summa* produced by him, although he came into possession of the woodcuts for the book which had once been used by Van Berghen and Mierdmans. It is of course perfectly possible that a reprint by the Ruremundes has since been lost.

The woodcuts of the title compartments of both parts of the *Summa* reappear in the work of the man who succeeded Van Ruremunde in 1553 as publisher to the adherents of the Reformation: Frans Fraet. This man, whose activity as a printer was almost entirely forgotten until recently – even if he had acquired a certain

letter d².

³⁵ H.F. Wijnman, 'The mysterious sixteenth-century printer Niclaes van Oldenborch: Antwerp or Emden?', *Studia in honorem Herman de la Fontaine Verwey*, ed. S. van der Woude (Amsterdam 1966 [=1968]), pp. 448-78 (472-4).

³⁶ NAT, Cornelis Henricz Lettersnijder III 37 (and 36).

³⁷ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29), p. 256 with n. 104.

³⁸ For the Van Ruremundes, see Rouzet, op. cit. (n. 8), pp. 193-5, and some supplementary information in P. Valkema Blouw, 'Drukkers voor Menno Simons en Dirk Philips', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, NS, 17 (1991), pp. 40-4.

fame as a ‘rederijker’, a member of one of the chambers of rhetoric – appears to have published a great many Protestant books between 1550/1 and his execution in January 1558. These included, in April 1557, a reprint of the *Summa*, edition (e), again with Van Berghen’s title compartments, which had thus come into his possession via Hans van Ruremunde. Fraet hid behind the pseudonym Magnus van den Merberghe van Oesterhout, a name which has puzzled bibliographers for many years.³⁹ Unfortunately the only known copy of his edition, once in the Krohne collection in Hamburg, was also lost in the Second World War.⁴⁰

Yet a *Summa* with the imprint ‘Ghedrukt bi my Magnus vanden Merberghe van Oesterhout [...]1557’, edition (f), has recently come to light. The copy was discovered in Delft under the floorboards of an old house where it had remained hidden for hundreds of years after the last owner had concealed it. This edition, however, was not produced in the year given, but is a reprint dating from c.1560–5, produced in the northern Netherlands, possibly in Kampen and perhaps by Steven Joessen.⁴¹

In his edition of the *Summa* Van Toorenenbergen also gave the text of a Latin version he had discovered, *Oeconomica Christiana*, thus a translation with a different title. The book does not provide the name of a printer but, according to the colophon, it appeared in Strasburg (‘Argentinae’) on 7 August 1527. If the date is correct this would mean that the Latin text only appeared some years after the Dutch one. This, however, seems in conflict with the fact that it is shorter and that it lacks the supplementary texts added in about 1526. Yet Trapman gives no less than seven reasons in his monograph for the priority of the *Oeconomica* with regard to the *Summa*. Although not one of these arguments is decisive in itself, they do, when taken together, seem convincing enough for us to believe that the Latin text is the original one. The Dutch *Summa* would thus be an adaptation which, most unusually, appeared in print before the original did. We must consequently assume that it was translated from a manuscript of *Oeconomica* – unless, of course, an earlier edition of the text existed and has since been lost.⁴²

³⁹ For the solution, see Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29), *passim*.

⁴⁰ Valkema Blouw, art. cit. (n. 29), p. 272, no. 32. For a full description of the title, see Van Toorenenbergen, op. cit. (n. 25), p. lx. Negatives of photographs of the title-page and the colophon are kept in the Knipscheer apparatus (n. 30).

⁴¹ Linguistic forms such as ‘duer’ (instead of ‘door’) and ‘ghecorrigeert’ (instead of ‘ghecorrigeert’) indicate the eastern part of the northern Netherlands. We are too little acquainted with the unsigned early work of Joessen and Warnersen, however, to reach an attribution. – For this discovery, see B.J. Spruyt, ‘De zes, in het grachtenpand te Delft gevonden boekjes, met name de ‘*Summa der Godliker Scrifturen*’’, *Criterium*, 19 (1989), pp. 4–12. The copy now belongs to the Royal Library (KB) in The Hague.

⁴² For the question of priority, see also the posthumous study of C.F.P. Stutterheim, ‘De proloog

We may now ask ourselves whether the assumed priority of the Latin text is compatible with the typography of the 1527 edition. Can we see in it a confirmation of that date? There would not appear to be any question of a postdating – in itself a most unlikely phenomenon, but theoretically not inconceivable. The *Oeconomica* is, as the typeface shows, a product of the press of Martinus de Keyzer, a Frenchman who had settled in Antwerp in 1525 as an independent printer and publisher and on several occasions made use of a fake address – such as ‘Argentinae’ in this case. No publication by him is known before that year, so there is no reason for doubt where the date of the book is concerned. We can thus assume that (since its publication date, 1523, is well-documented) the *Summa* did indeed appear before the Latin version – at all events before the edition of it which is known to us.

There is, finally, another Antwerp edition of the book, this time in English: *The summe of holye scripture* (NK 3912; STC-E 3036).⁴³ This translation appeared, without any place of publication but dated 1529, and there is no cause to question the authenticity of the date. The translator is generally believed to be the English reformer Simon Fish and it has recently emerged that the printer was very probably Joannes Graphaeus.⁴⁴ In collaboration with De Keyzer he had already printed several biblical books in English for another reformer, William Tyndale, using the same large initial T which we see here. In the 1530s reprints appeared in England itself, while translations of the *Summa* also came out in France and Italy. The work thus acquired a circulation altogether exceptional for a book of Dutch origin in this period.

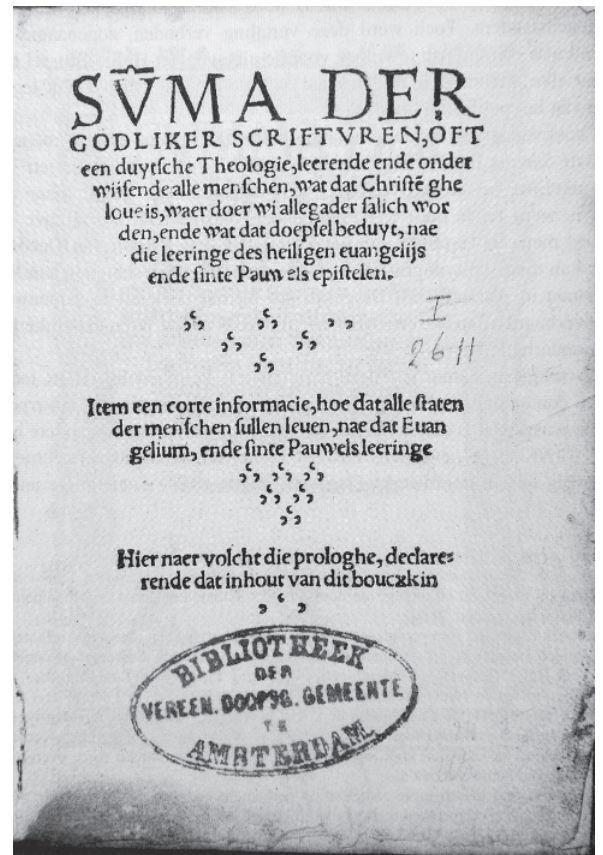
May the recipient of this Festschrift⁴⁵ take pleasure in the fact that ‘her’ library does indeed seem to own the original edition of this work of international importance – the only surviving copy, moreover! The book was considered so dangerous by the authorities that they took the unprecedented step of prohibiting it officially and confiscating the edition. That was when official censorship first entered the northern Netherlands – hardly a joyous event in the history of the Dutch book, but nevertheless a noteworthy one.

van de *Summa* der godliker scrifturen, met inleiding en nawoord door J. Trapman’, *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde 1993-1994* (Leiden 1995), pp. 31-45.

⁴³ W.A. Clebsch, *England's earliest protestants 1520-1535* (New Haven 1964; repr. Westport Conn. 1980), pp. 245 ff.: ‘the most complete compound of Protestant theology to appear in English during the time of the early Henrician exiles [...]. There is no reason to doubt early reports that Fish translated *Summe of the Scripture* [...]’.

⁴⁴ P. Valkema Blouw, ‘Early Protestant publications in Antwerp, 1526-30. The pseudonyms “Adam Anonymus in Basel” and “Hans Luft in Marlborow”’, *Quaerendo*, 26 (1996), pp. 94-110.

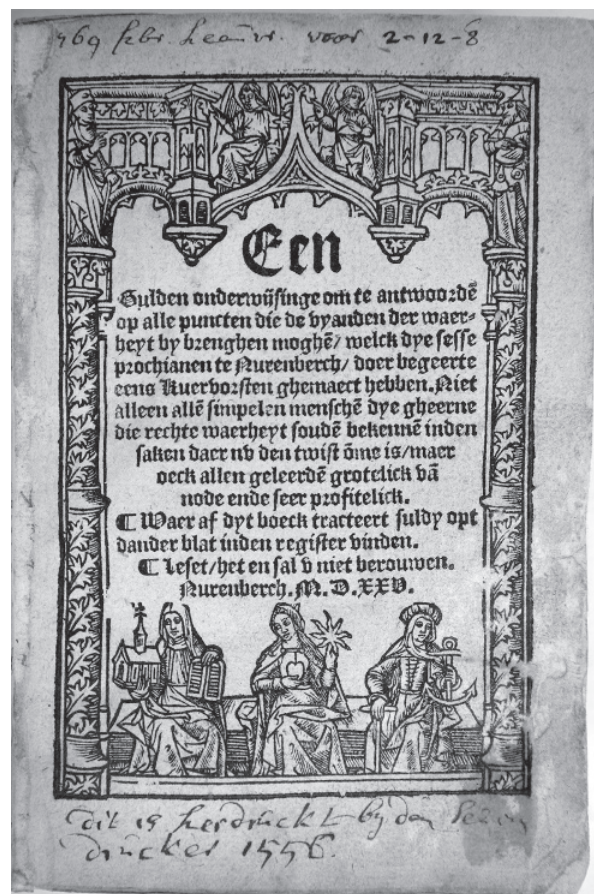
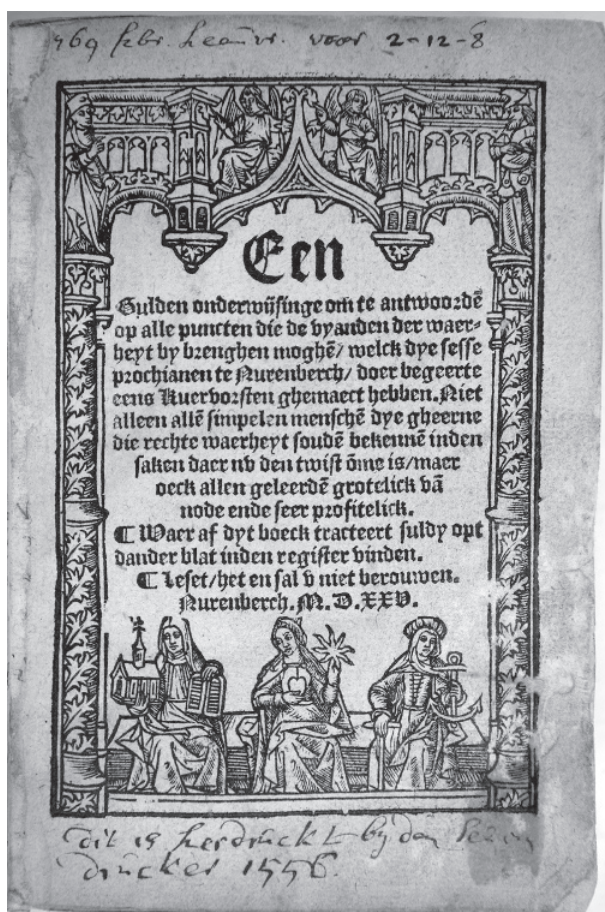
⁴⁵ Elly Cockx-Indestege, who was honoured, on the occasion of her retirement from the Rare Book Department in the Royal Library of Belgium in 1998, with the presentation of a Festschrift entitled *E Codicibus Impressisque. Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege*, 3 vols., eds. F. Hendrickx et al. (Miscellanea Neerlandica 18-20; Leuven 2004).



1
Summa [a] (Leiden, Jan Seversz, 1523), NK 3910
(Scan from the original publication)

2
Summa [b] (Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman, 1526(?)), NK 1968
(Scan from the original publication)

THE FIRST PROHIBITED BOOK IN THE NETHERLANDS



3

Summa [c] (Antwerp, Adriaen van Berghen, '1526' [= not before 1530/31]), lost in
Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, NK 3911
(Amsterdam, Special Collections: Ned.Inc. 286)

4

Summa [d] (Antwerp, Steven Mierdmans, 1543-6), copy of the woodcut border, NK 1969
(Scan from the original publication)

LIST OF THE ORIGINAL BOOK-HISTORICAL PAPERS AS ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED

Drukkers en uitgevers te Delft: de eerste eeuw, *De stad Delft: cultuur en maatschappij tot 1572* (Delft 1979), pp. 138-43

Propaganda voor de Aflaat van Saintes [Delft, Jacob Jacobsz van der Meer, 1483/4], *Hellingsa Festschrift/Feestbundel/Mélanges. Forty-three Studies in Bibliography presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellingsa on the occasion of his retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the end of the Year 1978* (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 517-28

The Leiden 'Afdruksel'. A type specimen of the press of Willem Silvius in its last days (1582). A facsimile with an introduction and notes by Paul Valkema Blouw (Leiden 1983)

Printers to Hendrik Niclaes: Plantin and Augustijn van Hasselt, *Quaerendo*, 14 (1984), pp. 247-72

Mennonitica en bibliografisch onderzoek, *Theologie in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam. Bijdragen over de collecties en verwante verzamelingen alsmede Doopsgezinde Adversaria verschenen bij het afscheid Dr. Simon L. Verheus als conservator van de kerkelijke collecties* (Amsterdam 1985), pp. 138-48

Van Friese herkomst: de *Chronyc Historie*, Noortwitz 1579, *Philologia frisca anno 1984. Lezingen en neipetearen fan it tsiende Frysk filologekongres* (Leeuwarden 1986), pp. 96-112

Augustijn van Hasselt as a printer in Vianen and Wesel, 2 parts, *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 83-109, 163-90

The secret background of Lenaert der Kinderen's activities, 1562-7, *Quaerendo*, 17 (1987), pp. 83-127

A further book printed in Vianen and Wesel, *Quaerendo*, 18 (1988), pp. 96-103.

Gilles Coppens van Diest als ondergronds drukker, 1566-67, *Het oude en het nieuwe boek. De oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet, hem aangeboden door vrienden, collega's en oud-studenten bij zijn afscheid als hoofdbibliothecaris van de Universitaire Instelling Antwerpen en zijn emeritaat als hoogleraar aan de Universiteiten van Antwerpen en Amsterdam op 31 december 1988* (Kapellen 1988), pp. 143-63

Plantin's betrekkingen met Hendrik Niclaes, *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520-1589)*, eds. M. de Schepper & F. de Nave (*De Gulden Passer*, 66-7; Antwerpen 1988-9), pp. 121-58

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(Comp. Paul Dijkstra)